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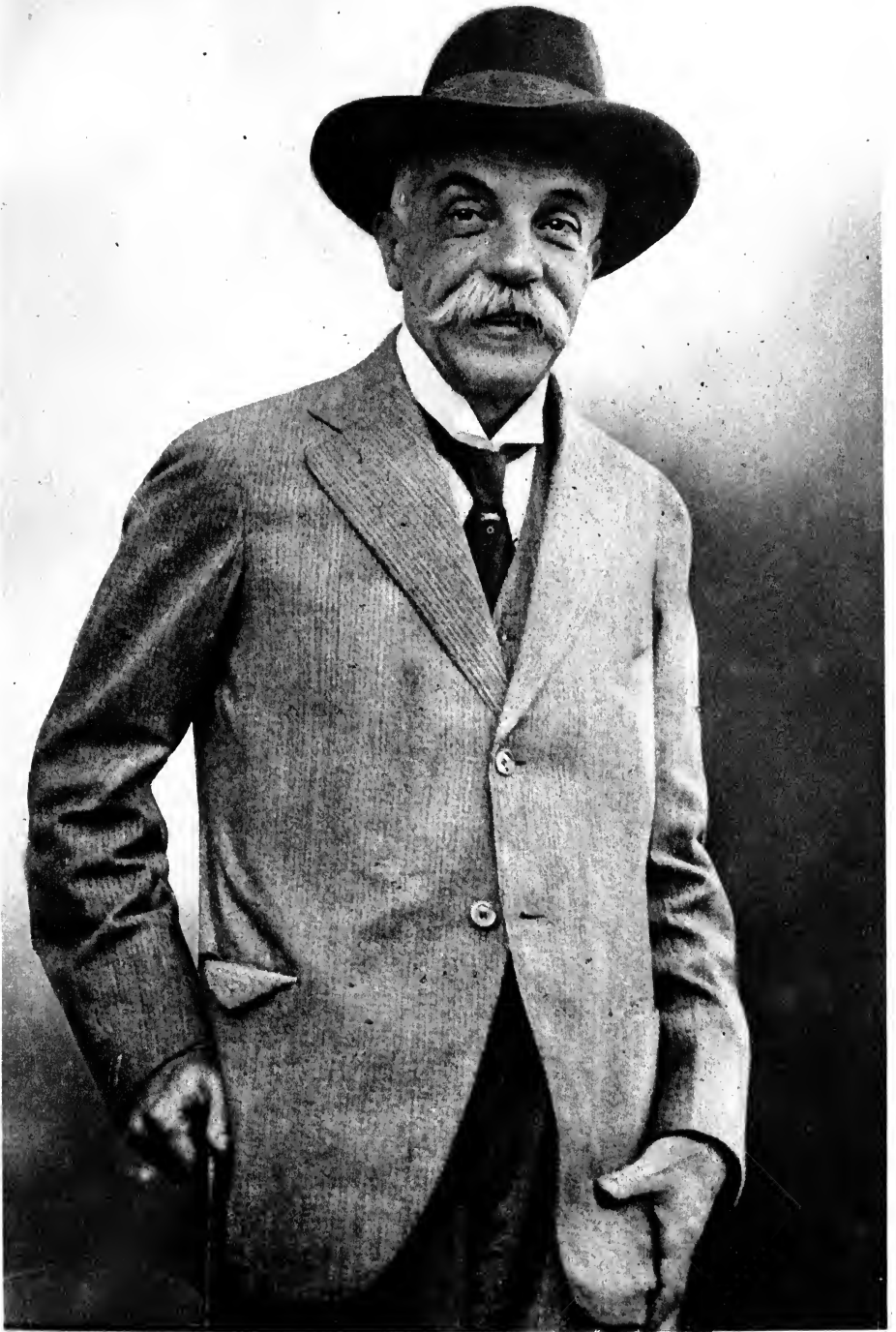
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DR. CONSTANTIN DUMBA

Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, Whose Recall Was Requested for Interference with the Making of American War Munitions

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



Robert F. K. Scholtz

A RECENT SKETCH OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR

By Robert F. K. Scholtz

(Illustrirte Zeitung)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

OCTOBER, 1915

ARABIC AND HESPERIAN

Official Interchanges With Berlin

Two Cases of Vessels Sunk in the Submarine Zone Since the Lusitania Note of July 21

In the American note to Germany, sent by President Wilson on July 21, 1915, this concluding passage appeared:

THE very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German Nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

The White Star liner Arabic, outward bound for New York, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine off Fastnet on the morning of Aug. 19, 1915. Eighteen passengers and twenty-one members

of the crew were reported missing by the White Star Line on Aug. 22, and the first messages received by the State Department at Washington from Ambassador Page in London reported the loss of Mrs. Josephine Bruguiere and Dr. Edmund Woods, American citizens. Secretary Lansing instructed Ambassador Gerard at Berlin, as announced on Aug. 23, to ask the German Imperial Foreign Office whether a report of the sinking of the Arabic had been received by the German Government, and a statement issued from the White House on the same day after a conference between Secretary Joseph Tumulty and President Wilson, read as follows:

With reference to the sinking of the Arabic, as soon as all of the facts are ascertained, our course of action will be determined.

The British Admiralty made this announcement on Aug. 23:

The Arabic was an unarmed passenger ship, outward bound to a neutral port. It

was thus impossible for her to have been carrying contraband to this country. She was sunk by a German submarine without warning, and she neither attempted to attack the submarine nor to escape from it.

The following report was sent by The Associated Press on Aug. 25 from its London office:

The American Embassy has transmitted by cable to Washington the gist of seven depositions taken by Consul Washington at Liverpool, six of which were from Americans on board the Arabic and the seventh from Captain Finch of that steamer.

All the deponents state under oath that the Arabic was pursuing a peaceful course and that she was not warned. All of them assert that they saw the torpedo or heard shouts that a torpedo was coming; also that the Arabic made no attempt to escape or to ram the submarine.

Captain Finch in his affidavit emphasized the last point, saying that, in the first place, it would have been suicidal, and, in the second place, as he did not see the submarine he could not have attempted to ram her.

The depositions in full will be mailed today.

The managers of the White Star Line at Liverpool gave out to the newspapers yesterday the following statement:

At the time of the Lusitania torpedoing many misleading and untrue statements appeared regarding the vessel. Similar statements are beginning to be hinted at in connection with the Arabic, which are equally untrue. For this reason we thought you would like to have one or two definite facts that had better be published at once in order to prevent people from hazarding opinions and finding excuses for the torpedoing.

The facts are:

There is no doubt the Arabic was struck with a torpedo. Captain Finch did not see the submarine, but undoubtedly saw the torpedo.

There is no question of the Arabic having tried to ram the submarine, because it was not seen from the bridge.

There is no question of the Arabic having tried to escape, except the very proper precaution of having put the helm hard over when they saw the torpedo.

The Arabic was undoubtedly sunk without warning. She was in peaceful trading,

with various nationalities aboard. She was outward bound, so there is no question of munitions, and she was not disguised in any way nor had she any guns mounted.

The statement has appeared in the press that she was off the south coast of Ireland, which leads some people to think she was near the coast. As a matter of fact, she was over sixty miles south of Ireland.

With respect to precautions taken, these were very thorough and very proper, having regard to all that has taken place in the danger zone. The Captain had life jackets on hand for everybody. Rafts were unlashd and deck lifeboats opened up, and both rafts and deck lifeboats played an important part in lifesaving, as well as the regular lifeboats.

One of the affidavits made to Ambassador Page by James Colman, an American citizen aboard the Arabic, was cabled by The Associated Press on Aug. 21, as follows:

The first any one knew of the torpedo was while some were looking at the steamer Dunsley foundering a little distance away. Suddenly the cry went up that a torpedo was coming toward us. Captain Finch was zigzagging his vessel, for evidently he had already spotted the submarine, and was trying to avoid it. Before any one of us fully realized it, crash came the torpedo into the ship, almost knocking the ship over, it seemed. The Germans did not fire any shot across the bow of the Arabic to stop her, and did not make any effort to ascertain if there were Americans aboard. It was simply a cold-blooded attack with utter disregard of the consequences.

Every American on the ship to whom I have since talked agrees that the Germans apparently were determined to kill every one.

Several survivors of the disaster reported spying the wake of the torpedo, but testified that they failed to observe the submarine. A Queenstown dispatch to The London Daily Chronicle dated Aug. 20, 1915, said:

C. S. Pringle of Toronto, a cabin passenger on the Arabic, said today in describing the disaster:

"After breakfast most of the passengers went up on deck to enjoy the fresh air. The sea was calm and the atmosphere was quite clear, in fact, it was a perfect Summer morning. With my telescope I noticed what appeared to be the track of a torpedo coming at right

angles toward the Arabic. I saw no submarine then or later on.

"The torpedo traveled at enormous speed and struck our steamer on the starboard side. The impact made her shake frightfully and then there was a sudden explosion. The passengers were by this time rushing for the lifeboats. Captain Finch was on the deck giving orders and the boats were being got down over the side of the vessel. Suddenly the ship began to sink, and in eight or ten minutes she went down. There was no panic, but naturally there was a good deal of excitement among the women and children. They were the first to be put into the lifeboats.

"Considering that no warning was given by the submarine it was astonishing that a much larger proportion of those on board were not lost."

Joseph G. De Lorimer, K. C., of Montreal, said he was saved after he had been struggling in the water, holding on to a raft for considerable time. He had gone on deck to sit down, he said, and a friend was standing by his side when he exclaimed, "We are gone." They both then saw a white line in the water which proved to be a torpedo. Mr. De Lorimer rushed to his cabin for a lifebelt and brought it on deck. He was in the last boat that left the ship as she took the final plunge. Previous to this the liner listed tremendously and turned turtle. One or two lifeboats were struck by the starboard quarter of the Arabic and all the lifeboats were caught in the whirlpool as she sank.

A Queenstown dispatch to The London Daily News dated Aug. 20, 1915, bore this testimony by Captain Finch of the sunken liner:

I left Liverpool at 2:34 P. M. Wednesday, and had on board 423 souls, all told, including 261 members of the crew. All went well with us on our way down the Channel until 9:30 A. M. Thursday, when the ship was torpedoed. There was a

northeasterly wind, and there was only a slight swell on. Therefore, before we were torpedoed we were going at sixteen knots.

Asked as to whether any warning had been given by the submarine, Captain Finch said:

No; we were torpedoed without receiving any warning whatever. I was on the bridge at the time, and had been on the bridge all the way down the Channel. The first indication I had that we were attacked or of the presence of a submarine at all in our vicinity was when I saw the torpedo coming toward the ship at a distance of about 300 feet. That was the very first I saw of it. It approached us at right angles, coming toward us from the north and striking us on the starboard side at a point some 90 or 100 feet, I should say, from the stern.

When the torpedo struck us there was a terrible explosion, so loud that I had never heard anything like it. You can imagine how terrible it was when I tell you it shook the whole ship from stem to stern. The explosion was so stupendous that one of the boats which was swung out from the ship's side was blown into the air in splinters. Then, after the torpedo struck, an immense volume of water was thrown up in the air to a tremendous height, and, of course, there was a great shock.

Asked whether the torpedo struck the ship in a very vital part, Captain Finch said:

Oh, yes, indeed! Why, the ship sank in ten minutes. As soon as she was struck she gave a great list, first to starboard and then to port, and after that she seemed to steady herself a bit. Then she went down quickly by the stern, and disappeared completely in ten minutes.

I did not see a single sign of a submarine, and, as far as I am aware, nobody else saw a submarine, either before or after the occurrence.

German Official Statements About the Arabic's Sinking

The following statement concerning the German Government's attitude in regard to the Arabic was given out in New York on Aug. 24, 1915, by Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador:

THE German Ambassador received the following instructions from Berlin, which he communicated to the Department of State:

So far no official information available concerning the sinking of the Arabic.

The German Government trusts that the American Government will not take a definite stand at hearing only the reports of one side, which, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, cannot correspond with the facts, but that a chance will be given to Germany to be heard equally.

Although the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the witnesses whose statements are reported by the newspapers in Europe, it should be borne in mind that these statements are naturally made under excitement which might easily produce wrong impressions.

If Americans should actually have lost their lives, this would naturally be contrary to our intentions. The German Government would deeply regret the fact, and begs to tender sincerest sympathies to the American Government.

German Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg informed The Associated Press correspondent in Berlin on Aug. 25 as follows:

As long as the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the Arabic have not been fully cleared up, it is impossible for me to make a definite statement. Thus far we have received no report about it.

Now we do not even know whether the sinking of the ship was caused by a mine or by a torpedo fired from a German submarine, nor do we know whether, in this latter case, the Arabic herself may not by her actions, perhaps, have justified the proceedings of the commander of the submarine.

Only after all these circumstances

have been cleared up will it be possible to say whether the commander of one of our submarines went beyond his instructions, in which case the Imperial Government would not hesitate to give such complete satisfaction to the United States as would conform to the friendly relations existing between both Governments.

On Aug. 27 The Associated Press announced that the State Department had been informed that Germany was ready to renew discussion of the Lusitania incident and to offer reparation for the American lives lost when that vessel was sunk by a German submarine. "There has been no response to the last American note on this subject," the announcement said, "and it is known that the United States will not listen to reparation proposals with the situation created by the sinking of the Arabic still pending." But following an oral statement to Secretary Lansing on Sept. 1, 1915, that Germany had accepted the declarations of the United States in the submarine warfare controversy, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, sent the following letter to Mr. Lansing:

Washington, D. C., Sept. 1.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: With reference to our conversation of this morning, I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last Lusitania note contains the following passage:

Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

Although I know that you do not wish to discuss the Lusitania question till the Arabic incident has been definitely and satisfactorily settled, I desire to inform you of the above because this policy of my Government was decided on before the Arabic incident occurred.

I have no objection to your making

any use you may please of the above information.

I remain, my dear Mr. Lansing, very sincerely yours,

J. BERNSTORFF.

In connection with the letter, Secretary Lansing made the following statement:

In view of the clearness of the foregoing statement, it seems needless to make any comment in regard to it, other than to say that it appears to be a recognition of the fundamental principle for which we have contended.

This inference was borne out in an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin, dated Aug. 26, 1915, as follows:

The Associated Press is in a position to state on the best authority that the Arabic incident may be considered as eliminated as a source of discord between Germany and America; or at least is regarded by the German Government in that light. Moreover, Germany, in its desire to continue its friendly relations with the United States, had adopted before the sinking of the Arabic a policy designed to settle completely the whole submarine problem as affecting America, on the basis of good-will and mutual understanding.

This is shown clearly by the statement of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg last night, particularly by his concluding remark to the effect that not until all the circumstances in connection with the sinking of the Arabic had been cleared up would it be possible to say "whether the commander of one of our submarines went beyond his instructions," in which case Germany would give complete satisfaction to the United States.

Furthermore, in the course of the conversation the Chancellor twice again referred to the instructions given to submarine commanders. He did not specify in detail the nature of these instructions, but it may be said that they are designed to prevent a repetition of the Lusitania case and to provide that opportunity for escape for American noncombatants upon torpedoed ships which the United States desires.

Having given these instructions, Ger-

many asked suspension of judgment on the Arabic case until the facts were ascertained, being confident it would be shown that the sinking of the vessel was not an unprovoked attack without warning by a German submarine, but was attributed either to a mine explosion or to some action of the vessel itself.

Should it develop, however, that a submarine acted contrary to instructions, ample reparation will be offered.

Germany is still unable to understand why Americans in these troubled times travel on belligerent ships instead of taking American or other neutral steamers, but since they in some instances insist upon taking passage on vessels belonging to belligerents, Germany will do its utmost to provide for their safety.

It is not permissible to quote the remarks made by the Chancellor in the course of the conversation, other than the formal statement which he made. It may be said, however, that Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg showed genuine interest in the state of feeling in the United States concerning the sinking of the Arabic, and expressed the hope that the American people would not form an opinion on the basis of conflicting statements giving only one side of the story. He spoke with emphasis of Germany's desire to maintain the friendship of America.

Quite contrary to the expectations raised in the United States by Count von Bernstorff's and the German Imperial Chancellor's preliminary assurances, Germany's note to the American Government on the sinking of the Arabic, as communicated to the American Ambassador, James W. Gerard, for transmission to Washington as a memorandum dated Sept. 7, 1915, was cabled from Berlin on Sept. 9 in these words:

On Aug. 19 a German submarine stopped the English steamer Dunsley about sixteen nautical miles south of Kinsale and was on the point of sinking the prize by gunfire after the crew had left the vessel. At this moment the commander saw a large steamer making directly toward him. This steamer, as developed later, was the Arabic. She was recognized as an enemy vessel, as she did

not fly any flag and bore no neutral markings.

When she approached she altered her original course, but then again pointed directly toward the submarine. From this the commander became convinced that the steamer had the intention of attacking and ramming her. In order to anticipate this attack he gave orders for the submarine to dive and fired a torpedo at the steamer. After firing, he convinced himself that the people on board were being rescued in fifteen boats.

According to his instructions the commander was not allowed to attack the Arabic without warning and without saving the lives unless the ship attempted to escape or offered resistance. He was forced, however, to conclude from the attendant circumstances that the Arabic planned a violent attack on the submarine.

This conclusion is all the more obvious as he had been fired upon at a great distance in the Irish Sea on Aug. 14—that is, a few days before—by a large passenger steamer apparently belonging to the British Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which he had neither attacked nor stopped.

The German Government most deeply regrets that lives were lost through the action of the commander. It particularly expresses this regret to the Government of the United States on account of the death of American citizens.

The German Government is unable, however, to acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the Arabic.

If it should prove to be the case that it is impossible for the German and American Governments to reach a harmonious opinion on this point, the German Government would be prepared to submit the difference of opinion, as being a question of international law, to The Hague Tribunal for arbitration, pursuant to Article 38 of The Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In so doing, it assumes that, as a matter of course, the arbitral decision shall

not be admitted to have the importance of a general decision on the permissibility or the converse under international law of German submarine warfare.

This Imperial German justification of the sinking of the Arabic, as reported from Washington on Sept. 11, immediately presented a grave issue for the consideration of the United States Government. A Washington dispatch transmitted by The Associated Press on Sept. 13 said:

Conferences today between President Wilson and Secretary Lansing, and between Secretary Lansing and Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, brought the situation growing out of German submarine activities to the following status:

1. The German Ambassador has been supplied with the evidence of officers and survivors of the Arabic, all agreeing that the liner was proceeding peacefully when torpedoed without warning, and has been advised that the United States desires a disavowal of the attack and reparation for the American lives lost.

2. The evidence will be sent by Count von Bernstorff to the Berlin Foreign Office, to which it has not been available before, and probably ten days will elapse before Berlin can be heard from. In some quarters it is believed possible that the Foreign Office, upon examining the evidence, may change its position and disavow the action of the submarine commander, who, it was claimed in the last note, sunk the liner because he thought she was about to attack him.

3. The United States has all information on the case as it now stands, and is ready to decide upon its course, but action may be delayed until Count von Bernstorff has had time to exchange communications with his Government.

4. While the United States will not consent to arbitration of a principle nor of a question involving the safety of American lives, it has accepted Germany's assurances that peaceful liners will not be torpedoed without warning, and if Germany desires to arbitrate the amount of indemnity, the question of whether the Arabic actually attempted to attack the submarine or whether her action justified the submarine commander in believing he was about to be attacked, that probably would be agreed to.

A special dispatch to THE NEW YORK

TIMES, dated Sept. 11, 1915, stated the problem presented by the German note on the Arabic in this wise:

Far from contributing toward the adjustment of the issue, the memorandum is regarded as complicating the situation by introducing elements that involve a departure from the fundamental principle for which the United States has been contending in behalf of the rights of noncombatants at sea, and which was thought to have been recognized in the pledge given to the State Department by the German Ambassador on Sept. 1.

The most embarrassing and perplexing new element injected into the situation is the refusal of Germany to "acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the Arabic." This is regarded here as nothing less than an assertion of a right to sink merchant steamers without warning, even when they do not try to escape or offer resistance, on the mere assumption of submarine commanders.

From all that can be gathered in responsible quarters here, the American Government is not ready to accept any such limitation upon the right of American citizens to traverse the high seas in vessels which do not rob themselves of immunity by efforts to escape or by actually offering resistance. The German Government, according to the best obtainable interpretation of the memorandum, after justifying so radical a departure from the pledge in the Bernstorff memorandum, and after refusing to acknowledge responsibility for any mistaken impression of its submarine commander as to the "intentions"—not the "actions"—of the commander of the liner, proposes that difference of opinion between the two Governments over this "point" be submitted "as a question of international law" to arbitrate at The Hague.

It is believed that it would take at least a year to obtain a decision before The Hague, and, in the absence of a guarantee against attacks like that upon the Arabic, hundreds of lives might be lost. Should the arbitrators uphold the

German contention that Germany was under no obligation of responsibility for mistakes by submarine commanders, then both nations could abide by the arbitral judgment that the submarine commander who made the mistake was justified in torpedoing a liner merely because he thought the liner intended aggressive action.

But suppose arbitration should result in a decision that Germany was under obligation to grant indemnity in such a case? The rule of procedure under international law would thus have been settled, but what of the human lives that would have been lost during the arbitration? This is a phase of the German proposal which raises most serious doubts in Washington as to the wisdom of accepting it.

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington dated Sept. 13, 1915, conveyed a statement by President Wilson, as follows:

President Wilson expressed his views of the gravity of the international situation which confronts the United States to a delegation of Virginians, who asked him today to visit the Manassas battlefield late this month.

"We are all hoping and praying that the skies may clear," said the President, "but we have no control of that on this side of the water, and it is impossible to predict any part of the course of affairs."

The President was reminded that some time ago he had promised to go to Manassas to dedicate a tablet.

"When I made that promise," the President told the delegation, "things were just beginning, and a great many things have happened since which have altered not only the aspect of our own affairs, but the aspect of affairs of the world. My experience here day by day is that questions turn up so suddenly and have to be handled so promptly and sometimes with so much thoughtful discretion that I really dare not let my thoughts go out to other matters.

"I could not come to Manassas without having something to say. It would not be worthy of the occasion if I did not make preparations that would be

worth while, and that is out of the question. My thoughts are mortgaged beyond recall for the present.

"I simply feel that I have forfeited my liberty for the present, and that my nearest duty is the most obvious and imperative duty. I have been obliged to

say this to all invitations, however tempting in character, and I would not be worthy of your trust if I did not come to such a conclusion, because I know that you want these international matters taken care of as best we know how, and I ought not to send my thoughts afield."

Case of the Hesperian

While the case of the sinking of the Arabic was being negotiated in interchanges between the Governments at Washington and Berlin, the first news of the alleged torpedoing of the Allan liner Hesperian came to Washington in the form of a cablegram to the State Department from Consul Frost at Queens-town, dated Sept. 5, 1915. The dispatch reads:

THE Allan liner Hesperian torpedoed by German submarine seventy miles southwest of Fastnet at 8:30 o'clock Saturday evening, [Sept. 4.] One or two Americans on board, none lost. Loss of life about eight.

Vessel has not sunk. Admiralty boats landed passengers and troops at 8:30 o'clock this morning. Have returned to bring Hesperian in here, due about 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

There were about 45 Canadian troops on board, unorganized and mainly invalided, also one 4.7 gun mounted and visible on stern. Vessel bound for Montreal.

An affidavit detailing the circumstances of the sinking of the Hesperian and signed by four officers of the vessel—William O. Main, Commander of the Hesperian; Alexander Maxwell, Chief Officer; Charles Richardson, First Officer, and William F. Reid, Second Officer—was cabled to the State Department on Sept. 7, 1915, by Consul Frost at Queenstown.. The affidavit was not given out in full, but this paraphrase was issued:

The Hesperian left Liverpool at 7 P. M. on Friday, Sept. 3, and by 8:30 P. M. on Sept. 4 had reached latitude 50 north, longitude 10 west, about eighty miles southwest of Fastnet.

Dusk was closing in rapidly at the time specified when an explosion took place against the starboard bow No. 2 bulkhead, admitting water into compartments 1 and 2. The vessel sank about ten feet within four hours.

The explosion occurred within about eight feet of the surface, throwing a mass of water and steel fragments on the deck. From the steel fragments preserved it is indubitable that the explosion was caused by a torpedo and not by a mine. The characteristic odor of high explosive was noticeable.

No warning of any kind was received by the Hesperian. The track of a torpedo approaching the vessel was not observed by any of the ship's officers. They thought that on account of a failing light it may not have been possible to have seen it. No submarine was sighted before or after the explosion.

A 6-inch gun mounted on the stern of the Hesperian was painted a service gray, and would not have been conspicuous even at a short distance, and the officers think it could not have been observed at all through a periscope.

On board the Hesperian were forty Canadian soldiers, including officers, all either invalided or in attendance upon those invalided. These soldiers were all from various Canadian organizations, but were not organized or traveling as a unit.

No American citizens were among the passengers so far as known. One cabin steward, N. J. Dallas, was an American citizen.

Very slight panic or confusion existed, and the boats and lifesaving apparatus were in readiness and worked well.

Wireless signals, siren, and rockets

brought a British warship on the scene by 9:30, and two other Admiralty vessels before 10:30, but the Hesperian was not under convoy, and had not spoken to an Admiralty ship prior to the torpedoing.

The loss of an American life aboard the Hesperian was first officially intimated in a dispatch to the State Department on Sept. 8, 1915, from Consul Wesley Frost at Queenstown. A Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES of that date reported:

The report said that among the missing members of the crew was a man named Wolff—his initials were not furnished to the Consul, but who was understood to be from Newark, N. J. The Consul said he had been informed that Wolff had registered as an American when he enrolled as a member of the Hesperian's crew.

The Consul's message was not made public, because officials did not look upon the information it contained as definite or conclusive, and did not feel that they could accept it as such.

An Associated Press dispatch from Queenstown, dated Sept. 8, 1915, stated:

It has been established that an American named Wolff was lost on the Hesperian. Wolff signed as an able seaman of the Hesperian's crew. He came from Newark, N. J., and was of Dutch parentage.

Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, made known on Sept. 8, 1915, that he had received this wireless dispatch from the German Foreign Office in Berlin:

According to information available in Berlin, it appears improbable that the Hesperian was torpedoed. Much more likely the boat ran on a mine.

On the same date a special dispatch was sent from Washington to THE NEW YORK TIMES as follows:

Secretary Lansing sent a cablegram to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin today, directing him to inquire of the German Government whether it had any report on the attack on the Allan liner Hesperian, and, if so, to ask for a copy of the report. The American Government wishes to be in possession of the German official version of the sinking of the vessel before determining its course of action.

In connection with the delivery on Sept. 14, 1915, to Ambassador Gerard in Berlin by the German Government of a note in regard to the sinking of the steamship Hesperian, this semi-official explanation of the German position was given out:

As we are informed from a competent source, the news already received, taken in connection with facts officially known, seems to exclude almost absolutely the possibility that a German submarine could under any circumstances have been concerned in sinking the British passenger steamer Hesperian.

First, according to the pre-arranged distribution, no German submarine should have been on Sept. 4 in that part of the ocean in which the Hesperian sank.

Furthermore, the explosion, according to descriptions received from British sources, was of such a nature as to indicate from its effects that it was rather of a mine than of a torpedo.

The circumstances that, according to these descriptions, the vessel was struck near the bow and that the bow compartments filled with water, goes to confirm this assumption.



The Archibald Incident

Dr. Dumba's Recall Requested

Texts of American Note to Austria-Hungary and of the
Offending Letter

BY President Wilson's direction, as announced by the State Department on Sept. 9, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Government was informed that Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba, its Ambassador to the United States, "is no longer acceptable" to this Government, and his recall was requested. The request was based on the admission of Dr. Dumba that he "conspired" to instigate strikes in this country for the purpose of preventing the manufacture of munitions of war and that he was guilty of a "flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety" in employing James F. J. Archibald, an American citizen, to bear official dispatches to the Government of Austria-Hungary.

While the Administration was silent on the subject, preferring to let its note to the Austro-Hungarian Government with respect to Dr. Dumba speak for itself, a Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES dated Sept. 9, said that

the opinion is widespread in well-informed circles that the dismissal of Dr. Dumba is intended by President Wilson as an answer to the activities of those persons in this country who have attempted to embarrass the Government through their propaganda in behalf of the Teutonic allies. It is also regarded as notice to diplomatic representatives generally that the Government will not tolerate acts that in any way bear on the right of the American people to conduct their domestic affairs without foreign interference. But, beyond these things, the dismissal of Ambassador Dumba is construed as meaning that the President has determined that the time has passed for showing too tender consideration for Governments that are prone to manifest a disregard for the rights and privileges of the United States and its citizens at home as well as on the high seas.

A further dispatch to THE NEW YORK

TIMES from Washington dated Sept. 10, said:

The Dumba case marked the culmination of a series of pin pricks that the Government has borne with only occasional remonstrance.

Among these pin pricks are recorded the following:

The advertisement inserted in American newspapers by the German Embassy, warning Americans not to take passage in British vessels—"the amazing indiscretion," President Wilson called it in one of the Lusitania notes; the propaganda of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former German Colonial Minister, which ended by his practically enforced departure from these shores, because he justified the Lusitania horror; the forgery of United States passports to enable German reservists to join the colors at home, and to serve as spies in the countries of Germany's enemies; the effort to send military information by radio from Sayville; the furnishing of perjured affidavits to the State Department to back up the German contention that the Lusitania was armed; the interference with work in munitions plants, although initial responsibility for this is not known to have been fixed; the accusations against President Wilson's neutral conduct; the organization of so-called peace societies and associations of laboring men, with the object of creating sentiment against the President and interfering with industries whose products might benefit the Entente Allies; and the pro-German propaganda with its many ramifications, including what is regarded here as the most important and dangerous—the effort to influence United States Senators and Representatives to bring pressure to bear on the Executive and the Congress for the adoption of measures placing an embargo on war munitions exports.

The cumulative pin pricks have had their effect scarcely less than the cleaver cuts, like the greatest of all of them, the sinking of the Lusitania, with the loss of more than one hundred Americans—men, women, and children. In official circles today there is a new feeling that the period of half-way measures in dealing with the

situation confronting the United States has passed, the period of overzealous consideration for the sensibilities of foreign Governments and those Americans who have said "We must be firm, but must have no trouble with anybody."

The alleged discourtesy of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador was regarded in Washington as having been aggravated by the fact that the American Government recently sent a diplomatic communication to Dr. Dumba's Government, in which the principle was laid down that there was no violation of neutrality in the exportation of arms and ammunition from this country to Great Britain and to other enemies of Austria and Germany. This communication put President Wilson and Secretary Lansing squarely on record as refusing to be influenced by the propaganda among pro-Germans in the United States to induce the Government to place an embargo on such exports. Austria-Hungary was told for the benefit of herself and Germany that if the rule were adopted that neutral nations should not ship war supplies to belligerents, every nation would be obliged to turn itself into an armed camp at all times in the realization that it must maintain large armies and keep on hand great stores of arms and ammunition for its own protection in the event of hostilities.

This note, which was signed by Secretary Lansing and represented the views of President Wilson, was intended to be the last word in the controversy over the munitions export business. It was held, in effect, by this Government that an American manufacturer of war munitions had as much right to engage in trade with belligerents as had the manufacturer of goods not necessary to the conduct of a war. The note was sent in response to a polite protest from the Vienna Government, which contended that, while the export of munitions was not expressly forbidden, the output of the United States had so increased since the outbreak of the European war that the status of the United States as a neutral nation was impaired. Austria-Hungary suggested that a provision of one of The Hague treaties appeared to make it necessary for the United States to place an embargo on munition shipments, but this point was answered by the assertion that it was for the neutral country and not for a belligerent to determine whether it was to the interest of the neutral to stop munitions exports.

The recall of Dr. Dumba does not constitute a break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian Government will continue to be represented

in this country by Baron Erich Zwiedinnek, the Counselor of the Embassy, who was to serve as Chargé d'Affaires after Dr. Dumba left.

ARCHIBALD'S CASE

The Central News reported in London on Sept. 1, 1915, that James F. J. Archibald, an American newspaper correspondent who was apprehended by the British authorities when the steamer Rotterdam, bound from New York for Rotterdam, put into Falmouth, was carrying dispatches to Berlin and Vienna from the German and Austrian Embassies at Washington; that Mr. Archibald was charged with performing an unneutral service. He was subsequently released, but the dispatches were retained by the officials.

Dr. Henry van Dyke, the American Minister to the Netherlands, on Sept. 11, explained at The Hague the departure of James F. J. Archibald for New York as follows:

Being informed of a secret treasonable message from Ambassador Dumba to the Foreign Office in Vienna carried by James Archibald, I stopped Archibald, took up his passport, and sent him back to America aboard the Rotterdam, to report to the Department of State.

A letter in the handwriting of Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, to Foreign Minister Burian at Vienna, recommending a plan to cripple factories making munitions for the Allies in this country through Hungarian employes in those factories was among the documents seized in the possession of James F. J. Archibald, as first announced by the London correspondent of The New York World.

There was also found hidden in Archibald's stateroom, The World correspondent asserted, a typewritten memorandum of considerable length prepared by the editor of a Hungarian newspaper in this city, which explained how Hungarians employed in the Bethlehem Steel Works and other plants making munitions were to be used to cripple these plants.

One paper found in Archibald's possession was written by Captain von Papen, Military Attaché of the German

Embassy, to the German War Office. The last sentence of this letter was:

I could probably dispose of the useless toluol from the Lehigh Coke Company, which is lying here for the account of the Norwegian Government.

There was nothing in the dispatch to throw further light on this. Efforts were made to learn from officials connected with the German Embassy how a German Military Attaché could have the authority to dispose of property of the Norwegian Government, but at the German Summer Embassy at Cedarhurst and the offices of the Attachés no information could be obtained.

The Lehigh Coke Company has its plant at South Bethlehem, Penn. It is supplied with coal by the Bethlehem Steel Company, and is under a contract to supply all of its product to the Bethlehem Steel Company. The Bethlehem Steel Company, controlled by Charles M. Schwab, is one of the largest plants in this country making munitions for the Allies.

THE STRIKE PLOTS

A special dispatch from Detroit, Mich., to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated Sept. 10, said:

Detroit and Cleveland have been centres for ninety days of a resourceful campaign aimed to cause 50,000 or more Austro-Hungarians, employed in motor factories, foundry and machine shops, and kindred industries having to do with the production of war munitions, to give up their places.

Employers of these men have been alive for weeks to the peril that lay behind the efforts of Dr. Dumba and his agents and have matched resource with resource in their efforts to preserve industrial peace. They have been successful, in the main, partly through secret agencies, which have sought to frustrate the plans which, when officially revealed, brought about the demand for Dr. Dumba's recall.

In addition to Dr. Dumba and Archibald these persons are conspicuous in the inquiry here:

Dr. Ernest Ludwig, Consul for Austria-Hungary, stationed in Cleveland, whose jurisdiction includes Middle Western territory.

Hans Pelenyi, the Vice Consul.

William Warm, associate editor of the Cleveland Daily Szabadsag. (Liberty,) who devised the scheme to tie up munitions plants in advance of action by Dr.

Dumba, and is now New York correspondent of the Szabadsag.

Z. Zalay, former editor of The Toledo Herald, who first brought Warm's scheme to Archibald's attention.

G. Hosko, editor of the Cleveland Szabadsag, who exposed publicly the false "credit" which Dr. Dumba obtained for the strike scheme and revealed his co-worker as the real author.

A large number of persons are working against these men. Count Stanislaus von Waleski, an official of the Polish National Alliance, is one. He is the representative of a Detroit corporation's agency which ferreted out Austro-Hungarian strike propaganda.

Henry J. Hinde, General Manager of the Toledo Machine and Tool Company, is another. Menaced by a walkout, he hired Secret Service agents to frustrate the Teutonic activities, but finally adjusted their differences.

DIPLOMATS RECALLED

Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba had been Ambassador to the United States a little more than two years, having been named for the office in March, 1913. He succeeded Baron Hengelmuller, whose long period of service as Ambassador had been marked by great social popularity. As Dean of the Diplomatic Corps he had won distinction throughout the country.

Dr. Dumba had served as Minister to Sweden for several years before coming to Washington, and had made an excellent record for himself in that post. Having large wealth and coming of a prominent Austrian family, he was regarded as eminently fitted for diplomatic duties.

The recall of Dr. Dumba, which the United States has requested of Austria-Hungary, puts the Ambassador into a fairly long list of diplomats who have made themselves so unsatisfactory to the United States that passports have been handed to them or their Governments have been asked to withdraw them. While there is no fixed rule on the subject, the simple dismissal of an envoy by giving him his passports is regarded as the harsher course.

As far back as 1793 Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State under President Washington, asked for the recall of Citizen Genet, who was sent to this country by the French Committee of Safety after the execution of Louis XVI. The Minis-

ter's offense was that while the United States was at peace with Great Britain he wished to commission privateers to prey on British commerce, and made inflammatory speeches against Great Britain.

Twelve years later, in 1805, passports were handed to the Marquis of Casa Yrujo, then Spanish Minister at Washington, for tampering with the local press by attempting to bribe a Philadelphia editor to present the Spanish side of a controversy with the United States.

The first British Minister to be recalled was F. J. Jackson. Mr. Jackson had accused the American Government of bad faith in entering into an agreement with his predecessor which he said the United States knew the previous Minister had not been authorized to make. He also circularized British Consuls in an effort to arouse feeling against the United States.

M. Poussin was recalled as Minister from France because of his impertinence to the American Secretary of State.

In 1855 British Minister Crampton was recalled at the request of the United States, and the exequators of three British Consuls were canceled because of their activities in enlisting soldiers for the Crimean war, though the actual enlistments were to take place in Canada.

The most historic incident of the sort arose when Lord Sackville-West, in response to a decoy letter, advised Americans of British birth to vote for Grover Cleveland for President. The incident came to light after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration and he referred in an annual

message to this "unpardonable conduct," saying: "The offense thus committed was more grave, involving disastrous possibilities to the good relations of the United States and Great Britain, constituting a gross breach of diplomatic privilege and an invasion of the purely domestic affairs and essential sovereignty of the Government to which the envoy was accredited."


President Cleveland directed that passports be handed to the discredited Minister. Lord Salisbury, in acknowledging notice of this action, said that the handing of passports to Lord Sackville-West left nothing to dispute, but he denied that the acceptance or retention of a Minister depended solely upon the Government to which he was accredited. This principle was assented to by Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, but he added that the circumstances involving an interference with the American suffrage left no other course open to the United States.

The most recent incident affecting an envoy of Ministerial rank was the dismissal of the Spanish Minister, Dupuy de Lome, who wrote disrespectfully of President McKinley to a friend in Cuba. In President Taft's Administration passports were handed to the Nicaraguan Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Rodrigues, as a protest against the judicial murder in Nicaragua of two Americans, Mr. Cannon and Mr. Groce.

There have been a number of incidents in which foreign Governments recalled their representatives in protest against some American action.

Full German Text and Translation of Dr. Dumba's Letter to Baron Burian

As cabled from London on Sept. 9, 1915, the following is an exact copy in German of Ambassador Dumba's letter to Baron Burian, the envelops of which was addressed: "Durch gute Gelegenheit Ser. Excellenz Freiherrn von Burian, &c., &c., &c., Wien":

New York, 20. August 1915.
 ochwohlgeborener Freiherr!
 Gestern Abend erhielt Generalconsul von Ruher das anliegende Pro-Memoria von dem Hauptredakteur der hiesigen einflussreichen Zeitung „Szabadfog“ nach einer vorher-

gehenden Besprechung mit mir und in Ausführung seiner mündlichen Vorschläge behufs Vorbereitung von Aufständen in Bethlehem Schwab's Stahl- und Munitionsfabriken sowie im Middle West.

Heute 12 Uhr fährt der Eurer Excellenz wohlbekannte Mr. Archibald auf der „Rotterdam“ nach Berlin und Wien. Ich möchte diese seltene sichere Gelegenheit benutzen, um die Vorschläge Eurer Excellenz wohlwollenden Berücksichtigung wärmstens zu empfehlen. Ich habe den Eindruck, daß wir die Produktion von Kriegsbedarf in Bethlehem und in Middle West wenn auch nicht ganz verhindern, so doch stark desorganisieren und auf Monate aufhalten können, was nach Aussage des deutschen Militärattachés von großer Wichtigkeit ist und das relativ kleine Geldopfer reichlich aufwiegt.

Aber selbst wenn die Aufstände nicht gelingen, so ist dort Wahrscheinlichkeit vorhanden, daß wir für unsere gebrückten Landsleute unter dem Druck der Konjunktur günstige Arbeitsbedingungen erzwingen. In Bethlehem arbeiten jetzt diese weißen Sklaven zwölf Stunden täglich in sieben Tage in der Woche! Alle schwachen Leute gehen zu Grunde, werden amstark (brustkrank?).

So weit deutsche Arbeiter unter den geschickten Elementen vorhanden sind, wird für ihren Austritt sofort gesorgt werden. Es ist außerdem ein deutsches privates [underlined] Stellenvermittlungsbureau geschaffen worden, welches solchen freiwillig und schon gut funktioniert. Wir werden auch beitreten und die weitgehendste Unterstützung ist uns zugesagt.

Ich bitte Eure Excellenz um gütige Verständigung durch drachtlöse Antwort mit Bezug auf diesen Brief, ob Hochden selben einwilligen.

In größter Eile und ehrungsvoller Ergebenheit.

C. Dumba.

[Translation.]

Following is a translation of Dr. Dumba's letter to Burian. The letter was entirely in Dr. Dumba's handwriting. The envelope was addressed, "Through good opportunity to his Excellency Freiherr von Burian, &c., &c., &c., Vienna."

New York, 20 August, 1915.

NOBLE LORD:

Yesterday evening Consul General von Nuber received the inclosed pro memoria [aide mémoire, as it has been called, or simply "memorandum"] from the chief editor of the local influential newspaper Szabadsag after a previous conversation with me and in pursuance of his oral proposals with respect to the preparation of disturbances in the Bethlehem Schwab's steel and munitions factories as well as in the Middle West.

Today at 12 o'clock Mr. Archibald, who is well known to your Excellency, leaves on the Rotterdam for Berlin and Vienna. I would like to use this rare, safe opportunity to recommend the proposals most warmly to your Excellency's favorable consideration.

I am under the impression that we could, if not entirely prevent the production of war material in Bethlehem and in the Middle West, at any rate strongly disorganize it and hold it up for months, which, according to the statement of the German Military Attaché, is of great importance, and which amply outweighs the relatively small sacrifice of money.

But even if the disturbance do not succeed, there is a probability at hand that we shall compel, under pressure of the crisis, favorable working conditions for our poor, oppressed fellow-countrymen. In Bethlehem these white slaves at present work twelve hours a day seven days in the week! All weak persons succumb, become consumptive. As far as German workmen are found among the skilled elements, provision will be made forthwith for their exit. There has, besides this, been created a German private (underlined) registry office for providing employment, and which already works voluntarily and well for such persons. We, too, shall join, and the widest support is contemplated for us.

I beg your Excellency kindly to inform me through wireless reply with respect to this letter, whether you approve of same.

In greatest haste and respectful devotion,
C. DUMBA.

American Note to Austria-Hungary Requesting the Recall of Ambassador Dumba

Secretary of State Lansing on Sept. 9, 1915, announced that the Department of State had instructed Ambassador Penfield at Vienna to deliver to the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs the following note:

MR. CONSTANTIN DUMBA, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, has admitted that he proposed to his Government plans to instigate strikes in American manufacturing plants engaged in the production of munitions of war. The information reached this Government through a copy of a letter of the Ambassador to his Government. The bearer was an American citizen named Archibald, who was traveling under an American passport. The Ambassador has admitted that he employed Archibald to bear official dispatches from him to his Government.

By reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Mr. Dumba to conspire to cripple legitimate industries of the people of

the United States and to interrupt their legitimate trade and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of the enemy of Austria-Hungary, the President directs me to inform your Excellency that Mr. Dumba is no longer acceptable to the Government of the United States as the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty at Washington.

Believing that the Imperial and Royal Government will realize that the Government of the United States has no alternative but to request the recall of Mr. Dumba on account of his improper conduct, the Government of the United States expresses its deep regret that this course has become necessary and assures the Imperial and Royal Government that it sincerely desires to continue the cordial and friendly relations which exist between the United States and Austria-Hungary.

Ambassador Dumba's Statement in Defense

At Lenox, Mass., Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, admitted on Sept. 5, 1915, that he gave James F. J. Archibald, an American newspaper correspondent, a letter for delivery to Foreign Minister Burian in Vienna, in which he proposed certain measures to be taken to hamper the manufacture of munitions for the Allies in America. Dr. Dumba said:

THERE was nothing in the dispatches which Archibald carried that cannot be satisfactorily explained. The proposals regarding embarrassing steel works were nothing more than a very open and perfectly proper method to be taken to bring before men of our races employed in the big steel works the fact that they were engaged in enterprises

unfriendly to their fatherland, and that the Imperial Government would hold the workers in munition plants where contracts are being filled for the Allies as being guilty of a serious crime against their country, something that would be punishable by penal servitude should they return to their own country.

There are thousands of workingmen in the big steel industries, natives of Bohemia, Moravia, Carniola, Galicia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and other peoples of the races from Austria-Hungary, who are uneducated and who do not understand that they are engaged in a work against their own country. In order to bring this before them I have subsidized many newspapers published in the languages and dialects of the divi-

sions mentioned, attempting in this way to bring the felonious occupation to their attention. But this has been difficult. In some of the great steel plants of Pennsylvania these uneducated men of my country are nothing more or less than slaves. They are even being worked twelve hours a day, and herded in stockades. It is difficult to get at these workers except en masse, and a peaceful walk-out of these workmen would be of the greatest advantage to my Government, as well as an indemnity to themselves.

It is my duty as the representative of Austria-Hungary to make known these facts to the Imperial Government, and in so doing I am performing a service for which I was sent to this country. The dispatches or letters carried by Archibald contained nothing more than a proposal that we attempt to call out the workmen of our own country from these steel and munition works and provide for them other employment. To do so money would be necessary and a labor employment bureau would have to be organized. This is one of the things I shall bring before the Secretary of Labor in Washington this week. This seems to me to be a legitimate and entirely satisfactory means of preventing the making and shipping of war materials to our enemies.

My letter which Mr. Archibald carried does not contradict anything that Count von Bernstorff has said, for his people and the great bulk of those who make up our Austro-Hungarian races are entirely different types. The greater part of German workmen of all ranks are educated. They read and discuss matters and can be easily reached. Not so with the many races and the great ignorant mass of our peoples. Promises of better wages and easier employment must be made and their position in aiding the enemy must be brought home to them. Where there are a hundred German-born men working in the factories there are thousands of Austrians. Remedies for reaching these races must differ, and there is no conspiracy in an open attempt to call out the Austrian citizens at Bethlehem or elsewhere. Such a proposal as this was the letter of which it is said a photographic copy was made and its contents

cabled to the State Department at Washington. It is to prevent the letter from being censored or garbled that I shall ask Secretary Lansing for an opportunity to explain.

BARON ZWIEDINEK'S STATEMENT.

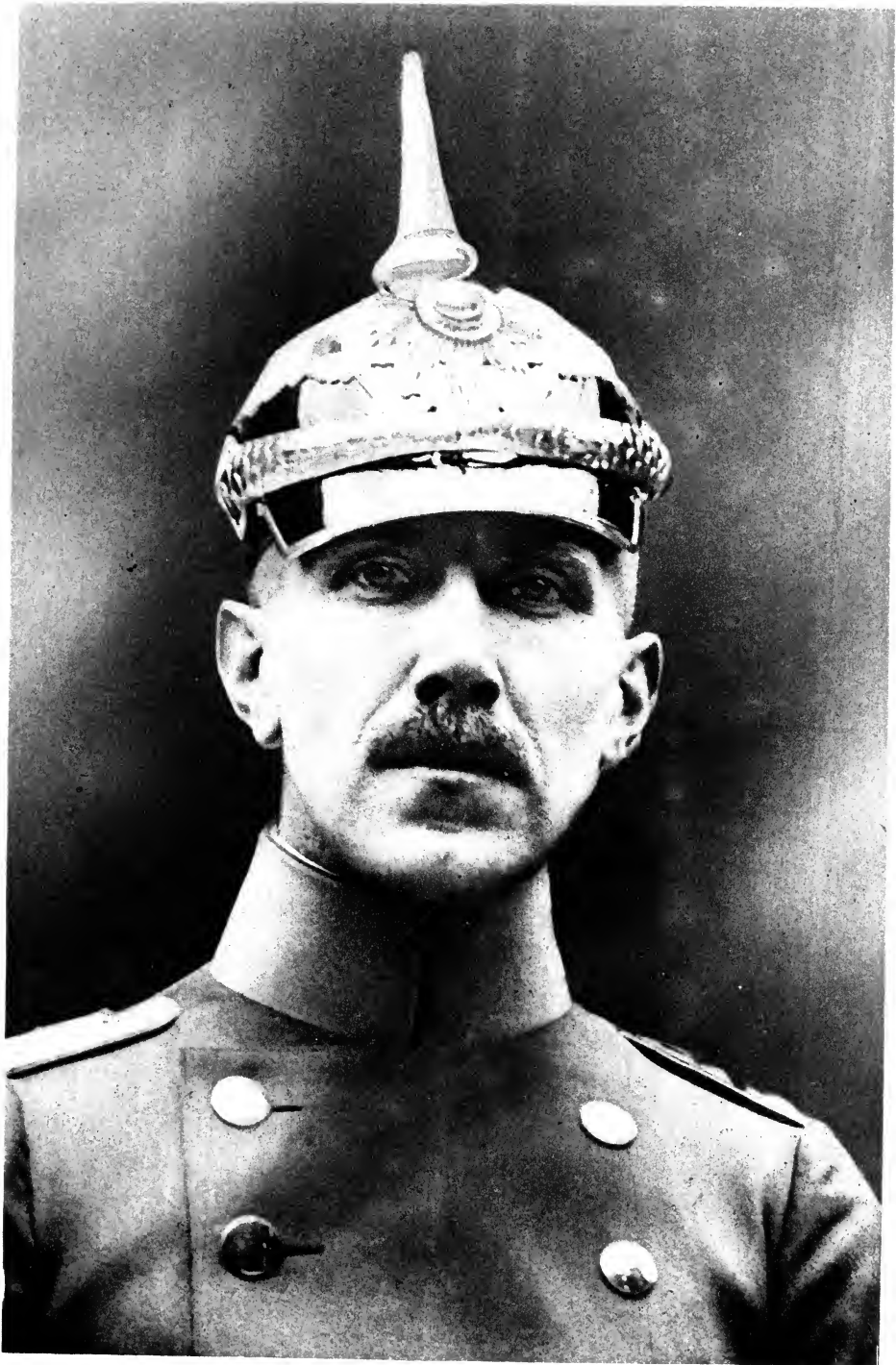
The news of the request for the recall of Ambassador Dumba was received with incredulity at the Austro-Hungarian Summer Embassy at Lenox, Mass., on Sept. 9. Later, after the news had been in a measure confirmed, Baron Erich Zwiedinek, Counselor of the Embassy, who was to become Chargé d'Affaires after the recall of Ambassador Dumba, issued the following signed statement:

It is difficult, in the lack of fuller information, for officials of the embassy to discuss this matter, but I am very much surprised at hearing this news, which I am still reluctant to believe and which I very much hope will not be verified.

I know Dr. Dumba personally very well, and from my conversations with him I could not think that he should have intended fomenting strikes in munitions plants. We have certainly and naturally felt a satisfaction when reading in the papers of difficulties and strikes in factories making munitions for the Allies, but to foment such a thing ourselves would have been such an absolutely impossible undertaking that it would be for me quite inconceivable that Dr. Dumba should have suddenly had such an idea.

One has only to think of the enormous number of laborers employed in these factories, which runs into the hundreds of thousands, to realize how many millions of dollars would be necessary to produce any practical effect. Dr. Dumba, so far as I have understood, asked for only a few thousand dollars, so it seems to me evident that he had only a humanitarian idea in mind, as he also mentioned to me when returning from New York.

The Imperial and Royal Government had pointed out the legal penalties which would be incurred by Austro-Hungarian subjects who returned home from Amer-



CAPTAIN FRANZ VON PAPEN

Military Attache of the German Embassy in Washington, Whose Withdrawal Was Announced as a Consequence of the Dumba Exposure

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



RECENT PORTRAIT OF T. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG
German Imperial Chancellor, Whose Speech at the Opening of the Reichstag
on August 15 Roused Worldwide Comment
(Photo from Bain News Service)

ica after the war if they had worked in factories making munitions for the Allies. These penalties would not only have been those prescribed by the law for helping enemies of the monarchy, but much more so those of public opinion, as in the case of a man who had made munitions for the Allies who should go back to his home village perhaps to inherit the property of men who had been killed by those munitions. Naturally, these considerations, if brought to their attention, might have caused a certain number of Austro-Hungarian subjects to leave their employment in American munition factories, and I had been of the opinion that Dr. Dumba's plans were designed only to give aid to needy workingmen who had given up their work and had not yet found other employment. The small sum of money suggested in this connection, I be-

lieve only \$15,000, would have been absolutely insufficient to finance a strike.

Besides, I am quite certain that if, on second thought, Dr. Dumba had come to the conclusion that his ideas were not in accord with the duties and obligations toward the United States Government imposed by his position here he would have withdrawn himself. Therefore, even if appearances at first should be against him, I am especially sorry that the whole matter of sending this letter has been done in such a rush. I am confident that the Imperial and Royal Government has not the slightest desire for any complications or difficulties with the United States, for it puts too much value on the cordial and friendly relations which have always existed between the two Governments and which have been emphasized of late.

The Hyphen

By BEATRICE BARRY.

Where do you stand? The sentiments you voice
 Would be called treason in your native land!
 You would not dare there to rejoice
 At work done by assassin's hand;
 You would not form "societies" or say
 Just when you would, and when you would not, fight,
 And then the Government proceed to flay
 For policies you did not think were right.

Those things cannot be done where you were born—
 Where liberty of speech is quite unknown;
 So all the vials of your wrath and scorn
 Are for another country than your own—
 A country that extended friendly hands,
 Helped the ambitious, succored the forlorn.
 Allegiance to all other Kings and lands
 You have renounced on oath. Are you forsworn?

Ingratitude so base must be confined
 To some loud-voiced and too impressive few.
 Rise, then, and say that you have been maligned
 By those who undertake to speak for you!
 Does honor leave you any other choice?
 Surely our doubts, by these your spokesmen fanned,
 Will die still-born, when, with one mighty voice,
 You answer honestly—where do you stand?

Standing by the President

By Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt, speaking on the evening of Aug. 25, 1915, on the drill plain of the United States Military Instruction Camp at Plattsburg, N. Y., denounced the hyphenated American, the professional pacifist, the poltroon, the "college sissy," and the man with "a mean soul." Later he gave out for publication a statement in which he said Americans should stand by the President, but only so far as he was right, and spoke of "elocution as a substitute for action." Because of the ex-President's utterances criticising the Administration, Secretary of War Garrison telegraphed a rebuke to Major Gen. Leonard Wood for permitting them to be made at a Federal encampment. Just before leaving the camp on Aug. 25 Colonel Roosevelt dictated the subjoined statement.

I WISH to make one comment on the statement so frequently made that we must stand by the President. I heartily subscribe to this on condition and only on condition that it is followed by the statement so long as the President stands by the country.

It is defensible to state that we stand by the country, right or wrong; it is not defensible for any free man in a free republic to state that he will stand by any official right or wrong, or by any ex-official.

Even as regards the country, while I believe that once war is on, every citizen should stand by the land, yet in any crisis which may or may not lead up to war, the prime duty of the citizen is, by criticism and advice, even against what he may know to be the majority opinion of his fellow citizens, to insist that the nation take the right course of action.

There is even a stronger reason for demanding of every loyal citizen that, after the President has been given ample time to act rightly and has either not acted at all or has acted wrongly, he shall be made to feel that the citizens whom he has been elected to serve demand that he be loyal to the honor and to the interests of the land.

The President has the right to have said of him nothing but what is true; he should have sufficient time to make his policy clear; but as regards supporting him in all public policy, and above all in international policy, the right of any President is only to demand public support because he does well; because he serves the public well, and not merely because he is President.

Presidents differ, just like other folks. No man could effectively stand by President Lincoln unless he had stood against President Buchanan. If, after the firing on Sumter, President Lincoln had in a public speech announced that the believers in the Union were too proud to fight, and if instead of action there had been three months of admirable elocutionary correspondence with Jefferson Davis, by midsummer the friends of the Union would have followed Horace Greeley's advice, to let the erring sisters go in peace—for peace at that date was put above righteousness by some mistaken souls, just as it is at the present day.

The man who believes in peace at any price or in substituting all inclusive arbitration treaties for an army and navy should instantly move to China. If he stays here, then more manly people will have to defend him, and he is not worth defending. Let him get out of the country as quickly as possible. To treat elocution as a substitute for action, to rely upon high-sounding words unbacked by deeds, is proof of a mind that dwells only in the realm of shadow and of sham.

THIS NATION'S NEEDS

Colonel Roosevelt's speech follows in full:

I wish to congratulate all who have been at this Plattsburg camp and at the similar camps throughout the country upon the opportunity they have had to minister to their own self-respect by fitting themselves to serve the country if the need should arise. You have done your duty. In doing it you have added to your value as citizens. You have the

right to hold your heads higher because you are fulfilling the prime duty of free-men.

No man is fit to be free unless he is not merely willing but eager to fit himself to fight for his freedom, and no man can fight for his freedom unless he is trained to act in conjunction with his fellows. The worst of all feelings to arouse in others is the feeling of contempt. Those men have mean souls who desire that this nation shall not be fit to defend its own rights and that its sons shall not possess a high and resolute temper. But even men of stout heart need to remember that when the hour for action has struck no courage will avail unless there has been thorough training, thorough preparation in advance.

The greatest need for this country is a first-class navy. Next, we need a thoroughly trained regular or professional army of 200,000 men if we have universal military service; and of at least half a million men if we do not have such universal military service.

At present a single army corps from Germany or Japan (which, if subtracted from the efficient fighting forces of either would not even be felt) could at any time be ferried across the ocean and take New York or San Francisco and destroy them or hold them to ransom with absolute impunity, and the United States at present would be helpless to do more than blame some scapegoat for what was really the fault of our people as a whole in failing to prepare in advance against the day of disaster.

But the professional navy and the professional army are not enough. Free citizens should be able to do their own fighting. The professional pacifist is as much out of place in a democracy as is the poltroon himself; and he is no better citizen than the poltroon. Probably no body of citizens in the United States during the last five years have wrought so efficiently for national decadence and international degradation as the professional pacifists, the peace-at-any-price men, who have tried to teach our people that silly all-inclusive arbitration treaties and the utterance of fatuous platitudes

at peace congresses are substitutes for adequate military preparedness.

These people are seeking to Chinafy this country. A high Japanese military officer recently remarked to a gentleman of my acquaintance that the future dominion over the seas and lands of the Pacific lay with Japan, because China was asleep and America was falling asleep, and in this world the future lay with the nations of patriotic and soldierly spirit. If the United States were to follow the lead of the professional pacifists and to permit itself to be Chinafied, this observer's opinion would be quite correct.

It is an abhorrent thing to make a wanton or an unjust war. It is an abhorrent thing to trespass on the rights of the weak. But it is an utterly contemptible thing to be unable and unwilling to fight for one's own rights in the first place, and then, if possessed of sufficient loftiness of soul, to fight for the rights of the weak who are wronged. The greatest service that has ever been rendered mankind has been rendered by the men who have not shrunk from righteous war in order to bring about righteous peace, by soldier-statesmen of the type of Washington, by statesmen of the type of Abraham Lincoln, whose work was done by soldiers. The men of the Revolution and the men of the civil war, and the women who raised these men to be soldiers are the men and women to whom we owe a deathless debt of gratitude.

This means that all our young men should be trained so that at need they can fight. Under the conditions of modern warfare it is the wildest nonsense to talk of men springing to arms in mass unless they have been taught how to act and how to use the arms to which they spring.

For thirteen months America has played an ignoble part among the nations. We have tamely submitted to seeing the weak, whom we had covenanted to protect, wronged. We have seen our own men, women, and children murdered on the high seas, without action on our part. We have treated elocution as a substitute for action. During this time our Govern-

ment has not taken the smallest step in the way of preparedness to defend our own rights. Yet these thirteen months have made evident the lamentable fact that force is more dominant now in the affairs of the world than ever before; that the most powerful of modern military nations is utterly brutal and ruthless in its disregard of international morality, and that righteousness divorced from force is utterly futile. Reliance upon high-sounding words unbacked by deeds is proof of a mind that dwells only in the realm of shadow and sham.

This camp has lasted two months. It has done immense good to you who have been able to come here—although, by the way, you must not think that it has more than marked the beginning of training you to your duties. But you have been able to come because you are either yourself fairly well-to-do or else because you happen to serve employers who are both public-spirited and fairly well-to-do, and who give you holidays with pay.

The Government has not paid a dollar for this camp. Inasmuch as we as a nation have done nothing whatever for national defense during the last thirteen months, the time when during all our history it was most necessary to prepare for self-defense, it is well that private individuals should have tried, however insufficiently, to provide some kind of substitute for proper governmental action. The army officers and enlisted men have put all good Americans under a fresh debt by what they have done in connection with this camp, and we owe much to the private citizens who have advanced the money without which the camp could not have been held.

But you men have had to buy your own uniforms; you have had to spend money in fifty different ways; in other words, you have had to pay for the privilege of learning how to serve your country. This means that for every one man like yourselves who can afford to come here there are a hundred equally good American citizens, equally patriotic, who would like to come and are unable to. It is undemocratic that the young farmer, that the young hired man on a farm, that the hardworking clerk or mechanic

or day laborer, all of whom wish to serve the country as much as you do and are as much entitled to the benefit of this camp as you are, should be unable to attend such a camp.

They cannot attend to it unless the nation does as Switzerland has done and gives the opportunity for every generous and right-thinking American to learn by, say, six months' actual service in one year or two years how to do his duty to the country if the need arises—and the Americans who are not right-thinking should be made to serve anyhow, for a democracy has full right to the service of its citizens.

Such service would be an immense benefit to the man industrially. It would not only help the nation, but it would help each individual who undergoes the training. Switzerland has universal military service, and it is the most democratic and least militaristic of countries, and a much more orderly and less homicidal country than our own.

Camps like this are schools of civic virtue as well as of military efficiency. They should be universal and obligatory for all our young men. Every man worth his salt will wish to come to them.

As for the professional pacifists and the poltroons and college sissies who organize peace-at-any-price societies, and the mere money-getters and mere money-spenders, they should be made to understand that they have got to render whatever service the country demands. They must be made to submit to training in doing their duty. Then if, in the event of war, they prove unfit to fight, at any rate they can be made to dig trenches and kitchen sinks, or do whatever else a debauch of indulgence in professional pacifism has left them fit to do. Both the professional pacifists and the professional hyphenated American need to be taught that it is not for them to decide the conditions under which they will fight. They will fight whoever the nation decides to fight, and whenever the nation deems a war necessary.

Camps like this are the best possible antidotes to hyphenated Americanism. The worst thing that could befall this country would be to have the American

nation become a tangle of jangling nationalities, a knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, and French-Americans. If divided in such fashion, we shall most certainly fall. We can stand as a nation only if we are genuinely united.

The events of the past year have shown us that in any crisis the hyphenated American is an active force against America, an active force for wrongdoing. The effort to hoist two flags on the same flagpole always means that one flag is hoisted underneath, and the hyphenated American invariably hoists the flag of the United States underneath. We must all be Americans and nothing else. You in this camp include men of every creed and every national origin—Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, men of English and Irish, German and French, Slavonic and Latin, and Scandinavian descent. But you are all Americans, and nothing else. You have only one nationality. You acknowledge but one country. You are loyal to only one flag.

There exists no finer body of American citizens in this country than those citizens of German birth or descent who are in good faith Americans and nothing else. We could create an entire national Administration, from the President down to the last Cabinet officer, every one of whose members would be of German blood and some of them of German birth, but all of them Americans and nothing else, all of them Americans of such a type that the men who feel as I do could heartily and without reserve support them in all our international relations. But the Americans of German blood who are of this type are not hyphenated Americans. They are not German-Americans. They are just plain Americans like the rest of us. The professional German-American has shown himself within the last twelve months to be an enemy to this country as well as to humanity. The recent exposures of the way in which these German-Americans have worked together with the emissaries of the German Government—often by direct corruption—against the integrity of American institutions and against America doing its international duty should arouse scornful

indignation in every American worth calling such. The leaders among the professional German-Americans have preached and practiced what comes perilously near to treason against the United States.

Under The Hague Convention it was our bounden duty to take whatever action was necessary to prevent and, if not to prevent, then to undo, the hideous wrong that was done to Belgium. We have shirked this duty. We have shown a spirit so abject that Germany has deemed it safe to kill our women and children on the high seas. As for the export of munitions of war, it would be a base abandonment of morality to refuse to make these shipments. Such a refusal is proposed only to favor the nation that sank the Lusitania and the Arabic and committed the crime against Belgium, the greatest international crime committed since the close of the Napoleonic contests a century ago. It is not a lofty thing, on the contrary it an evil thing, to practice a timid and selfish neutrality between right and wrong. It is wrong for an individual. It is still more wrong for a nation. But it is worse in the name of neutrality to favor the nation that has done evil.

As regards the export of munitions of war, the morality of the act depends upon the use to which the munitions are to be put. It was wrong to subjugate Belgium. It is wrong to keep her in subjugation. It is an utterly contemptible thing not to help in every possible way to undo this wrong. The manufacturers of cannon, rifles, cartridges, automobiles, or saddlery who refuse to ship them for use by the armies that are striving to restore Belgium to its own people should be put on a roll of dishonor.

Exactly the same morality should obtain internationally that obtains nationally. It is right for a private firm to furnish arms to the policeman who puts down the thug, the burglar, the white slaver, and the blackhand. It is wrong to furnish the blackhand, the burglar, and the white slaver with weapons to be used against the policeman. The analogy holds true in international life.

Germany has herself been the greatest

manufacturer of munitions of war to be supplied to belligerents. She supplied munitions to England to subjugate the Boers and to the Turk to keep the Christians in subjection. Let us furnish munitions to the men who, showing courage which we have not shown, wish to rescue Belgium from subjection and spoliation and degradation. And let us encourage munition makers, so that we may be able to hold our own when the hour of peril comes to us in our turn, as assuredly it will come if we show ourselves too "neutral" to speak a word on behalf of the weak who are wronged and too slothful and lazy to prepare to defend ourselves against wrong. Most assuredly it will come to us if we succeed in persuading great military nations that we are too proud to fight, that we are not prepared to undertake defensive war for our own vital interest and national honor.

Therefore, friends, let us shape our conduct as a nation in accordance with the highest rules of international morality. Let us treat others justly and keep the engagements we have made, such as those in The Hague Conventions, to secure just treatment for others. But let us remember that we shall be wholly unable to render service to others and wholly unable to fulfill the prime law of national being, the law of self-preservation, unless we are thoroughly prepared to hold our own. Let us show that a free democracy can defend itself successfully against any organized and aggressive military despotism. To do so we must prepare as a nation; and the men of this camp and the men responsible for starting this camp have shown our Government and our people the path along which we should tread.

German Suffragism and War

A correspondent of The Associated Press in Berlin notes that a woman Socialist discusses in the Vorwaerts of Berlin the view held by many of her sex in Germany that the war will bring German women nearer the goal of political equality. She says:

We warn the people of our party not to cherish too many hopes, and to remember that every privilege which has any value and brings us forward must be won. The war has perhaps brought us nearer to enfranchisement, in that the opponents of woman suffrage have been deprived of many of their most serviceable arguments, and, above all, because the least interested woman must clearly see how urgently women citizens need political influence, which they can exercise only through the vote. The bare fact that a war of such tremendous effect, such widespread dimensions, and such painful losses in every belligerent country could have come to pass must create in women—who are most deeply affected—a resolve to co-operate in the prevention of future wars.

After the war a struggle to bring about a readjustment of political power will recommence. Women will take part in it more than hitherto, because the war has taught them how much the State stands in need of their responsible co-operation.

Above all things, we must now follow and study attentively political events and economic and social measures, for this knowledge of what is occurring in public life gives us the right and the power to express our views and present our demands. Many of our party comrades have been killed and our ranks thinned. We women must, therefore, see to it that new partisans, sincere and unbending advocates of democracy and socialism, come to us. It must be our task to strengthen and consolidate the party, for nothing but the strengthening of democracy in Germany and the permeation of our whole political life with democratic ideas will bring us a lasting peace and woman suffrage.

Résumé of the Military Operations in Europe from Aug. 15 to Sept. 15, 1915

By Lieutenant Walter E. Ives

Formerly of the Royal Prussian Thirteenth Dragoons.

DURING the period of the European War covering the time from Aug. 15 to Sept. 15 the Russian theatre of operations continue to be of the same predominant importance which has characterized it ever since the beginning of May. The third week of August finds the victorious Germanic allies continuing their advance along the entire front, which they had reached at the close of our previous monthly résumé on Aug. 15.

The Austro-German armies, which were then closing in on the second Russian line of defense, extending from Brest-Litovsk to Kovno, advanced on a line forming a semi-circle, which stretched from Wladow over Radin-Siedlee-Malkin-Wiznita to Ossowetz. From Ossowetz the front extended in a northerly direction toward the region east of Wilki on the lower Niemen. The Russians' resistance along this entire front, though only of the character of rear guard actions, was vigorous. Their object was to gain the time necessary to establish their main armies behind the new defensive line, an abandonment of which was at that time hardly contemplated.

The protection of the Brest-Litovsk-Bialystok-Grodno Railroad was of prime importance for the holding of the new Russian front. Consequently the Russian resistance was the fiercest in the sector where the German advance had worked closer toward the important Russian railway than at any other point—between the Narew and Bug Rivers.

About Aug. 18 the incessant Russian counterattacks seemed—at least temporarily—to have arrested the German advance in the region of Zjechanowez and Mosowezk (forty miles west of Bielsk)

and south of the Bug, in the sector west and south of Bjela; the pace of the German advance was likewise slackened. At the same time the success of Field Marshal von Mackensen's right wing army, which in the third week of August forced the Bug crossing east of Cholm, and advanced on Kovel, was one primarily against the Russian troops in Galicia, whose communication with Kiev it threatened. For the operations against the Brest-Litovsk-Kovno line, however, (due to the lack of space for development in the Pripjet region) the achievement was only of secondary importance. Only in co-operation with an advance on Brest-Litovsk from the west, but never independently, could the movement on Kovel be a menace to Russia's greatest stronghold. North of the Narew the Ossowetz-Lipsk-Kalwaria-Wilki line had for months given sufficient proof of its formidableness barring the approach to the Niemen.

Thus, in the beginning of the third week of August the prospects of the Russians' holding the important Brest-Litovsk-Kovno line were not altogether bad.

The aspect of the situation, however, was entirely changed when on Aug. 17 Field Marshal von Hindenburg's sudden onslaught broke through the advanced fortifications of Kovno northeast and south of Wilki, and on the 18th stormed the powerful fortress.

The suddenness of this conquest came as a complete surprise to every one. That the Russian staff had not anticipated it is evidenced by the amount of prisoners and booty taken here in contrast to other points of strategic importance like Ivangorod or Warsaw, which were depleted of all materials of

war as soon as the futility of a defense was recognized.

The unforeseen fate of Kovno, then, must be considered responsible for upsetting the entire Russian plan of defense. A German advance east of the fortress threatened to roll up the second Russian line from the north even before it was occupied by the entirety of the forces designed to hold it, and demanded categorically the abandonment of the entire front.

In consequence of the now necessary further retirement of the main armies, the Russian rear guards had to be taken back more expeditiously, were they not to lose their conjunction with the former, and their resistance grew weaker. On Aug. 26 the German troops reached the Brest-Litovsk-Grodno line in the region of Bielsk, while other parts of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's army were approaching the Niemen on a front from Simno (west of Olita) to Novo Dor, (west of Grodno.)

Threatened on both flanks, the Russian salient remaining in the Ossowitz region must be rapidly withdrawn, and the fortress which had withstood for months all attempts at taking it by assault was abandoned on Aug. 22.

The retiring movement of the Russian armies between the lower Niemen and the lower Bug was followed by the retreat of the Czar's troops defending the approach to Brest-Litovsk from the west, south, and southeast. They were hard pressed by Mackensen's pursuing armies. By Aug. 23 the latter had fought their way to the sector east and south-east of Bjela; on the 25th, Austrian advance guards entered Kovel, and their cavalry began to swing northward, forcing their way through the difficult Pripjet region. The following day the Russians abandoned Brest-Litovsk. Its occupation by the Teutons was followed on the 27th by that of Bialystok and the storming of Olita.

Grodno was now the only stronghold of the second defensive line remaining in Russia's hands. Its abandonment, though, after the fall of Kovno and Brest-Litovsk, was a foregone conclusion. When the Germans entered the

fortress on Sept. 2, only a rear guard of about 5,000 men was captured, and the booty, as at Brest-Litovsk, was slight.

And so, Sept. 2 saw the entire formidable second Russian line of defense in German hands.

Of the numerous victories which had brought about this condition those of Kovel and Kovno are beyond doubt the outstanding features because of their immediate bearing on the German General Staff's next strategic aims.

To understand the logic of this deliberation is it necessary, first, to realize that with the capture of Kovel the Russian armies north and south of the Kovel-Kiev Railroad became two separate units, against which the German advance could strike separately. It is, therefore, wrong to regard the third Russian line of defense as one connected front running from Riga to Rovno. The line actually ends in the region of Luninez, (east of Pinsk,) and so the extreme left wing of the Russian northern army rests on the marshes along the northern bank of the Pripjet. The extreme right wing of the Russian southern army leans on the Kovel-Kiev Railroad to the west of Sarny. The only road remaining to connect the two separated army groups between Sarny and Luninez is hemmed in closely by marshes on both sides and quite inadequate to maintain an effective communication—the capture of Kovel virtually has broken the Russian battle line in two.

Secondly, the capture of Kovno, aside from rendering the Russian second line of defense untenable, gave to the German left wing in the Baltic provinces a point of vantage greatly needed for the successful pursuance of its operations. Kovno is strategically and geographically the best suited point of vantage from which to strike the first blow at the Riga-Luninez line in the sector of Wilna, just as Kovel is an ideal base of operations from which to make the decisive thrust at Russia's armies in the south. Both are similarly fit to lend vigorous support to the German strategy, which in either instance consists of an attempt at bending back or breaking the right wing of either Russian battle line, and at rolling it up from the north. In case of success this

means the cutting off of the northern armies from Petrograd and Moscow and of the Russian troops in the south from Kief and Karkow.

Recognizing the danger threatening his northern army from the German operations in Courland, Grand Duke Nicholas had already late in July begun to push northward all available reserves for the extension and strengthening of his extreme right wing between Riga, Ponewjesh, and Kovno, and up to the middle of August, while gradually giving way on the entire front south of the lower Niemen, he succeeded in holding his line in the Baltic provinces—at times even in assuming an effective counteroffensive. While his new reinforcements thus protected the right wing of his northern army, his southern battle line seemed adequately secured in its right flank by the fortress triangle of Dubno, Luzk, and Rovno.

Toward the middle and end of August the Teutons began to shift great reinforcements toward their left wing in the Baltic provinces, to overcome those which had been sent to the same field of action by the enemy, while they continued at the same time to force their way across the Niemen north and south of Olita, in co-operation with and support of the more vigorous operations of the left-wing armies. On Sept. 3 the latter threw the Slavs back to the Duna River south of Riga and captured the bridgehead at Lennewaden. On the following day the bridgehead at Friedrichstadt was taken and the west shore of the river between both towns cleared of the Russians. Meanwhile slow but steady progress was being made east of Kovno along the Kovno-Wilna Railroad, and by Sept. 3 the advance reached the region of Kernowa and the Novo-Troki Lakes, about eighteen miles northwest and southwest of Widna.

On this line the Russians again put up a most vigorous defensive of the city. South of the Novo-Troki Lakes on a line from there to the vicinity of Orany the Germans likewise were met with fierce resistance, which, by Sept. 14, had not been entirely overcome. South of Orany, however, the German advance remained

unchecked. On Sept. 9 a crossing of the Kotra River was forced and the town of Skidel taken on the 11th, while Walkowysk, the most important railroad junction between the Russian second and third line of defense, was captured as early as Sept. 8. South of the Bialystok-Slonim Railroad Prince Leopold's Bavarian troops, supported by several Austrian army corps, advanced in close co-operation with Field Marshal von Hindenburg's armies, and by Sept. 13 had forced their way to the region east and northeast of Rossany and Kossowa, while the army group of Field Marshal von Mackensen by that time had forced a crossing of the Jassjolda River between Solez and Chomsk, and was advancing on Pinsk and Luninez from the northwest and west.

In spite of this steady Teutonic progress east of the Brest-Litovsk-Olita line, the success against the third Russian line of defense by a frontal attack on its lap from Luninez to Wilna was by no means assured so long as the German left wing north of the Orany sector was held in check and its extreme end could not follow up its gains at Lennawaden and Friedrichstadt by either forcing the Duna River or cutting the Petrograd Railroad southwest of Dunaburg. The enormously difficult topographical conditions of the country in which the German attacks were being directed greatly favored the defenders, and awakened in them perhaps not unfounded hopes that by the time the German battle front should reach the Wilna-Luninez position, the Teutons would be in a state of exhaustion and unable to break through it.

All such hopes, however, were shattered when on Sept. 12 and 13 Field Marshal von Hindenburg with his left wing armies suddenly launched one of his characteristic drives which succeeded in smashing the strong Russian lines northwest of Wilna, and in reaching the all-important Wilna-Dunaburg Railroad northeast of the city. At the same time a second similar drive further north rolled back the Russian lines in the vicinity of Jacobstadt.

The assumption, therefore, is that, un-

less the grip which the Germans have finally gained on the main Russian bread line to Petrograd northeast of Wilna can be speedily loosened by an effective Russian counterattack from the region of Wilna, the third Russian line of defense is doomed.

The situation of the Russian southern army at the end of the second week of September is not less precarious. On Aug. 29, under the pressure of the Teutonic advance from Kovel, a co-operating sudden offensive of the Austrian armies on the Bug, (east of Brody,) the Russian front northeast and southeast of Waladimir-Wolinsk, and along the Bug and Zlota Lipa in Galicia was forced to retire to new positions on the Styr and Sereth Rivers. Continuing their advance the Austrians on Sept. 1 carried the Styr line north and south of Luzk and captured the fortress on the following morning. On Sept. 8 Dubno fell before their advance from Brody, and by Sept. 14 the Austrian battle lines converged in the neighborhood of Rovno from the northwest and southwest. Further north the region of Kolki and Derashno had then been reached, and the attacks from there were reported to make progress in the direction of Sarny.

In view of the danger to the Russian line in Galicia in case of the not improbable capture of Rovno and Sarny, it is hard to see the object of the Russians' stubborn counteroffensive which began on Sept. 6 west and southwest of Tarnopol. To hold the southern wing of their opponents in Galicia while their right wing east and northeast of Brody was being turned, and, perhaps, even to permit it to advance slightly, is exactly what the Austro-German strategy is striving to do. Unless the Russians can support their east Galician offense by successful co-operative attacks west and northwest of Rovno, and unless they feel strong enough to start a general westward movement with all their southern armies, vigorous enough to affect the strategy of the German northern armies (north of the Pripjet marshes), the Russian offensive in East Galicia can accomplish little to extricate the

Czar's forces from their desperate situation, which it might easily render worse.

On the western front the only event breaking the monotony of constant artillery duels which has attracted attention during the last four weeks was another vigorous attack by the German Crown Prince in the Argonne on Sept. 8 and 9.

Since his offensive was launched northeast of Vienne le Château, due west of the Four de Paris-Varennes line, which had been pushed forward by a similar surprise attack early in August, it is evident that the Crown Prince's object was to straighten the bend of his front north of Vienne le Château and bring it on the same level with his Four de Paris-Varennes line. In this he has succeeded, taking thereby 38 officers, 2,000 men, one heavy gun, 49 machine guns, and 64 mine throwers—considerable booty in view of the conditions now prevailing on the west front.

Nevertheless the success was merely tactical. It has not tightened the grip on Verdun to an extent which would give justification to call it a strategic advantage.

All along the rest of the entire western front the deadlock continued during the preceding month.

On the Italian front the same period has likewise brought no changes of any importance. After the failure of the second big Italian offensive which, in the first part of August, as mentioned in the review in *CURRENT HISTORY* for September, had been directed chiefly against the upper Isonzo in the region of Tolmino, a second regrouping of the Italian armies took place. Toward the end of August, while the attacks on the Isonzo front were losing their intensity, the principal offense was shifted to the Tyrolese field of action, and the attempt made to take Rovereto through a sudden rapid advance along the northeast shore of Lake Garda. At the same time Rovereto was threatened to be cut off from Trent by a vigorous offensive through Val Sugana. Rovereto would form an excellent base of attack against Trent, and its capture would be at least an achievement of some military value for which the

Italian people have been longing since their entrance into the war. In the first week of September rumors to the effect that the Austrians had abandoned Rovereto were plentiful, but were not confirmed.

In the Dardanelles the advantage of the last four weeks of fighting remains with the Turks. By Aug 20 it was established that the landing of the fresh expeditionary force in the Anafarta region by the British from which much had been hoped, had failed to make any impression on the Turkish positions, and that the Allies' enormous losses were out of all proportion with any possible achievement.

Subsequent attacks on the Turkish positions in the latter part of August were likewise unsuccessful, and in the

first part of September vigorous Turkish counteroffensives near Sedd-el-Bahr, at Avi Burnu, and notably in the Anafarta sector gained territory from the Franco-British troops for whom, in view of the very limited area they are holding, loss of ground is a serious matter.

Engagements which have occurred since Aug. 15 in the Caucasian and Serbian theatres of war have had the character of skirmishes. In the former field of action fighting has centred with alternate success around Olti, near Tewa, and in the Van region. Along the Serbian front desultory artillery engagements have taken place near Orachatz and Drenutz on the Save River. Both the Caucasian and Serbian seats of war, however, will in all likelihood come into greater prominence in the near future.

The Motor Scout

By O. C. A. CHILD.

I'm off for a run in the rain tonight
On the pitch black roads where the holes are hid—
Where I've got to ride like a fiend in flight,
And the cursed old wheel is just bound to skid.

It's a chancey thing, but they're short of shell
And the guns won't wait to be fed till day,
But what is one life in this wholesale hell?
A ha'pence of change in the price we pay!

Say, that was a rut for my life, right there!
A slip is a fall at this frightful speed,
But it's make or break and no time to spare,
To look to my way, with the guns in need.

'Twas the Captain told me we hold this road!
Well, I hope to Heaven the old man knew.
Was that a spiked helmet the match flare showed?
Then it's speed, more speed, and I'll see it through!

A shot!—and another!—the hiss of lead!
Those Germans are shooting with right good will!
And heavens above!—there's that hill ahead,
And I've got to rush it and risk a spill!
* * * * *

'Twas a gear that broke and my skull's broke, too!
This is the last of my midnight runs.
Ah, how I wanted to put it through!

Germanic Empires on Basis of



How the Teutonic empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary would be bounded if an armistice should be declared on the basis of foreign territory occupied and held by their military forces on Sept. 15, 1915, is indicated in the map shown above. The heavy black line bounding the hypothetical empires comprehends the battle fronts

Present Conquered Territory



east, west, north, and south. Dotted lines indicate the present political boundaries of the European countries, which with respect to Germany and Austria-Hungary run outside the heavy black line only slightly in Alsace, east of France, along the Italo-Austrian frontier, and in Galicia east of Lemberg.

Russia's Fresh Resolution

Czar Succeeds the Grand Duke Nicholas. Imperial Commander in Chief Begins a New Phase of Struggle With the Teuton Powers

Announcement was made in Petrograd on Sept. 8, 1915, that Grand Duke Nicholas had been relieved of his position as Commander in Chief of Russia's land and sea forces, and appointed Viceroy of the Caucasus and Commander in Chief of the army on the southern front. This action was taken by the Emperor on assuming himself the supreme command. The Grand Duke displaced the famous Viceroy of the Caucasus, Count von Vorontzoff-Dashkoff. In relieving the Grand Duke, the Emperor addressed a communication to him which read as follows:

AT the beginning of the war I was unavoidably prevented from following the inclination of my soul to put myself at the head of the army. That was why I intrusted you with the Commandership in Chief of all the land and sea forces.

Under the eyes of all Russia your Imperial Highness has given proof during the war of a steadfast bravery which has caused a feeling of profound confidence and called forth the sincere wishes of all who followed your operations through the inevitable vicissitudes of war.

My duty to my country, which has been intrusted to me by God, impels me today, when the enemy has penetrated into the interior of the empire, to take supreme command of the active forces and to share with the army the fatigue of war and to safeguard with it Russian soil from attempts of the enemy. The ways of Providence are inscrutable, but my duty and my desire determine me in my resolution for the good of the State.

The invasion of the enemy on the western front, which necessitates the greatest possible concentration of civil

and military authorities as well as the unification of command in the field, has turned our attention from the southern front. At this moment I recognize the necessity of your assistance and counsels on the southern front, and I appoint you Viceroy of the Caucasus and Commander in Chief of the valiant Caucasian army.

I express to your Imperial Highness my profound gratitude and that of the country for your labors during the war.

The change in supreme command of the army came as a surprise to the general public, although it had been rumored for several days in army circles.

The Novoe Vremya interpreted the new military régime in Russia as follows:

Our insolent foe has now received a worthy answer to his projects. The Russian Emperor has placed himself at the head of the military forces, and hopes of the Germans for peace are turned to dust and ashes.

For more than a year the chief command of our army has been vested in Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch, whose name will forever remain graven in the heart of every Russian soldier.

The text of an order of the day issued by Grand Duke Nicholas transferring command of the Russian armies to the Emperor was forwarded by the Petrograd correspondent of the Havas News Agency, as follows:

Valiant Army and Fleet: Today your August Supreme Chief, his Majesty the Emperor, places himself at your head. I bow before our heroism of more than a year, and express to you my cordial, warm, and sincere appreciation.

I believe steadfastly that because the Emperor himself, to whom you have

taken your oath, conducts you, you will display achievements hitherto unknown. I believe that God from this day will accord to His elect His all-powerful aid, and will bring to him victory.

(Signed) NICHOLAS,
General Aide de Camp.

In a message to President Poincaré, dated Sept. 6, 1915, Emperor Nicholas announced that he had placed himself in command of all the Russian armies. It follows:

In placing myself today* at the head of my valiant armies, I have in my heart, Monsieur President, the most sincere wishes for the greatness of France and the victory of her glorious army.

NICHOLAS.

President Poincaré sent the following response:

I know that your Majesty, in taking command of your heroic armies, intends to continue energetically until final victory the war which has been imposed upon the allied nations. I address to your Majesty in the name of France my most cordial wishes.

RAYMOND POINCARE.

Away down on the list stands the name of the Czar's second cousin, the Grand Duke Nicholas Michailvitch, and the designation:

"Aide de Camp to his Majesty the Emperor and Commander in Chief of the Field Army, during the war of 1914."

The Grand Duke Nicholas has received no censure from military critics, either of the Allies or neutral nations, although those of the latter have deplored the Rus-

sian lack of preparation in trained men and munitions—subjects with which the Grand Duke as "Commander in Chief of the Field Army" had nothing to do. His business has been to win victories, or, when these were impossible, to extricate his forces with the minimum loss. His successful retreats have caused English, French, and American experts to designate him a genius in that department of strategy—his tactics had to depend upon the material furnished him.

From the beginning of the war, however, there has been dissatisfaction among the lower classes of Russia that the "Little Father" was not leading his armies in person. It is a tradition among the Russian people that he should do so, and this tradition does not take into account the Czar's status as a military man. His Majesty's father, Alexander III., although a pacifist always intimated his readiness to lead his armies should the occasion arise. His uncle, Alexander II., for a time personally conducted the Russian arms in the Balkans in 1876-7, and his grandfather, Nicholas I., received his military training at the hands of von Lambsdorff, and commanded personally the Russian troops on several Napoleonic battlefields. And it was Nicholas I.'s elder brother, Alexander I., who planned and personally conducted the famous retreat of 1812 which brought disaster to Napoleon.

Presiding on Sept. 4, 1915, at the first meeting in Petrograd of a special conference having for its object the discussion of measures to be taken for national defense, the Emperor declared that Russia would continue the war until complete victory had been achieved. He said:

The question before the conference is of the gravest importance. It concerns the more speedy equipment of the army with munitions, which is the one object for which our valiant troops wait in order to stop foreign invasion and bring success once more to our arms. Parliament has given me, resolutely and without the least hesitation, the only reply worthy of Russia—a reply which I expected from it, namely, war until victory is complete.

I doubt not that this is the voice of the

*Czar Nicholas's message announcing that his Majesty has placed himself at "the head of my valiant armies" is likely to have less effect on the active General Staffs of the various nations engaged than it will on the executive part of Russia's military establishment and the people at large. With the Czar's known lack of military training, persons who know Russian bureaucracy and the mind of the people say that it can be nothing more than a political and sentimental expediency, which, however, is likely to be productive of practical results.

Like the Executive head of any State, the Czar is not only nominally but actually the head of the forces of the empire. His title is "Head of the Army, his Majesty the Emperor." Then follow the Princes and nobles of the realm who go to make up the Czar's military household, many of whom have, in addition, commands in the field, but few of whose names have appeared in the records of the present campaign.

whole Russian nation. Nevertheless, the great resolution we have taken implies the greatest intensity of effort on our part. This thought has become universal, but it is necessary to put it into action without delay, and it is the precise way in which this is to be done that should occupy our conferences.

This conference has brought together in the common work of solidarity the Government, delegates of Parliament, and delegates from public institutions and our industries; in a word, the representatives of all business in Russia have intrusted you with complete confidence, with powers of an exceptional extent. I shall always follow with the most profound attention your labors, and will take a personal part in them if necessary.

We have a great task before us; we shall concentrate upon it all the human effort of the country. Let us leave aside for the moment every other preoccupation, however grave; and even if it should concern the State, so long as it does not essentially affect the present time, nothing must distract our thoughts, our will, and our strength from what is now our single goal, which is to drive the enemy from our borders.

With this end in view, we must make certain of the complete military equipment of our active army and other troops called to the colors. This task is now intrusted to you, gentlemen. I know that you will devote all your strength and all your love for the Fatherland to its accomplishment. Set to work with the help of God.

Russia's New Counteroffensive

Almost simultaneously with the announcement that the Emperor had personally displaced Grand Duke Nicholas as Commander of the Russian forces and transferred him to the Caucasus, the fighting along the eastern frontier, despite the beginning of the Autumn rains, was resumed with the intensity which characterized it throughout the Summer. The new fighting started with a Russian victory. The official report from Petrograd on Sept. 8, 1915, said:

IN Galicia, near Tarnopol, yesterday we achieved a great success against the Germans. The German Third Guard Division and the Forty-eighth Reserve Division, reinforced by an Austrian brigade, with great quantities of heavy and light artillery, according to statements made by prisoners, had been preparing for several days for a decisive attack. This was fixed for the night of Tuesday-Wednesday. Forestalling the enemy our troops took the offensive, and, after a stubborn fight on the Roljonka, the Germans were completely defeated on Tuesday evening.

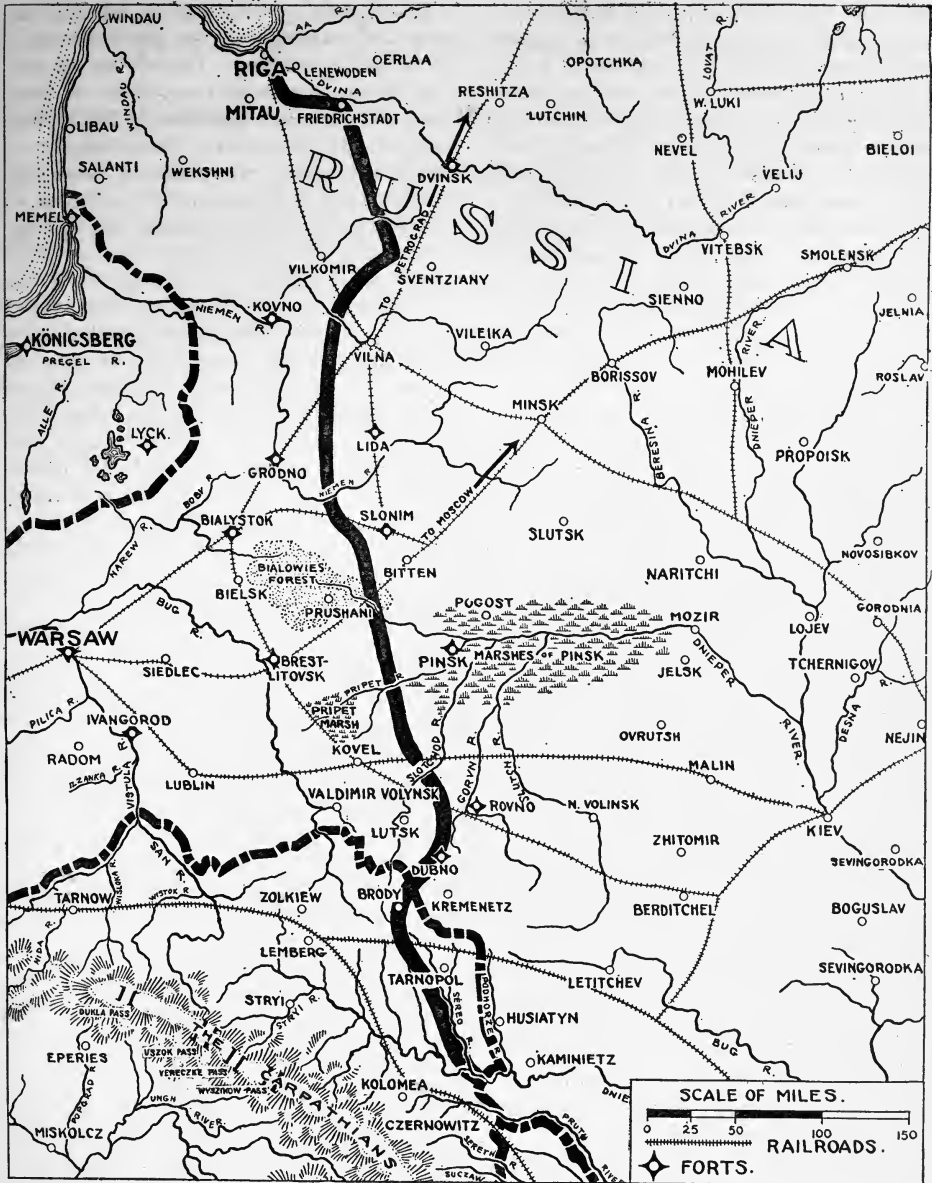
At the end of the engagement the enemy developed an artillery fire of most extraordinary intensity. Only

the impossibility of replying with the same weight of metal prevented us from further developing the success we had obtained. The Germans, besides suffering enormous losses in killed and wounded, left as prisoners in our hands more than 200 officers and 8,000 men. We captured thirty guns, fourteen of which were of heavy calibre; many machine guns, gun limbers, and other booty.

After a brief pursuit our troops occupied their former positions on the River Sereth. The Emperor, having received a report of the defeat inflicted upon the enemy, sent an order to express to his valorous troops his joy and thankfulness for their success and the heavy losses inflicted on the enemy.

The German official reports contradicted this account of a great Russian success near Tarnopol and Trembowia, but on Sept. 13 the following dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph Company from Amsterdam said:

Emperor William has dismissed General von Kluege, Commander of the Eighth Division, who was held responsible for the Austro-German check by the Russians on the Sereth River in East



Germanic war area in the East, showing the battle line on Sept. 15, 1915.

Galicia. General Kluege, according to the German newspapers, retired from the service at his own request and with a pension.

The Petrograd official statement of Sept. 13 reiterated the earlier report, as follows:

The Austrians and Germans have been

dashing from one side to the other in an effort to strike a decisive blow. The German official statement of Sept. 9 contradicts the statement made in our communication of Sept. 8 that we made numerous prisoners and captured thirty guns and machine guns.

The Great General Staff considers it

its duty to explain that it always has endeavored within the limits of human power and the rules of military art to present each event in its reality, avoiding any trace of partiality. Mistakes always are possible in conditions of excitement, and occasionally of uncertainty, which accompany military action. Therefore, desiring to establish with certainty our great success near Tarnopol and Trembowia, which already is proved by the action of our troops, the Great General Staff postpones its definite reply regarding the trophies taken until it has received precise reports from the corps engaged.

The report of one of the armies engaged on the 8th says that of the guns captured from the enemy we already have succeeded in taking within our lines six ten-centimeter guns and six fifteen-centimeter guns. The clearness of this document alone makes it impossible to doubt our success.

Reports from the Commander in Chief on the corresponding front, dated Sept. 7, state that this stroke was planned beforehand by the army commander concerned as the result of information supplied by scouts. This, therefore, refutes the charge that we made a false report regarding the most important event which has occurred recently in the ranks of the Russian Army.

While the German drive toward Dvinsk goes forward unchecked, according to the Berlin official statement issued on Sept. 14, and Field Marshal von Hindenburg's army had taken 5,200 prisoners in the encounters of the past twenty-four hours and forged ahead to within about thirty miles of the Dvinsk fortress, the Russians had not only continued their successes in Galicia, where they were pressing the Austrians back, but had assumed the offensive in South Russia. The communication issued by the War Office at Petrograd on Sept. 14 said:

The German pressure in the regions of Lake Pikstern and Sanken and the village of Rakiszki, west of the line of Jacobstadt-Dvinsk, continues.

In the region of the railway station at Podbrodze repeated enemy attacks have been repulsed. West of Podbrodze Ger-

man attacks in the region of Mischo-gola are characterized by great intensity.

On the front from the region of Orany to the region of the village of Kossovo the enemy continues his prudent advance in an easterly direction.

More serious engagements have occurred in the region of the villages of Mosty and Czernica, west of Slonim. South of the River Pina the enemy's cavalry fell back to the region at the confluence of the Rivers Touria and Pripjet. Near Zwizdje, in the region of Derajno, we have successfully crossed the Goryn River and made progress fighting, capturing an entire Austrian battalion. In the regions of Derajno and Klevan the enemy assumed the offensive, which we checked. By an energetic counterattack we then advanced to the region west of Klevan, where in fights near the village of Oaeszwa we took over 1,300 prisoners.

Yesterday the Russians in the region west of Wysznewec repulsed the enemy from Rydomel and the adjacent neighborhood. The enemy, hurriedly retreating here, sustained great losses and was driven out of Ostoka Village. Up to the present the number of prisoners counted is 20 officers and 2,000 men.

Our fire checked attempts of the enemy, who in order to arrest our offensive made a counterattack in the region of the Villages of Gontow and Dykowec, southwest of Wszyzenewec. We captured here also about 140 officers and 7,500 men, one heavy and six light guns, four caissons, twenty-six machine guns, and much booty.

In Galicia we are pursuing the retreating enemy in a westerly direction from the front of the Sereth River. Violent engagements have occurred in the regions of the Villages of Gliadka, Cedrow, and Juzephowka, west of Tarnopol, and also near the Village of Dzwiniacz, in the region of Zaleszcziki.

In engagements in the region of Juzephowka and Dzwiniacz in the course of Sunday we captured over 2,700 soldiers and 35 officers and four machine guns.

From Aug. 30 to Sept. 12 the number of Austro-German prisoners taken by us has exceeded 40,000.

Russia's Fortresses Fallen

German Official Accounts of the Victorious Drive Beyond Warsaw

THE CAPTURE OF KOVNO

The following from the German Great Headquarters appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 23, 1915:

SINCE the 17th of August the main defensive work of the Niemen line, Kovno, a fortress of the first rank, is in our hands. As early as July the extensive forests lying to the west of the fortress were cleared of the enemy, and opportunities thus created for the construction of effective roads of approach and for the necessary work of acquiring information.

On the 6th of August began the attack on the fortress. After bold advances by the infantry had gained observation stations for the artillery and the installation of the guns, a very difficult matter in the pathless forest country, had succeeded, we were able, on the 8th of August, to open fire with the artillery. While this was taking the advanced positions and also the permanent works of the fortress under an overwhelming fire, infantry and pioneers worked their way forward irresistibly in hotly contested battles lasting night and day. No less than eight advanced works had been taken by storm by the 15th of August. Each of these was a fortress in itself, constructed in months of work with the employment of every means at the disposal of the art of engineering and with an immense expenditure in money and human labor. Exceedingly strong counterattacks of the Russians against the front and the south flank of the attacking troops were repeatedly repelled, with heavy losses to the enemy.

On the 16th of August the attack was carried forward close to the line of permanent fortifications. By artillery fire raised to the highest degree of intensity, and brilliantly directed with the help of observations from balloons and

aeroplanes, the defenders of the forts, of the connecting lines and intermediate batteries, were so shaken and the works themselves damaged to such an extent that the assault could be initiated. Pressing forward irresistibly the infantry first broke through Fort 2 and then swinging toward its throat [connection to the rear] and rolling up the front stormed in both directions the entire line of forts between the Jezia and the Niemen.

Our artillery, which had been quickly brought up, now undertook at once the reduction of the main defenses of the west front and after their fall, on the 17th of August, attacked the enemy's forces retreating on the east bank of the Niemen. Under the protection of the artillery brought close to the Niemen the river was crossed under the hostile fire, at first by several small detachments and then by stronger forces. Soon, thereafter, we succeeded in getting across two bridges to replace those destroyed by the enemy. In the course of the 17th of August fell the forts of the north front, which had already been attacked from the north, also the eastern, and finally the entire southern front.

In addition to more than 20,000 prisoners, we captured an incalculable amount of booty, more than 600 guns, including a large number of the heaviest calibre and most modern construction; great masses of ammunition, numberless machine guns, searchlights, war material of all sorts, automobiles, automobile tires, and provisions running into the millions in value. Because of the great extent of this modern fortress, the complete accounting of the booty naturally is the work of many days; it is growing from hour to hour. Hundreds of Russian recruits were picked up in the city after it was vacated by the enemy. According to their reports, some 15,000 weaponless

reserve troops had escaped from the city at the last moment in hasty flight.

In addition to the desperate counter-attacks of the Russians, which again set in from the south after the fall of the fortress, and were, as before, without result, the conditions are evidence of the fact that the Russian command had considered the quick fall of this strongest of the Russian fortresses outside the realm of the possible. What high value the Russians put on the possession of this fortress is proved, in addition to the fact of its very strong construction and its extraordinarily heavy equipment with artillery, by this, that the resistance of that part of the garrison which was not shut in was continued to the very last moment and that a number of prisoners, relatively very great under these circumstances, fell into our hands.

CROSSING THE VISTULA

From the German Great-Headquarters the Frankfurter Zeitung published the following on Aug. 24:

In their retreat in the second half of July from Western Poland the Russians found a strong shelter in the Fortresses Ivangorod and Warsaw, and in the Vistula line connecting them. A halt was for the time being given to the German troops pressing on behind them. It was necessary that this halt should not last long, in order to take from the enemy the possibility of transferring the masses of his troops, which had retired behind the Vistula to another point against one of our army groups on the wings.

An attack on Ivangorod could not bring a swift success in this sense, for the special distinction of this fortress was just this, that its defender could get along with small forces. The command of the army, therefore, decided upon forcing the Vistula crossing to the north of Ivangorod, in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Radomka. For the execution of this project the German troops of the army group of General von Woyrsch were selected. These had been standing opposite Ivangorod. They, therefore, had to be moved considerably toward the north. Such a

transfer to one side of large bodies of troops makes high demands on all divisions of the command. The march to the left in this case was particularly difficult, because it had to be accomplished quickly, and the crossing of the stream had to follow at once, since otherwise surprise of the enemy could not be counted upon. Surprise was the essential thing. In it lay the hope of success.

All precautions that could be thought of for keeping the move secret were taken. All the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the crossings had to leave their villages, of which, as a matter of fact, the Russians had not left very much behind. The greater part had been sacrificed to systematic burning. Careful search was made for hidden telephone connections of the enemy, without any results however, so that the leaders were never without anxiety that the Russians would in spite of all get knowledge of the enterprise.

The Army Command Woyrsch had provided General of Cavalry Baron von König, leader of the Landwehr Corps, with instructions, had turned over to him the execution of the operation of crossing and provided him with the necessary means, especially numerous bridge-building outfits, including some from our allies. These did excellent work under the leadership of Colonel of Pioneers Mischek, of the Austro-Hungarian Army.

On the evening of July 28th preparations were complete, namely, acquisition of knowledge of the approaches for pontoons for the ten places selected for crossing, (chosen in several groups at considerable distances one from the other, so that if the crossing did not succeed at one place it would be carried out at another,) and placing in readiness of the infantry and artillery, so that these could quickly reach their crossing points without interfering with one another's lines of approach. Conferences had been held at the headquarters of the leader, of the higher pioneer and artillery officers, and everything was arranged down to the smallest detail.

On the 29th of July at 1:30 A. M. the troops were to reach the shore of the Vistula at all points in order at once to be able to begin the crossing. The Vistula in this region has an average breadth of 1,000 metres. Numerous sand banks lie in it, so that there was danger of the pontoons running aground. What were the positions of the enemy behind the river, in what strength he stood and how his forces were divided, was quite unknown to us. It was necessary to strike into the dark. It will be easy, therefore, to appreciate the tension of the situation. In the case of a battle under ordinary circumstances the strain is developed gradually in correspondence to the slowly nearing decision. In crossing a river the action begins with the very highest tension. A bare half hour must bring the decision. It is a "to be or not to be." Either the opposite shore is attained and held or the troops in crossing receive such a fire that they cannot get over, or—and this is worse—the enemy, being in too great strength throws such of the troops as have crossed first, and naturally are only in small force, back into the river, which is equivalent to annihilation. This easily comprehensible tension was still further increased by the darkness of the night and the absence of any of the noise of battle, the absolute silence, which preceded the move.

At 1:30 A. M. the troops everywhere break out from their last lines of cover on the shore. With the exertion of all available strength the heavy pontoons are quickly brought forward. Now the water is reached. Now they push off. Still everything is quiet, a good sign—1:45. Suddenly heavy artillery fire sets in. At one point then the enemy's attention has been attracted. At his first shots our artillery, standing in readiness, has taken up the fire against the hostile shore, thereby giving effective fire protection to the infantry which is still engaged in crossing.

Finally the tension relaxes. The first report comes in. Now the pontoons re-

turn; the first organizations are across. Everybody breathes more lightly. Now we are across. And where the Army Group Woyrsch has once taken footing it holds on! Now we are across. This thought returns again and again, grows stronger with every new report that another battalion has crossed. It has grown light. Our artillery now speaks decisively in the fight which is to break the last resistance of the surprised enemy.

The first 200 prisoners are reported. All goes well. But an unexpectedly heavy fight still lies before us. We did indeed surprise the enemy's protecting troops close to the shore. But it still remains to defeat the reserves further to the rear. How dangerous the enemy considers our breaking through his river barrier which he had considered impregnable was soon recognized. From Ivangorod, Warsaw, and Lublin he gathered more and more troops in order to throw us back. Superior in numbers though the enemy was, he nevertheless had to be attacked, for the bridgehead had to be extended so that the points where we began the building of bridges would be safe against the hostile fire.

After battles lasting for days the possession of the bridgehead is fully assured, the enemy thrown back from position to position, his power of attack broken!

In the meantime the Austro-Hungarian troops of this army standing under the command of General of Infantry von Koevess had won a great success before Ivangorod. They had broken through this strongly constructed and obstinately defended fortress position and taken from the enemy fleeing to the eastern shore 2,300 prisoners and thirty-two guns.

But the greatest satisfaction fell to the troops of this army when it became known that the day following the Vistula crossing the Russians had begun the gradual evacuation of Ivangorod and were about to give up the Blonie line protecting Warsaw and the Lublin position. Thus the conquest of the Vistula exercised a great influence on distant sections of the front.

German Praise of Russian Fighting

The subjoined article appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 15, 1915, as written by that newspaper's correspondent on the eastern front, Dr. Fritz Wertheimer, and was headed "Fighting in the Swamp Lands (on the Swinka) between the Wieprz and the Bug."

THE Russians give ground while resisting strongly. The pressure from the north, west, and south exerted on the masses of their troops still standing before the Bug, and which is gradually forcing them into a narrower space, has certain advantages for them, such as better opportunities for the bringing up of reserves and heavier employment of artillery. Thus, the Siberian Army Corps, which suffered fearful losses before the Wieprz through the destructive fire of our artillery, would now be relieved by fresh troops, and we observed artillery with the Russians in such masses and with such a wealth of ammunition as we had not experienced since the beginning of the Russian campaign. For the space occupied by a single one of our divisions nine heavy and two light batteries were employed, which never seemed to be lacking in ammunition, and since the Russians are continually being thrown further back, and thus get nearer to their sources of supply, this relative advantage is all the time becoming more effective.

Moreover, they know this difficult country and the few existing roads extremely well. They understand splendidly how to arrange small ambushes, letting a company work itself forward in the swamp grass of the forest in order to take it in the flank, or to attempt to surround it. Their machine guns are very skillfully placed and intentionally keep silence in order to work the more surprisingly and effectively in the twilight or at night, when the German attack takes place. Their trenches are constructed in many rows, one behind the other, at every point where there is a spot of dry ground. They have no single unified and closed front line, but have divided their forces upon several independent points of support. This makes it necessary for us in attacking to advance with a considerable division of our forces and in many directions.

Naturally this considerably increases the difficulty of attaining the aim of our leaders to keep their troops as much as possible acting as a unified whole.

At every moment the formation of the battle changes, here suddenly appears a dangerous gap which must be filled up, over there care must be had that the artillery does not put its own troops under fire. And when after heavy exertions the troop believes, in the evening, that it has got to the point where it can dig itself in, hostile attacks against the adjoining regiment, or the next division may make new shifts necessary, with difficult night marches through the swamps, or even new attacks to forestall those of the enemy. All this takes place under the hail of hostile shrapnel. Then suddenly the Russian frees himself from the enemy. In the meantime he has taken back his artillery as far as he can, and has occupied new advantageous positions, has drawn his ditches across roads and paths, has felled trees, so that in falling they lie crosswise and block the way, and has covered his retreat with a lively fire by his rear guards.

After some three or four kilometers, he again makes a halt. A hill, the course of a river, appear favorable to his defense, have perhaps been selected already beforehand and prepared. These are now occupied and consolidated. Carefully our patrols push forward and feel for the enemy. Again it takes a day or two till we have worked our way up and can seize the Russian.

Continually small attacks occur in which the enemy, because of his exact knowledge of the ground, which he has but just occupied, has a considerable advantage. His sharpshooters sit in high trees, before his trenches is the water of the swamps. Small streams, insignificant in themselves, such as the Mogilnica and the Swinka, thus become strong obstacles and cost blood and time.

The following by Dr. Wertheimer appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 20, 1915, discussing operations between Wieprz and Bug on Aug. 9: °

The fighting in these days is all alike in respect to the obstinate resistance of the Russians. * * * The Russian artillery has guns enough, of heavy calibre too, and uses them liberally against our infantry, but always at such a safe distance that our heavy artillery never can reach them. The Russian always takes his artillery back in time so that he may not lose any of his valuable material. His infantry does excellent work in the preparation of defensive works which may already be in existence, and in the quick development of new ones. While there may be gaps between them, yet small knolls and hills or strips of forest are strongly arranged as flanking positions, so that even here progress is difficult.

The Russians hold out well in their positions in spite of our artillery fire; and even when they have vacated a

trench during our artillery preparations, they have come back when the infantry attack began and defended themselves desperately. Thus it is always two or three days before our tireless troops succeed in taking the advance positions and work their way in for the last assault. The Russian then frequently does not await the storm, removes his material during the night and withdraws several kilometers to the rear where he takes up positions prepared in the meantime. In this kind of retreat, our opponent has gradually acquired very considerable skill. In accomplishing it, he always suffers very sanguinary losses through our well directed artillery fire; but what are men to him? Although he loses ground it is but slowly, so that it never becomes a catastrophe for him. The booty which he is compelled to leave to the enemy is on the whole, small. Of course, his own equipment is no longer so abundant as of old. Even in positions taken by storm, there is not so much infantry ammunition lying about as formerly.

Russian Praise of German Methods

The following appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 17, 1915, giving a Russian view of German methods on the advance through Courland:

It is one of the most entertaining phenomena of these dark war times that in hostile countries they charge us with a lack of originality and then straightway know of nothing better to do than to copy from us from A to Z. Thus there appeared a few days ago a long article in the great Russian liberal paper, *Russkoe Slovo*, concerning "German Methods of Modern War," which once again would urge the Russians to imitation, and which is of great interest to us because it pictures most clearly all that detail work during our advance in Courland, which is easily underestimated but to which we are doubtless greatly indebted for our successes. We quote here some of the important passages:

"In more than one respect," says the Russian paper, "the battles of the German offensive against Schavli afford a complete treatise on the art of making war. They teach us the latest war novelties of Germany. According to their custom, the Germans rush precipitately forward, and hardly have they occupied a new position when they fortify it in such a fashion that the forces necessary for the defense of what they have won can be reduced to the minimum. The trenches of the Germans are kept in remarkably good order and relatively almost empty; every thirty or forty yards you find a machine gun. But behind the trenches circulate the movable stores of ammunition, so that ammunition may be dealt out quickly there where it is needed. This is always quickly at hand, and storing it up, with all attendant confusion is avoided. Never by any means any superfluous thing in the

trench, but rather space, light air, cleanliness!"

"Not a man would dare eat his 'iron ration,' without being well justified in doing so. In January we took German prisoners in East Prussia, who for days had not eaten, but the iron ration was still untouched. In this one can see the discipline of these Germans. At Libau the Germans used gigantic automobile trucks in which liquid cement was brought up with which the trenches were strengthened and made proof against shells. These power trucks too had another use. They were equipped with great water tight containers which enabled the German soldier to have his weekly, or even daily bath. The trying conditions of modern warfare favor the development of all sorts of infective diseases. In order to combat these, the Germans aim at the most particular sort of cleanliness. Behind the trenches one finds notices posted up everywhere in which the soldiers are threatened with heavy penalties, should they after a day of rest, come again to the front wearing a dirty shirt.

"Even in the trenches basins of concrete are built which are filled with water for the soldiers' daily to bathe, wash and be massaged. This has become so much of a habit with them that when we take German prisoners, their first request is always for a bath. These Germans keep their trenches as clean as they do their bodies. And then, too, we find in every German trench a broad board, which serves as a table. With us nobody ever had the idea. Our soldiers eat their food on their knees, throw the breadcrumbs and bones on the ground and even what remains uneaten of their food when their hunger is satisfied. Thus our trenches are rapidly converted into great refuse pits. With these Germans it is quite different.

"Again, they strive to have as few soldiers as possible in a trench; they don't want their soldiers to be exposed to fire

needlessly. But they have telephone stands everywhere. At the slightest alarm the telephone goes into action, the German trenches being simply covered with a network of telephone wires. All commands are transferred by telephone, which means a great saving in officers, as none are required for the transmission of orders.

"So as not to lose any cannon, these Germans, again, make use of powerful motor trucks. Our officers were at first astonished; they would capture a German trench or German position, and would find there only a few German soldiers and no cannon, no machine guns, and no ammunition at all. What had become of it? It was only later that we learned that the Germans have heavily armored motor cars, which during the battle are stuffed full of ammunition; but at the slightest danger for the cannon—especially the heavy ones—these are hitched with chains to the automobiles and drawn away, so that we are left to look on. The fewer the number of German soldiers on the firing line the greater the number of cannon and machine guns. 'Thick rows of machine guns, light rows of soldiers,' that is their motto.

"They forbid the German soldiers to write letters before they have been completely rested. When their nerves are quite relieved from the strain, letter paper is distributed, with the warning, 'Pull yourselves together, don't cause your parents and brothers and sisters anxiety with your letters.' In short, with these Germans everything is provided for and everything foreseen, from the bread crust which must not be thrown away to the sheet of letter paper, which is handed out only at the right time. In fact, this is a war which the German has entered with all his soul, and at the same time with all his brains."

Thus the Russkoe Slovo. These dissertations can be condensed into the statement that our warfare represents the victory of quality over quantity.

Battles of the German Crown Prince

Great Headquarters Eyewitness Reports of the Campaign in the Argonne

In the western theatre of war the spectacular drives of the forces led by Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm in the Argonne region, with Verdun as their objective, have been the chief feature of operations while the campaign in the east was at its height. As noted in the résumé of military operations for the month ended Sept. 15, appearing elsewhere in this number, the Crown Prince's efforts have thus far not achieved the great result attempted. On Sept. 9 the second important effort within three months to break the French lines in this region resulted in a temporary gain with the capture of 2,000 prisoners and some artillery. German Great Headquarters "Eyewitness" reports indicating that this campaign is regarded as of high importance have been appearing in the German press; the subjoined accounts are translated from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

THE ASSAULT ON LA FILLE MORTE

The Wolff Telegraphic Bureau received the following from the German Great Headquarters, published Aug. 4, 1915, in the Frankfurter Zeitung:

THAT part of the Argonne lying to the north and east of the Biesme is a long ridge running from northwest to southeast, falling in precipitous, much-cleft ravines to the valleys of the Aire and the Biesme. The course of the Roman Road approximately designates the line of the Biesme. The course of the Roman road approximately designates the line of the crest. The road reaches the highest point of the ridge on Height 285. Offshoots of the range, one running toward the northeast, Height 263, the other to the west, La Fille Morte, roughly parallel to the road from Varennes to le Four de Paris, divide this part of the Argonne like a natural wall into a northern and a southern half. Height 285, which is but sparsely wooded and is free from shrubbery, affords a point of observation from which a wide outlook can be obtained over the Argonne and beyond, toward the east to the heights north of Varennes, toward the west on the hilly land of the eastern Champagne.

Because of its dominating situation, the possession of the range of Heights 263, 285, La Fille Morte, is of high military importance for the troops fighting in the Argonne. When in the last days of September the Germans pushed from

the east into the Argonne's isolated patrols and small infantry detachments succeeded temporarily in occupying Height 285. On the evening of the 29th of September they had to retire in a northerly direction before greatly superior French forces. Since that time the French had been in possession of this range. Their positions had been pushed beyond it to the north about one kilometer. In embittered, hotly contested struggles the German troops early in January and in the middle of February threw the enemy back along the whole front, from the Bolante to Height 263, for several hundred meters.

While over in the West Argonne the French in our victorious battles from the 20th of June to the 2d of July were thrown out of their fortified positions Labordère, Central, Cimetière, Bagatelle, and forced back down upon the slopes descending into the valley of the Biesme, the German troops in the East Argonne were preparing themselves for the attack on the dominating elevated positions 285 and La Fille Morte. Once this object was attained, the Germans would stand on the whole Argonne front, from the region north of Vienne le Château to Bourenilles, in positions of superior advantage, like an iron wall against which every attempted attack of the French would necessarily shatter itself.

The French positions to the northeast, north, and northwest of Height 285, on the Riegel, the Bolante, and the promontory projecting into the Vallée des Cour-

tes Chausses, throughout lay forty to fifty and in some places only twenty paces from the German positions. In view of the fact that along this whole front the land slopes in general from south to north—from Height 285 toward the northeast into the Osson valley, from La Fille Morte into the Meurisson hollow, further to the west into a side valley of the Courtes Chausses—the French had the advantage of better opportunity for observation and consequently a better field for shooting at our positions and connections toward the rear.

In the valleys of the Osson, the Cheppe, the Meurisson, the Vallée des Courtes Chausses and on the mountain slopes falling into these ravines, the low forest is filled with a thick undergrowth of bushes and briars. On the heights the forest grows lighter, and the ground is covered with ferns and high grass; here, moreover, as in the Bois de la Grurie, (West Argonnes,) everything that grew had been swept away by the infantry and artillery fire during the long months of fighting.

The French positions on these heights consisted of several rows of trenches, one behind the other, cut to the depths of two or three meters into the ground. These were connected by a many-meshed net of connecting trenches with one another and with the reserve positions lying on Height 285 and La Fille Morte. The trenches of the fighting positions were braced with strong beams, strengthened with walls of wire netting and cement, and provided in many places with covering one to two meters thick and broken up at intervals of every five to six paces by strong buttresses for protection against enfilading fire. Dozens of blockhouses, with several stands for machine guns, side by side and over one another, served as supports for the forward and rear positions and the intervening ground. As shelters for the men manning the forward trenches and for the reserves roomy caves had been excavated. In front of the foremost firing positions, between the lines of trenches further back and especially in the ravines and branching gulleys cov-

ered with almost impenetrably thick underwoods, broad wire obstructions had been provided, consisting of stretched barbed wire, Spanish riders, and barbed wire covered rolls.

Of all this skillfully constructed labyrinth of defenses nothing was to be seen from the German positions except a light yellow strip of excavated clay, here and there the beam of a blockhouse or a piece of bright barbed wire. Far toward the rear there stood scattered through the whole forest the French heavy and light batteries, and somewhat nearer the mine-throwers, bronze mortars, and revolver cannon.

The 13th of July was selected as the time for the attack on these positions. Shortly after daybreak the artillery and mine fire was to begin, for 8 A. M. was set the attack on the projecting part of the French defenses before our left wing, and for 11:30 A. M. the assault along the front as a whole.

From reports of prisoners obtained later and from French orders which we found, it appeared that the enemy had for some time for his part planned a great attack in the Eastern Argonnes, which, originally ordered for the 11th of July, had afterward been postponed to the 14th, the date of the French national holiday. On this day all the troops of the French Fifth and Thirty-second Army Corps—making with added units more than eight divisions—were to attack along the whole Argonnes front and connecting sectors outside. In the Bois de la Grurie, and to the west of the Argonnes, this attack was actually carried out on the 14th and failed with heavy losses. In the meantime things came to pass in the East Argonnes quite differently than had been expected by the French.

Because of the fact that the French themselves were planning an effort and that—warned by the increased activity of the German artillery and by other signs of an impending attack—they were not at all surprised by our assault, our troops found the enemy exceedingly well prepared. The French fighting positions were strongly manned, the artillery was supplied with an extraordinarily large amount of ammunition, and all the means



Scene of the German Crown Prince's Drive in the Argonne, and Westward to Rheims

for fighting at close range were in readiness in the greatest abundance.

BATTLES OF JULY 13 AND 14.

This account from the German Great Headquarters appeared in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of Aug. 6, 1915:

The 13th of July dawns. On the preceding evening and during the night the last preparations have been made in the German trenches. Every man knows exactly the task assigned him. At the thought of the impending assault hearts beat faster, tense and excited are the men with the joyous anticipation of battle. What will the next twelve hours bring? Death, perhaps, to many a dear comrade, but surely for all the victory. It cannot be otherwise; ever till now, where the German fists have struck, the enemy has been compelled to yield the field, no matter how bravely he defended himself, and however much blood had to flow. Thus it was in the Autumn, and in January and February. Last evening the Captain had asked for volunteers for the first line of the charge. Every man declared his readiness. But so many the Captain could not use; lots had to be drawn. Yes, you at home there, if you were here you would have reason to be proud of your boys.

The dawn is coming on. It will be a cool and cloudy morning. It has not grown very light yet, when shrieking and howling there comes from far to the rear from a German battery the first heavy shell, strikes in the enemy's position, bursts with a thundering crash, and showers everything with a hail of broken metal, lumps of earth, and stones. Now things begin to happen. In the minutes that follow one might well think that all hell had opened. From all sides comes a humming and roaring and whistling and shrieking, hurling death and destruction into the hostile positions, which very soon are wrapped in a cloud of dust and vapor. Moved by curiosity, our fellows stick their heads over the breastworks and note the good effects of the artillery fire. But this amusement of playing spectators doesn't last very long, for very soon the French

batteries and mine throwers also open their fire, which from hour to hour is increased to the most raging intensity. Enduring this for hours without action in the murderous hail of shells is much worse and more disintegrating than any assault.

At 8 A. M., about in the middle of the left wing, between points 263 and 285, the Fifth Silesian Chasseurs and an infantry battalion from Metz break out for the storm against the advanced French point of support. In seven minutes the first three trenches have been overrun, and the enemy at this place is surrounded on both sides so that he cannot flank from here the main attack later on.

In the meantime, along the whole front the artillery and mine fire achieves its highest point of intensity. In the course of the forenoon many trenches, both on the side of the enemy and on that of the Germans are simply leveled. At one point a mine strikes in a French collection of hand grenades, which blows up with a terrible crash. The next day there were found behind the front in a single dugout which had been struck by the shell of a heavy mortar 105 dead Frenchmen. Without paying any attention to the destructive fire, our artillery observers sit in their places and make the necessary reports on the effect of the fire. At three different points Lieutenants Kayser and Fritsche and Substitute Officer Bock held out the whole morning in their sapheads only a few meters from the enemy's trench and from there directed the fire of their batteries.

Shortly before the assault two pioneers, Sergeant Bansamier and Noncommissioned Officer Tuttenuit, creep forward in a sap close to the French position, and here, under a hail of hand grenades and mines, calmly place a double charge of explosives for firing. At 11:30 it is fired—a tremendous explosion—and in the next moment the first musketeers and pioneers leap through the funnel formed by the explosion toward the French trench. In the turn of a hand the still undamaged French wire obstructions are torn down and cut apart, to the right and left hand grenades fly among the heads of

the Frenchmen, and, as the first man of all, Pioneer Blum, of Company I of Pioneer Battalion 16, leaps into the hostile trench. Some two or three minutes pass and the first wave of the attackers has overrun the foremost trench and is storming on toward the second and third lines. At the same moment the storm breaks loose along the whole front, from the Bolante to the other side of the Roman Road.

At many points our men, as they leap forward out of the trench, are met by a raging infantry and machine gun fire. Everything now depends on overcoming the obstructions as quickly as possible. At one particularly dangerous point a young officer, Lieutenant von Marshall, far ahead of his men, leaps across the broad wire entanglement some four paces wide. The others follow him. Before them lies a blockhouse from which two machine guns are vomiting death and destruction. The riflemen throw themselves upon it, cast their hand grenades through the loopholes and the rear entrance, and thus incapacitate the crew of the guns. Three, four, five trenches are rushed, then on they go down into the valley of the Meurisson. Here there stands in a covered position a mine thrower which is bravely served to the last minute by a French Captain of artillery. His men lie dead or badly wounded beside him. He is just about to hurl one of his terrible mines when a young farmer from the Silesian-Polish border, the Chasseur Kucznierz, leaps to his side and calls out: "So you have thrown your mines at us! Here are your wages!" The officer starts to lift his revolver, but the Silesian rifle butt is swifter than the bullet of the Captain.

Ever onward rush the brave chasseurs. In the heat and excitement of the fight many do not notice that they have already reached Height 285, the selected objective, and press on beyond it, down into the Vallée des Courtes Chausses. In the meantime, the officers, correctly recognizing the situation, have halted a large part of their companies on the top of the height and begin at once with consolidating the new position and putting it into such a de-

gree of order as would barely meet first necessities. A small detachment of the boldest rushes on into the middle of the French batteries and camp, at their head Lieutenant of Reserves Englisch of the Third Company of Chasseurs, Battalion 6.

The chasseurs attempt in their enthusiasm over their valuable booty to draw away the captured guns—four light and one heavy. It is impossible, the cannon are too firmly built in and they are too heavy. So they have to content themselves with smashing to pieces with axes, spades, pickaxes, and other tools, whatever they can of the sighting apparatus, the apparatus for loading, &c., of these guns in order to leave to the enemy the booty they are compelled to resign in as useless and spoiled a condition as possible. In the very last minute Chasseur Wistoba and Officer Broll each stuff a hand grenade from the muzzles into the barrels of two of the guns and by their explosion destroy the load chambers and other parts. Broll throws a second hand grenade into the stack of ammunition near by, which goes up into the air with a mighty crash, and then, on the run, back to the battalion, for a minute's longer delay would have delivered these daring fellows into the hands of the approaching French reserves. At another point the chasseurs had in quick order totally smashed a powerful motor which supplied suppressed air to the mine saps.

All this has happened in hardly more than two hours. In the meantime a complete brilliant success had been won also on all other parts of the battle front. Quite especially distinguished was the work of a battalion of Infantry Regiment 105 under the leadership of Captain Wegener at the storming of La Fille Morte. The battalion had made its attack from the Black Mount and had first of all to storm the exceptionally strongly built point of support of the enemy called the Stone Fortress. The quick success of this attack is in large part to be ascribed to Lieutenant of Reserves Brèithaupt of the Second Company, who with his detachment was able by skillfully en-

circling the Meurisson hollow to take the enemy in the rear and cut him off. At some places on the Bollante the Frenchmen defended themselves with desperate obstinacy and great power of resistance. It was not always possible for our troops here to rush forward from one position to another over the ground covered with shrubbery. They had to work their way forward step by step through the wilderness of saps and connecting trenches. At the exit of such a trench a French officer had taken up his position and shot down every German who showed himself at the other end. A soldier knelt beside him with a second rifle, which he handed to his Lieutenant loaded after every shot. It was only after a considerable time that a German officer succeeded by means of a well aimed hand grenade in removing this obstinate heroically fighting enemy.

On the other wing to the east of the Roman Road the attack at first made only slight progress. Here Lieutenant Johanssen, also of the doughty Silesian Chasseurs, did great service in that he recognized at the decisive moment the possibility of taking in the flank from the west and forcing to yield the French who were attacked in the front by the men of the 130th.

In the afternoon the French undertook several counterattacks against Height 285. These were repelled by the men of the 144th and the chasseurs.

Along the entire front the German troops in the hot struggles of July 13 had attained the objects set for them to the full. The line of heights; 285; La Fille Morte, was firmly in possession of the Germans. The enemy had left in their hands 64 officers, among them 1 Major and 9 Captains, and more than 3,400 men as prisoners, 2 mountain and 2 revolver cannon, 34 machine guns, 51 mine throwers, 5 bronze mortars, and an incalculable amount of ammunition, weapons, and tools. More than 2,000 dead Frenchmen covered the battlefield and were buried by our troops the next day.

In the Argonnes battles, from June 20 to July 13, there were taken prisoners

116 officers and more than 7,000 men. More than 4,000 dead Frenchmen were counted, and the number of wounded is estimated at 5,000 to 6,000. From this the total French losses in this period is found to amount to roundly 16,000 to 17,000.

Our troops without qualification admit with respect and admiration the courage, obstinate and careless of death with which the Frenchmen defended themselves step for step, from trench to trench, from one shell hole to another. But do they over there well know what they are fighting for? Do they all believe the fairy tales that the German barbarians in love with conquest have instigated this war, and do they all hate us Germans? Surely not. But they do their duty to the utmost, to the last breath, like true soldiers. Hence, honor to the memory of our fallen enemies.

So much more the deep, therefore, is indignation among our troops over the unmeasured truthfulness of the French reports. Officially the Parisian press announces:

The army of the Crown Prince has again taken up the offensive in the Argonne and has suffered a new reverse. The enemy who temporarily had penetrated our forward trenches was immediately hurled back by our counteroffensive. The gains of the Germans in no case amount to more than 400 meters. Point 285, which for a moment was occupied by the enemy, was immediately retaken by us.

When to this is opposed the fact that we continue in firm possession of Height 285, that the hostile counter-attacks were not able to take from us a single centimeter of the ground we had won, and that our gain in ground amounts throughout to from 700 to 800 meters, and at some points even to more than 1,000 meters, it is to be wondered at that the French officials are not ashamed, before their own troops, who, of course, are able to judge of the result of the battle, thus to affront the truth.

"If we continue to suffer this kind of reverses," say our men at the front, "then we will gradually work our way by reverses to Paris."

How the British Lost Sari Bair

Description of the Most Ferocious "Soldiers' Battle" Since the Crimean War

By Ellis Ashmead Bartlett

Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, authorized press correspondent with the allied forces at Gallipoli, sent the following dispatch describing "a second Inker-man" to The London Morning Post, dated Eastern Mediterranean, Aug. 19, 1915, and published on Sept. 1:

SINCE the great battle, the greatest fought on the Gallipoli Peninsula, closed on the evening of Aug. 10, both armies have been busily engaged in consolidating their new positions, in taking stock of gains and losses, replenishing their ammunition and munitions, and reorganizing the divisions, brigades, and battalions which of necessity became intermingled in this rugged, mountainous country.

Since my last cabling I have had time to visit the ground over which the Anzac corps advanced in its desperate efforts, extending over four consecutive days, to reach the crest of Sari Bair, commanding the ridge overlooking the Dardanelles. The New Zealand infantry, the Gurkhas, and some other battalions almost reached the objective, but were unable, through no fault of their own, to hold their position. A battalion of Gurkhas actually reached the crest of the plateau, but the Turks, taking advantage of the confusion, counterattacked in great force, and the gallant men from the hills were driven from the crest to the lower spurs beneath.

It was a bitter disappointment to have to relinquish the crest when it almost seemed to be within their grasp after so many months, but there was no alternative. The Anzac corps fought like lions and accomplished a feat of arms in climbing these heights almost without a parallel. All through, however, they were handicapped by the failure of

the corps to make good its positions on the Anafarta hills, further north, and thus check the enemy's shell fire.

When all the details of these complicated arrangements are collected and sifted, they will form one of the most fascinating pages of the history of the whole war. It was a combat of giants in a giant country, and if one point stands out more than another it is the marvelous hardihood, tenacity, and reckless courage shown by the Australians and New Zealanders.

In order to enable the forces detailed for the main movement to go forward, which it was hoped would lead to the occupation of the Sari Bair position from Chunuk Bair through Q Hill to Koja Chemon Tepe, it was necessary to attract the enemy's attention toward the south and force him to keep his troops in front of our lines in position while the main force debouched from the Anzac position in Lone Pine—a position situated on a plateau 400 feet high, south-east of the Anzac lines.

The Australians rushed forward to the assault with the fury of fanatics, taking little heed of the tremendous shrapnel fire and enfilading rifle fire. On reaching the trenches the great difficulty was to force a way in, for the cover was so strong and heavy it had to be torn away by main force. Groups of men effected entrances at various points and jumped in on top of the Turks, who fought furiously, caught as they were, in a trap. Some surrendered, but the majority chose to die fighting. In every trench and sap and dugout desperate hand-to-hand fighting took place, four lines of trenches being captured in succession, and fresh infantry being poured in as the advancing lines were thinned by losses.

In this fighting bombs played the most important rôle, and it was only by keeping up and increasing the supply that the Australians were able to hold the position after it had been won. The Turks massed their force, and for three nights and days made desperate counterattacks, frequently retaking sections of the line, only to be driven out again. In this extraordinary struggle, which took place almost under ground, both sides fought with utter disregard of life. The wounded and dead choked the trenches almost to the top, but the survivors carried on the fight over heaps of bodies. In spite of immense reinforcements, with most determined courage the Australians held the ground thus won, and finally the Turks wearied of the struggle.

The trenches were now merely battered shambles, and the task of removing the dead and wounded took days to accomplish. The bodies of 1,000 Turks and Colonials were removed from the trenches alone, while hundreds of others lie outside. The total Turkish losses in this section alone are estimated at 5,000, chiefly incurred in furious counterattacks, among which each bomb burst with fearful effect.

The capture of Lone Pine is the most desperate hand-to-hand fight that has taken place on the peninsula, but this was but a diversion and preliminary to the main movement northward, which began the same evening under cover of darkness. No finer feat has been accomplished in the course of the war than the manner in which the troops destined for the main movement against Sari Bair Ridge were deployed for the attack. Millions of rounds of ammunition and thousands of shells were successfully concentrated at advanced posts without the enemy becoming aware of the movement. Neither did he know of the strong reinforcements which had reached the Australian corps. All this required the utmost skill, and was successfully kept a profound secret.

It was at 9 P. M. Aug. 6 when the force destined to attack old No. 3 post crept forward from the outposts. For nights past the navy had thrown search-

lights on this and other lower positions and had bombarded them at frequent intervals. This procedure was not departed from on the 6th, and the Turks had no suspicion of the coming attack. When the lights were switched on to another position the Australians dashed forward and speedily captured the positions in succession, and throughout the night Bauchop's Hill and Big and Little Table Tops were occupied.

By the morning of the 7th our whole force was holding the front from Damak-jelik Bahr to Sazil Dere and slowly moving toward the main Sari Bair position in face of great difficulties, harassed by the enemy's snipers and checked by the difficulties of the ground and the scarcity of water.

At dawn on the 7th the left of our line had reached the Asma Dere position. The Indians had advanced a long way toward Dehunuk Bahr, while the New Zealand infantry was on the Rhododendron spur and ridge. It was decided to postpone a further advance until nightfall. The forces were reorganized into three columns. For the final assault on Chanuk Bahr, which was timed to begin at dawn on Aug. 9, large reserves from another division were thrown into the firing line to assist the New Zealand and Indian infantry, and the men, as far as possible, rested through the day and the early part of the night.

The advance on the morning of the 9th was preceded by a heavy bombardment of Chanuk Bahr and Q Hill by the naval and land guns. The advance of No. 3 column was delayed by the broken nature of the ground and the enemy's resistance.

Meanwhile the Gurkhas advanced gallantly up the slope of Sari Bair, and actually succeeded in reaching the heights on the neck between Chanuk Bahr and Q Hill. It was from here that they looked down on the Dardanelles, but were unfortunately unable to hold the position in face of violent counterattacks and heavy shell fire.

During this time the Turks counterattacked the left column in great strength, and the column was compelled



The twelve miles of battle front reported by Lord Kitchener in the House of Lords on Sept. 15, 1915, as held by the allied forces at the Dardanelles.

to withdraw to the lower slopes of Sari Bair.

Meantime throughout the day and night the New Zealanders succeeded in maintaining their hold on Chanuk Bahr, although the men were thoroughly ex-

hausted. During the night of the 9th the exhausted New Zealanders were relieved by two other regiments. At dawn the Tenth Regiment of the Turks, which had been strongly reinforced, made a desperate assault on our lines from Q

Hill and Chanuk Bahr. To the strength of a division, in successive lines, they hurled themselves, quite regardless of their lives, on the two regiments which, after desperate resistance, were driven from their position by artillery fire and sheer weight of numbers further down the slopes of Chanuk Bahr.

Following up their success, the Turks charged right over the crest and endeavored to gain the great gully south of Rhododendron Ridge, evidently with the intention of forcing their way between our lines and the Anzac position. But they had reckoned without our artillery and ships' guns. This great charge of four successive lines of infantry in close formation was plainly visible to our warships and all our batteries on land. In this section the Turks were caught in a trap. The momentum of their charge down hill prevented them from recoiling in time, and they were swept away by hundreds in a terrific storm of high explosive, shrapnel, and common shells from the ships' guns and our howitzers and field pieces.

Never since the campaign started has such a target delighted the hearts of our gunners. As the huge shells from the ships exploded huge chunks of soil were

thrown into the air, amid which you saw human bodies hurled aloft and then chucked to earth or thrown bodily into deep ravines. But even this concentrated artillery fire might not have checked the Turkish advance unless it had been assisted by the concentrated fire of ten machine guns at short range. For half an hour they maintained a rapid fire until the guns smoked with heat.

During the whole of this time the Turks were pouring across the front in dense columns, attempting to attack our men. Hardly a Turk got back to the hill.

Their lines got mixed up in a wedge as those in front tried to retire while others pressed them from the rear. Some fled back over the crest, seeking to regain their trenches; others dashed downward to the ravines.

In a few minutes the entire division had been broken up and the survivors scattered everywhere.

Thus, if they succeeded in driving us from the crest of Chanuk Bahr, the Turks paid a terrible price for their success.

Thus closed, for the time being, amid these bloodstained hills, the most ferocious and sustained "soldiers' battle" since Inkerman.

Preparedness

By O. C. A. CHILD.

Must we, then, see our flag, flung from its staff,
Ground in the dirt 'neath boot-heels of a foe
Who, trained, triumphant, scatter us like chaff
And marches onward, slaying as they go?

Must we, then, wait until, through gore flecked streets,
Invaders ride—our dead their horse hoofs spurn—
An Emperor's scornful proclamation meets
Our shame-sick eyes—must we see that to learn?

No! by our God, not so! Grind sharp the sword,
Then slip it in its sheath against The Day!
Marshal the men and mold them from a horde
To armies, ready when the bugles bray!

Hold the great ships in leash until it be
The time when, banners rippling in the sun,
We march prepared to fight for either sea—
To claim a victory timely zeal has won!

Britain's Massing of Resources

By H. H. Asquith, British Prime Minister

In its description of the opening of the House of Commons on Sept. 15, 1915, The Associated Press reported Prime Minister Asquith's speech as follows:

LONDON, Sept. 15.—The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons, gave an exhaustive survey today of the financial and military situations, making candid statements of what had already been done and of the preparations "for carrying the war to a successful conclusion."

Both houses were crowded with members and spectators, who followed with the deepest interest Mr. Asquith's plain and businesslike statement in asking for another vote of credit of £250,000,000, (\$1,250,000,000,) the seventh since the war began, which was finally passed, and which brings the total to £1,262,000,000, (\$6,310,000,000,) and Lord Kitchen-er's reading of a carefully prepared and optimistic speech on the military operations and needs.

The Premier had to deal with huge figures to explain the financing of the war, and warned his hearers that although the expenditure was now over £3,500,000 (\$17,500,000) daily, there was a likelihood of its increasing owing to advances to Great Britain's allies and her dominions, which had reached £250,000,000, (\$1,250,000,000,) and to provision for munitions.

Since the war began nearly 3,000,000 men, he said, had enlisted in the army and navy. Besides that, 300,000 persons were now engaged in the manufacture of munitions, but both figures would have to be increased, and he appealed to the women to give their assistance, believing that they would make "a gigantic stride toward the solution of one of the most pressing problems."

Mr. Asquith candidly admitted that mistakes had been made, and added: "I do not say even now that we are doing all we might, or even all we ought to do."

He protested, however, against the attempts of a section of the press "to belittle and disparage our efforts."

After reviewing the operations in Flanders, the Dardanelles, and Poland, Mr. Asquith stated that the country had vastly exceeded any standard dreamed of before the war. As the war went on, however, that standard would rise, and new sacrifices would be demanded in men, munitions, and money.

A discussion on the question of conscription followed the Premier's speech, and the House finally granted the vote asked for.

The growing expenditures for the war were emphasized by the Premier in his speech. He said the average daily cost from April 1 to the end of June was £2,700,000 (\$13,500,000;) from July 1 to 17, £3,000,000; from July 18 to Sept. 11, £3,500,000. Thus the total for this period in round figures was £500,000,000. There had been repaid £50,000,000 to the Bank of England, £30,000,000 had been lent to foreign Governments, and £28,000,000 had been lent to the Dominions.

Comparing actual expenditures since the last vote of credit with estimates, Mr. Asquith said there had been some abnormal items, to disclose which would not be in the public interest, but the House might take it that these were of financing necessary operations. Part of this amount was to be repaid in the course of a few months and the remainder represented advances for future expenditure.

Mr. Asquith estimated that the weekly gross expenditure henceforth would not exceed £35,000,000. It was his opinion that the new vote would carry the country through to the third week of November.

"These figures throw some light, in many terms, on the contribution we are making to the war," he continued. "I do not wish to say even that we are

doing all we can, all we ought, but as attempts are constantly being made—with whatever intention, but with the most mischievous effect—to belittle and discourage our efforts, I give some comparisons between peace and war figures.

"Since the outbreak of the war it will be found an aggregate of not far short of three millions have enlisted in the army and navy. Recruiting, on the whole, has kept up well, but, I regret to say, in the last few weeks has been falling off."

Regarding the work of the Munitions Department, the Premier said all that was now necessary to complete this great and necessary task was an adequate supply of labor, unskilled quite as much as skilled. There was no field wherein women could do more useful work. The Minister of Munitions had established twenty shell factories, and eighteen more were in course of construction. In all, 715 controlled establishments were under the department. In these factories 800,000 workmen were now employed, and the country had vastly exceeded any standard dreamed of before the war.

Reviewing the military situation, Mr. Asquith stated that in France and Flanders the position of the British troops had been strengthened everywhere by large reinforcements of men and munitions and that there had been a considerable extension of lines taken over from the French.

In the Dardanelles, he continued, the British had made substantial gains, though they had not succeeded in dislodging the Turks from the crest of the hills. The British now held a front of more than twelve miles.

In the east, Mr. Asquith said, the Russian Army remained unbroken. He asserted that the superiority of the Germans was only in artillery, and that their objective was still far out of reach.

"They succeeded in forcing back the line of our gallant ally and taking several fortresses," he continued, "but all accounts show that the Russian retreat is being conducted in masterly fashion and that the Russian Army is still unbroken. The assumption of supreme command by the Czar is the most significant proof that could be given of the un-

alterable determination, from highest to lowest, of the Russian people."

Mr. Asquith said that the total of Britain's loans to other belligerents was £250,000,000.

He referred to the high total of casualties, and said that the proportion of those who recovered from wounds was large.

"This is a war of mechanism, organization, endurance," he continued. "Victory seems likely to incline to the side that can arm itself best and stay longest. That is what we mean to do."

The Premier deprecated all recrimination. "Our business is to deal with the present, and forecast and provide for the future," he said. "We have satisfied the legitimate requirements and hopes of our allies, and we have to discharge the unique burden imposed upon a family of free people by our own sense of responsibility and our standard of duty and sacrifice."

One thing Mr. Asquith opposed was "the sinister spirit of domestic strife."

"We must all be ready to give and take, and take and give," he said, "and it must not be said that in the greatest moment of our history our arm was shorn of its strength by any failure on the part of either rulers or ruled to concentrate upon the unexampled task the consistent counsels, undivided energies, and unbreakable, indomitable will of the British people."

"The situation is a testing one. A survey of the past year calls for satisfaction at the great efforts and sacrifices made, and for regret that some mistakes and miscalculations have been made. Today we realize more clearly, through the mists of sophistry and mendacity in which Berlin seeks to obscure and befoul the international atmosphere, the sincerity of our own diplomacy, and the passionate love of peace wherewith we sought to avert the catastrophe of a world-wide conflict."

"It was the imperious call of duty which forced us to vindicate our national honor and enlist our whole strength in the sacred cause of freedom. I have no doubt either of the wisdom of our choice or of its ultimate triumph on the stricken field."

Three Million Soldier Britons

By Kitchener of Khartum

British Secretary of State for War

In his statement reviewing the Allied campaigns, made in the House of Lords at the opening of Parliament on Sept. 15, 1915, Earl Kitchener reported a recent extension of the British line in France, making a continuous battle front of approximately fifty miles. New armies trained from the 3,000,000 recruits added to the British forces since the beginning of the war have from time to time been sent out to join Field Marshal French's command. The text of the British War Secretary's speech, as cabled in large part from London by The Associated Press, appears below.

In his statement in the House of Lords on Sept. 15, 1915, Earl Kitchener said:

FOR the last few months the front held by the Allies in the west has been practically unchanged. This does not mean that there has been relaxation of active work on the part of the forces in the field, for the continuous local fighting which has taken place all along the line has called for the display of incessant vigilance.

Meanwhile, our positions have been much strengthened, not only by careful elaboration of the system of trench fortifications that already existed, but also by a large increase in the number of heavy guns which have been placed along our lines.

The Germans recently on several occasions used gas and liquid fire, and have bombarded our lines with asphyxiating shells, but these forms of attack, lacking as they now do, the element of surprise, have failed of their object and lost much of their offensive value owing to steps taken by us to counteract the effect of these pernicious methods.

As new armies have become trained and ready to take the field considerable reinforcements have been sent out to join Field Marshal French's command. You will be glad to hear his opinion of these troops, communicated to me. He writes:

The units appear to be thoroughly well officered and commanded. The equipment is in good order and efficient. Several units of artillery have been tested behind the firing line in the trenches, and I hear very good reports of them. Their shooting has been extremely good, and they are quite fit to take their place in the line.

These new divisions have now had the

opportunity of acquiring by experience in actual warfare that portion of the necessary training of soldiers which it was impossible to give them in this country and which, once acquired, will enable them effectively to take their place in the line with the rest of the British Army.

With these additional reinforcements, amounting to eleven divisions, (about 200,000 men,) Sir John French has been able to extend his lines and take over from the French approximately seventeen miles of additional front.

Throughout the Summer months the French have held their own along their extended line of the front, and in some places, notably near Arras and in Alsace, have made substantial progress. In the struggles around Arras early in June they captured whole heights at Nôtre Dame de Lorette, as well as a number of strongly fortified villages around this high ground, thereby securing an area of great tactical importance, in view of future operations.

In Alsace a number of dominating eminences have been wrested from the enemy and have been subsequently held in the face of formidable counterattacks. One particularly commanding summit, which overlooks the left bank of the Rhine in this quarter, and which had been the scene of continuous encounters for many months, after changing hands many times, rested finally in the possession of our allies.

French trenches along the entire front have been developed and strengthened, and now everywhere present a network of almost impregnable fortifications. Of this I was able to satisfy myself during a visit lately to our allies, at the invitation

of General Joffre, when I was profoundly impressed with the high state of efficiency and morale of the French Army. It was evident that officers and men recognized that the only possible termination to the war was to inflict on the enemy a thorough defeat. Their resolution to do this was never firmer nor more intense.

Our allies' aircraft have been particularly active. They have carried out numerous effective raids on a large scale, penetrating far into hostile territory.

Turning to the eastern theatre: The enemy taking advantage of their central position, since early in June have been employing a very large proportion of their forces in strenuous efforts to crush our Russian ally. In the prosecution of these operations, which we all have followed closely, the Germans, in addition to their great numerical superiority, developed vastly preponderating artillery, which enabled them to force the Russians from their defenses. The German objective was evidently to destroy the Russian Army as a force in being and thus set free their troops for action elsewhere; but, as in the case of many other plans arranged by the German Staff during this war, there has been signal failure to carry out the original intentions.

In the history of this war few episodes stand out more prominently, more creditably, than the masterly manner in which the Russian forces, distributed along a line of 750 miles, have been handled while facing violent assaults from an enemy greatly superior in numbers, especially of guns and munitions.

The success of this great rear-guard action has been rendered possible by the really splendid fighting qualities of the Russian soldier, who in every case where actual conflict has taken place has shown himself infinitely superior to his adversary. These fighting qualities of the Russian Army empowered her able Generals and competent staff to carry out the immensely difficult operation of retirement of the whole line over some 100 to 200 miles without allowing the enemy to break through at any point or by surrounding their forces to bring about a tactical position which might have in-

volved the surrender of a considerable portion of the Russian Army.

Thus we see the Russian Army remaining today intact as a fighting force. It doubtless has suffered severely from the hard fighting to which it had been subjected during recent months, but the German forces also had to pay heavy toll for their advance into Russia, and who will venture to say, until the present grip is relaxed, which armies suffered more?

It must not be forgotten that Russia, with her vast territory, has always been able ultimately to envelop and annihilate large invading armies. In this she certainly is no less capable today than she was a century ago.

As regards the net result, all that the Germans can place to their credit is that at an enormous sacrifice they have captured certain fortresses. But our recent experience shows that the best fortifications, and practically the only ones that can effectively resist the new machinery of war, are those which can be quickly dug deep in the soil. Such trenches today form better defenses than the most carefully fortified places of which the engineers until lately were so proud.

The Germans appear almost to have shot their bolt. Their advance into Russia, which at one time was carried out at an average daily rate of approximately five miles, has now diminished to less than one mile a day, and we see the forces which they boastingly described as defeated and broken troops flying before them, still doggedly and pluckily fighting along the whole line, and in some places, indeed, turning on the jaded invaders and inflicting heavy losses.

The Russian Army, far from falling out of the fighting lists, as Germany fondly hoped, is still a powerful and undefeated unit, and the determination and confidence of the troops, fortified by the increasing supply of munitions, have risen in proportion to the strain imposed upon them.

In this momentous hour of stress his Imperial Majesty the Czar has taken executive command of his armies in the field. The enthusiasm created by his step will serve to concentrate all the

energies of his officers and men on driving back the invaders and preventing them from reaching any vital portion of the empire.

To sum up, we may fairly say that, while the Germans have prevailed by sheer weight of guns and at immense cost to themselves in forcing back the Russian front, nothing but barren territory and evacuated fortresses have been gained. Thus their strategy has clearly failed, and the victories they claim may only prove, as military history has so often demonstrated, to be defeats in disguise.

Dwelling on Italy's part in the war, Lord Kitchener said:

"The achievements of the Italian artillery have been truly remarkable, and the manner in which heavy pieces were hauled into almost inaccessible positions on lofty mountain peaks and in spite of great difficulties evokes universal admiration. The Italian Army now occupies strategic positions of first-rate importance. The gallant conduct of the infantry of the line in action has impressed upon their enemies the great military value of the Italian Army, while the bold feats of the Alpine troops and the bersaglieri when scaling rugged mountain sides were marvelous examples of successful enterprise."

Lord Kitchener then referred to the Dardanelles operations, saying:

On the Gallipoli Peninsula during the operations in June several Turkish trenches were captured. Our own lines were appreciably advanced and our positions were consolidated.

Considerable reinforcements having arrived, a surprise landing on a large scale at Suvia Bay was successfully accomplished on the 6th of August without any serious opposition.

At the same time an attack was launched by the Australian and New Zealand corps from the Anzac position, and a strong offensive was delivered from Cape Helles in the direction of Krithia. In this latter action French troops played a prominent part and showed to high advantage their usual gallantry and fine fighting qualities.

The attack from Anzac, after a series

of hotly contested actions, was carried to the summit of Sari Bair and Chunuk Bair, dominating positions in this area. The arrival of transports and the disembarkation of troops in Suvia Bay were designed to enable troops to support this attack. Unfortunately, however, the advance from Suvia Bay was not developed quickly enough, and the movement forward was brought to a standstill after an advance of about two and one-half miles.

The result was that the troops from Anzac were unable to retain their position on the crest of the hills, and after being repeatedly counterattacked they were ordered to withdraw to positions lower down. These positions have been effectively consolidated, and, now joining with the line occupied by the Suvia Bay force, form a connected front of more than twelve miles.

From the latter position a further attack on the Turkish intrenchments was delivered on the 21st, but after several hours of sharp fighting it was not found possible to gain the summit of the hills occupied by the enemy, and the intervening space being unsuitable for defense, the troops were withdrawn to their original position.

Since then comparative quiet has prevailed, and a much-needed rest has been given to our troops.

In the course of these operations the gallantry and resourcefulness of the Australian and New Zealand troops have frequently formed the subject of eulogy in General Hamilton's reports.

It is not easy to appreciate at their full value the enormous difficulties which have attended the operations in the Dardanelles or the fine temper with which our troops have met them.

There is now abundant evidence of a process of demoralization having set in among the German-led, or rather German-driven Turks, due, no doubt, to their extremely heavy losses and to the progressive failure of their resources.

It is only fair to acknowledge that, judged from a humane point of view, the methods of warfare pursued by the Turks are vastly superior to those which have disgraced their German masters.

Throughout, the co-operation of the

fleet has been intensely valuable, and the concerted action between the sister services has been in every way in the highest degree satisfactory.

Of the fighting in Mesopotamia, Lord Kitchener said reconnoissances had shown that the Euphrates was clear of Turks for a distance of sixty miles.

"Since this victory," he said, "there has been no further fighting on the Euphrates, Tigris, or Karun Rivers. Climatic conditions in this theatre of war have rendered the operations extremely arduous."

The Secretary went on to say:

As I have informed your Lordships, some of the new armies we have prepared and equipped for the war are already in the field, and others will quickly follow them. The response of the country to calls for recruits to form these armies has been little short of marvelous, but it must be borne in mind that the provision of men to maintain the forces in the field depends to a great degree on a large and continuous supply of recruits.

The provision to keep up their strength during 1916 has caused us anxious thought, which has been accentuated and rendered more pressing by the recent falling off in the numbers coming forward to enlist, although every effort has been made to obtain our requirements under the present system.

I am sure we all fully realize that the strength of the armies we are sending out must be fully maintained to the

very end. To fulfill this purpose we shall require a large addition to the numbers of recruits joining. The problem of how to secure an adequate supply of men and thus insure the field force being kept up to its full strength is engaging our close attention and will, I hope, very soon receive a practical solution.

The returns of the Registration act, which will shortly be available, will no doubt give us a basis on which to calculate the resources of the country and so determine the number of men available for the army after providing for the necessary services of the country as well as those of our munition works.

Whatever decision may be arrived at in the full light of the facts before us must undoubtedly be founded on the military requirements for the prosecution of the war and the protection of our shores, and will be the result of an impartial inquiry as to how we can most worthily fulfill our national obligations.

Although there has been a falling off in the number of recruits, I do not draw from this fact any conclusion unfavorable to the resolution and spirit of the country. On the contrary, I think now, as I always have thought, that the manner in which all classes have responded to the call of patriotism is magnificent, and I do not for one instant doubt that whatever sacrifices may prove necessary to bring this gigantic war to a successful conclusion will be cheerfully undertaken by our people.

A Warning to British Labor

By David Lloyd George

Minister of Munitions for Great Britain

A Bristol (England) dispatch to The London Daily News, dated Sept. 9, 1915, reported:

JUDGED either by its matter or manner, an address which Minister of Munitions Lloyd George delivered this afternoon before the Trade Union Congress will, undoubtedly, rank among the supreme speeches of his career. It would be as difficult to exag-

gerate the gravity of the statements of fact he felt called upon to make as to convey any adequate idea of the emotional atmosphere he created by his appeal.

"Unless," he told the Congress, "the unions allow unskilled men and women to do, as far as they are able, work hitherto done by skilled men, unless they allow, in fact, an unqualified re-

laxation of the union rules, we are making straight for disaster. Every hour counts, every hour means death, every hour takes us further from victory and nearer defeat, unless it is an hour spent by the nation in putting its whole strength into this great struggle for victory and freedom for the democracies of Europe."

The State, Mr. Lloyd George declared, had kept its bargain with labor by abolishing war profits in the munitions factories employing no fewer than 95 per cent. of the workers engaged. Had labor shown equal readiness to fulfill its side of the agreement? The answer was a reluctant no. In some factories, including the Government arsenal at Woolwich, said the Minister, the output was being restricted, in others men were refusing to work beside unskilled hands, and this at a time when 80,000 more skilled men and 200,000 more unskilled men and women must be employed if the Government was to carry out its program and the country play the part now inevitably assigned to it in the Allies' campaign.

With flashing eyes and upraised hands, in a voice that rose and fell in every gradation of appeal and challenge, sometimes begging, sometimes exhorting, but always vibrant with the emotion of a patriot, Mr. Lloyd George drove the moral of hard facts into the hearts and consciences of hearers never before touched with so sure a hand on every chord of feeling and reason.

The effect was amazing. Men who had come to heckle remained to cheer. Hardened Socialists sprang to their feet and shouted while they clapped. Questions that were meant to hurt died on the lips of the questioners and melted into applause. The congress became a great patriotic demonstration.

The speech was not a mere piece of able oratory, born to die in an afternoon. The congress had asked specifically for an explanation, and got it, and that explanation will be reckoned in the days to come as one of the things that won the war.

The Associated Press report of Lloyd George's speech in Bristol on Sept. 10 said:

Mr. Lloyd George in his speech today declared that the war had resolved itself into a conflict between the mechanics in the contending nations.

"With you," said the Minister to the Congress, "victory is assured. Without you our cause is lost.

"I come here as the greatest employer of labor in this country. You passed resolutions yesterday pledging yourselves to assist the Government in a successful prosecution of the war, and I am here on behalf of the Government to take you at your word."

As between British and German workmen, the Minister said, he believed the British were the better.

Mr. Lloyd George told the delegates that notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to speed up the work of turning out war munitions only 15 per cent. of the available machinery was being worked on night shifts.

"The country is not doing its best," he declared.

The Minister said the Government had under construction eleven new arsenals, to man which, in addition to the existing arsenals, 200,000 more men were required.

"The Government," he added, "cannot equip the army at this time unless the unions suspend during the war all instructions barring unskilled labor and all restrictions tending to prevent a maximum output. Therefore there must be no stoppages."

"Has the State kept its end of the bargain?" a voice shouted.

"No," another voice answered.

Replying to this, Mr. Lloyd George said the surplus profits of the firms engaged in munitions work would go to the Treasury to finance the war.

Mr. Lloyd George quoted from a trade union circular issued in Coventry, in which the men were counseled, in effect, not to work at their full capacity.

"This means," he commented, "that there has been a deliberate attempt to restrict the output in guns, the making of which is vital to the protection of the lives of men at the front. Is there any

one here who will defend an action of that kind?"

There were loud cries of "No!"

"Then," said the Minister, "you have answered the question I came down to ask you. I knew you would not support such action."

Continuing, he said that as Minister of Munitions he had the right to ask workmen to come forth courageously and fearlessly say they would have no part "in trying to hold the arm of their native land when it is fighting for its life and their future labors depend largely upon the result of this war."

The Minister concluded by appealing to the men not to array the country against organized labor.

The congress adopted, virtually without opposition, at today's session a resolution presented by the Railway Clerks'

Union on the subject of recruiting. The congress resolved:

"That this congress, being convinced that the issues involved in the present European war are of transcendent importance to the democracies of this and other countries, hereby records its entire approval of the action of the Parliamentary Labor Party in co-operating with the other political parties in the national recruiting campaign."

The consensus of opinion, as revealed in speeches in support of the resolution, was that it was no part of the teaching of trade unionism that it is the duty of man to turn the other cheek to the man who smites him. One speaker said that if when "Dear Brother Fritz" invaded Belgium the British Government had not decided to resist this move, the men and women of Britain would have forced it to do so.

No Time for Peace

By Rene Raphael Viviani

Premier of France

The Associated Press, in a dispatch from Paris, reported the speech delivered by Premier Viviani at the opening of the French Chamber of Deputies on Aug. 26, 1915, as follows:

BY a vote of 539 to 1, the Chamber of Deputies today voted the credits asked by the Government after a stirring appeal by Premier Viviani, whose eloquent periods and vivid portrayal of the determination of France to fight for the attainment of an honorable and not a premature peace brought the members to their feet in tumultuous applause.

Premier Viviani arose to address the house as soon as the session was called to order. All the members of the Cabinet were on the Ministerial benches, and the galleries were filled with prominent persons, among them many women. Nearly all the members of the Diplomatic Corps were in their boxes.

"I am not going to speak of the sanitary service alone," said the Premier, "but also of parliamentary incidents that cannot be ignored. In the higher interest of the country, by which we are judged, we must justify the union of Government and Parliament."

"The home services of the War Department have accomplished their tasks. In other quarters errors have been made, but Parliament has lent cordial co-operation without seeking at the time to fix responsibility for mistakes. The errors have been repaired."

"Let us banish pessimism and depressing anxiety. France, by the grace of all her children's efforts, her public servants prompted by necessary criticism, is equal to the task of fulfilling her destiny."

"Put the question of peace before the country, and it would be blown to nothing. Not until heroic Belgium has been freed, not until we have retaken Alsace

and Lorraine could there be mischievous division among us.

"Our enemies may continue astray in their dull error of last year, but not we, who have seen workmen and employer, the rich citizen and the poor, men of every party and every walk in life fulfilling with a single purpose and with equal zeal their duties in defense of the liberty of the world.

"With this certain knowledge we come before Parliament, which has given the country an admirable spectacle of rising to the demands of the future; which has devoted admiration for the army, from the Commander in Chief to the private—for all those combatants who, silently absorbed in their heroic labor, ask nothing better than to be left outside the sphere of politics.

"We must destroy the legend that the Republic of France, having borne for forty-five years a horrible wound, did not make provision for military defense. I must repeat the words of the Commander in Chief during the last session of the Chamber: 'The republic may be proud of her armies.'

"France has created an army fulfilling the most modern conceptions. She has instilled the love of justice, the love of right, and upon the day the war began the children of France united in support of this high ideal, without which there would have been only armies of mercenaries."

At this the Deputies sprang to their feet and cheered the Premier wildly.

When the demonstration had died down, the Premier continued:

"Yes, the German press has said that France was divided. Yes, there are divergencies of opinion. These are the essence of free government. But it would be a fatal division, if there were in this country a fraction of the people who even thought of a premature peace.

"Parliament possesses supervisory rights, but nevertheless the authority of the Government must be all the stronger, owing to its greater responsibilities.

"We must have not only the expression of your confidence, but, for the great task before us, we must have the freedom of action necessary. We must have the definite adhesion of all hearts, all minds, and the good will of every one.

"Never has this been more necessary to the Government from an internal as well as an external point of view. The more that is demanded the greater the force required. It is for Parliament to grant it to the Government."

Premier Viviani concluded by saying:

"I ask you to adopt the conciliatory attitude necessary, so that we may go on to victory."

The entire Chamber applauded, and it was voted that the Premier's address should be posted on the billboards throughout France.

A Train from Lille to Warsaw

The staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES cabled from Berlin on Aug. 17, 1915:

Lille-Warsaw express. These words record another German mechanical and technical triumph.

Eleven days after the capture of Warsaw the military railroad officials have inaugurated a through train service, connecting the extremes of occupied enemy territory, leaving Lille at 6:40 o'clock in the morning, Brussels at 8:30, and Berlin at midnight, and arriving at Warsaw in time for luncheon the next afternoon.

The first trip of the new train eastward from Berlin carries a party of seven American war correspondents, including THE TIMES representative, who are going to witness the bombardment of Fort Novo Georgievsk.

Great Britain and Germany

By T. von Bethmann-Hollweg

German Imperial Chancellor

The assertion that the Germans, by a refusal of Sir Edward Grey's proposal of a conference of the European powers, are guilty of this war, is denounced by the German Imperial Chancellor in the subjoined speech, delivered in the Reichstag at its meeting on Aug. 19, 1915, as a calumny "behind which our enemies wish to hide their own guilt." The speech is remarkable as a statement of Germany's military and diplomatic position, and it immediately aroused vigorous discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. Full texts of the speech and Sir Edward Grey's reply thereto, which was addressed as a letter to the British press on Aug. 25, 1915, are given below.

Below appears the full text of the speech delivered in the Reichstag by the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, at its opening on Aug. 19, 1915. Concerning it the Berlin correspondent of the Kölnische Volkszeitung says:

A characteristic of the Chancellor's speech in the Reichstag was increased severity toward England. It was as if the Chancellor was filled with physical loathing when he spoke of Sir E. Grey's frivolity and blood-guilt in this war. When he spoke of England the House listened breathlessly to the descriptions of how England strangled and violated the rights of neutrals. When, toward the end, the Chancellor pleaded for the good intentions of his former pro-English policy, the Reichstag showed that it accepted his explanations, although there was little or no applause. In that part of the speech there was apparent much disappointment, personal bitterness, and acerbity against England.

SINCE our last meeting great things have again happened. All attempts of the French, in spite of their contempt for death and the utmost sacrifice of human life, to break our west front have failed against the stubborn pertinacity of our brave troops. Italy, who thought to conquer easily the goods of others which she has coveted, has been thus far brilliantly repulsed, despite her numerical superiority and unsparing sacrifice of human lives.

At the Dardanelles the Turkish Army makes an unflinching stand. Where we have assumed the offensive we have

beaten and thrown back the enemy. With our allies we have freed almost all Galicia, Poland, Lithuania, and Courland from the Russians. Ivangorod, Warsaw, and Kovno have fallen. Far into hostile territory our lines present everywhere a solid wall. We have strong armies free for new blows. Proud and fearless, and relying on our glorious troops, we can regard the future.

Amid the horrors of war we recall gratefully the practical love of humanity displayed by neighboring neutral States toward us on the occasion of the return of civilians from hostile countries and the exchange of prisoners of war. The Netherlands has already twice given ready and devoted assistance to our severely wounded returning from England. I express the heartfelt thanks of the German people to this nation, [applause,] and add a word of special thanks to the Pope, who has displayed untiring sympathy with the idea of the exchange of prisoners and with so many works of humanity during the war, and to whom belongs the main credit for their realization.

Our enemies incur a terrible blood-guiltiness by seeking to deceive their peoples about the real situation. When they do not deny their defeats our victories serve them to accumulate new calumnies against us. For instance, that we were victorious in the first year of the war because we had treacherously prepared for this war long beforehand, while they in their innocent love of peace [laughter] were not ready for war.

You remember the bellicose articles which the Russian Minister of War caused

to be circulated in the Spring of 1914, in which the complete preparedness for war of the Russian Army was praised; you remember the frequently provocative language which France has in recent years employed; you know that France, whenever she satisfied Russia's financial needs, made it a condition that the greater portion of the loan should always be applied to war equipment.

Sir Edward Grey said in Parliament on Aug. 3: "We, with our mighty fleet, shall, if we participate in the war, suffer little more than if we remained outside."* The man who, on the eve of his own declaration of war, speaks in such a very sober and businesslike tone, and who, in accordance therewith, also directs the policy of his friends, can only act so when he knows that he and his allies are ready. [Loud applause.]

The fable that England participated in the war only for the sake of Belgium has been abandoned in the meantime by England herself. It was not tenable. Do the smaller nations still believe that England and her allies are waging war for their protection and the protection and freedom of civilization? Neutral commerce on sea is strangled by England. As far as possible goods destined for Germany must no longer be loaded on neutral ships. Neutral ships are compelled on the high seas to take English crews aboard and to obey their orders.

England without hesitation occupies Greek islands because it suits her military operations, and with her allies she wishes to constrain neutral Greece to make cessions of territory in order to bring Bulgaria to her side. In Poland, Russia, who is fighting with the Allies for the freedom of peoples, lays waste the entire land before the retreat of her armies. Villages are burned down, cornfields trampled down, and the popu-

lation—Jews and Christians—are sent to uninhabited districts. They languish in the mud of Russian roads, in windowless, sealed goods wagons. Such are the freedom and civilization for which our enemies fight. In her claims to be the protector of smaller States England counts on the world having a very bad memory.

In the Spring of 1902 the Boer republics were incorporated in the British Empire. Then their eyes were turned to Egypt. To the formal annexation of this there was opposed the British Government's solemn promise to evacuate the land. That same England that to our proposal to guarantee to her Belgium's integrity if she remained neutral proudly replied that England could not make her obligations relative to Belgian neutrality a matter for bargaining; that same England had no scruple in bartering away to France her solemn obligation, undertaken toward all Europe, by the conclusion of a treaty with France, which was to give to England Egypt, and to France Morocco. In 1907 the southern portion of Persia, by agreement with Russia, was converted into an exclusively English sphere of interest, and the northern portion was delivered over to a freedom-loving regiment of Russian Cossacks.

[Herr Liebknecht here interjected "Potsdam interview."]

I am coming to that later. Whosoever pursues such a policy has no right to accuse of warlike aspirations and territorial covetousness a country which for forty-four years has protected European peace, and, while almost all other countries have waged wars and conquered lands, has striven only for peaceful development. That is hypocrisy. [Tempestuous applause.] Conclusive testimony of the tendencies of English policy and of the origin of the war is contained in the reports of Belgian Ministers.

For what reason are these documents as far as possible hushed up in London and Petrograd? The public of the Entente may look at the publications which I caused to be published, particularly about the negotiations of the English Military Attaché with the Belgian mili-

*Sir Edward Grey's exact words on Aug. 3, 1914, were:

For us, with a powerful fleet, which we believe able to protect our commerce and to protect our shores, and to protect our interests if we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer even if we stand aside. We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it, or whether we stand aside.

tary authorities. Here it is a question of England's policy of isolation. His colleagues in London and Paris form an exactly similar judgment to that of Baron Greindl, and this harmonious judgment is of quite decisive weight. Against these testimonies all attempts of the enemy to ascribe to us warlike ambitions, and to themselves a love of peace, fail. Was German policy not informed of these events, or did it intentionally close its eyes to them by still seeking an adjustment? Neither one nor the other.

There are circles who reproach me with political shortsightedness because I again and again endeavored to prepare an understanding with England. I thank God that I did. It is clearly proved that the fatality of this devastating world conflagration could have been prevented if an honest understanding with England, directed toward peace, had been accomplished. Who in Europe would then have thought of making war? With such an aim in view, should I have refused the work because it was heavy and because it again and again proved fruitless?

When it is a question of the utmost gravity in the life of the world, my motto is "With God nothing is impossible," and I would rather die in the struggle than have evaded it. King Edward saw his main task in personally promoting the English policy of isolation against Germany. After his death I hoped the negotiations for an agreement, already inaugurated by us in 1909, would make better progress. The negotiations dragged on till the Spring of 1911 without achieving any result. Then England's interference in our discussion with France in the Morocco question showed the entire world how English policy, in order to impose its will on the entire world, menaced the world's peace. Then also the English people was not exactly informed concerning the danger of the policy of its Government. When, after the crisis, it recognized how, by a hair's breadth, it had escaped the abyss of a world war, a sentiment grew up in wide circles of the English Nation in favor of establishing relations with us which would prevent warlike complications. Thus arose Lord Haldane's mission in the Spring of 1912.

Lord Haldane assured me that the English Cabinet was inspired with a sincere desire for an understanding. It was depressed by our impending naval budget. I asked him whether an open agreement with us, which would not only exclude an Anglo-German war, but any European war whatsoever, did not seem of more importance to him than a couple of German dreadnoughts more or less. Lord Haldane appeared inclined to this view. He asked me, however, whether, if we were assured of security in regard to England, we would not fall upon France and destroy her. I replied that the policy of peace which Germany had pursued for more than forty years ought really to save us from such a question. If we had planned robberlike attacks, we could have had the best opportunity during the South African war and Russo-Japanese war to show our love of war. Germany, which sincerely wished to live in peace with France, would just as little think of attacking another country.

After Haldane had left, negotiations were continued in London. In order to arrive at lasting relations with England we proposed an unconditional mutual neutrality undertaking. When this proposal was rejected by England, as going too far, we proposed to restrict neutrality to wars in which it could not be said that the power to whom neutrality was assured was the aggressor. This was also rejected by England, who proposed the following formula: "England will not make an unprovoked attack on Germany, and will refrain from an aggressive policy toward Germany. An attack on Germany is not included in any agreement or combination to which England is at present a party. England will not join any agreement which aims at such an attack." My opinion was that among civilized powers it was not customary to attack other powers without provocation, or join combinations which were planning such things. Therefore, a promise to refrain from such attacks could not be made the substance of a solemn agreement. The English Cabinet then proposed to affix the following to the above formula: "As both powers mutually desire to secure between themselves peace

and friendship, England declares that she will not make any unprovoked attacks," &c., as I have already told you.

This addition could not in any way alter the nature of the English proposal, and nobody could have blamed me if already at that time I had broken off negotiations. In order to do all in my power to secure the peace of Europe I declared myself ready to accept this English proposal also, on condition that it was completed as follows: "England, therefore, will, of course, observe benevolent neutrality should war be forced upon Germany." Sir Edward Grey flatly refused this addition, as he declared to our Ambassador, from the fear that it would endanger the existing British friendship with other powers. This means for us the conclusion of the negotiations. England thought it a token of special friendship to be sealed by a solemn agreement that she would not fall upon us without reason, but reserved for herself a free hand in case her friends should like to do it.

Mr. Asquith on Oct. 2, 1914, referred to this at Cardiff. He told his audience that the English formula that England would not attack Germany without provocation was not sufficient for the German statesmen, who demanded that England should remain absolutely neutral in the event of Germany being involved in war. This assertion of Mr. Asquith's is a misrepresentation of the facts. Naturally we demanded unconditional neutrality at first, but in the course of negotiations we restricted our demand for neutrality to the contingency of war having been forced upon Germany. This Mr. Asquith withheld from his audience. I believe myself justified in declaring that he thereby missed public opinion in England in an unjustifiable manner. If Mr. Asquith had given the complete facts he could not have continued his speech as he did. He said: "And this demand, namely, for unconditional neutrality in any war, was proposed by German statesmen at a moment when Germany had greatly increased her aggressive and defensive means of power, especially on the sea. They demanded that we should give them, as far as we

were concerned, a free hand when they chose the moment to conquer and govern Europe."

I cannot understand how Mr. Asquith could objectively represent so wrongly a fact of which he was very well informed to draw from it conclusions which were contrary to the truth. I mention this incident in order to protest before the entire world against the falsehood and slander with which our enemies fight against us. After we had made, in full cognizance of the anti-German direction of English policy, with the utmost patience the greatest possible concessions, they wanted to expose us before all the world by an exaggerated misrepresentation of the facts. Should our enemies succeed in drowning also these statements in the noise of battle and in unworthy work of inciting peoples, the time will come when history will pronounce judgment. At that time the moment had come when England and Germany by a sincere understanding could have secured the peace of the world. We were ready, England declined; she will never free herself from this blot.

Afterward Sir Edward Grey and the French Ambassador in London, M. Cambon, exchanged the well-known letters which aimed at an Anglo-French defensive alliance, but by separately concluded agreements between both the General Staffs and the Admiralty Staffs they became, in fact, an offensive alliance. This fact was also held from the public. Only when there was no way out the English Government, on Aug. 3, 1914, informed the public of this. Until then the English Ministers had always declared in Parliament that England, in the case of a European conflict, reserved a completely free hand. The same policy was pursued by England when naval negotiations, in the Spring of 1914, were opened with Russia, and the Russian Admiralty desired to invade our province of Pomerania with the assistance of English vessels. Thus the encircling by the Entente with its openly hostile tendencies became narrower. We were obliged to reply to the situation with the great armament of the budget of 1913.

As regards Russia, I have always acted

from the conviction that friendly relations to individual members of the Entente might diminish tension. On isolated questions we had come to a good understanding with Russia. I remind you of the Potsdam agreement. The relations between the Governments were not only correct, but were also inspired by personal confidence. But the general situation was not solved, because the revanche idea of France and the bellicose pan-Slavist attempts at expansion in Russia were continually encouraged by the anti-German policy of the balance of power of the London Cabinet. The tension thus grew to such an extent that it could not stand a serious test. Thus the Summer of 1914 arrived.

In England it is now asserted that war could have been avoided if I had agreed to the proposal of Sir Edward Grey to participate in a conference for the adjustment of the Russo-Austrian conflict. The English proposal for a conference was handed here on July 27 through the Ambassador. The Foreign Secretary in a conversation with Sir E. Goschen, in which he characterized the proposed method as unsuitable, declared that according to his information from Russia, M. Sazonoff was prepared for a direct exchange of opinion with Count Berchtold, and that direct discussion between St. Petersburg and Vienna might lead to a satisfactory result. Therefore it would be best, Herr von Jagow said, to await this discussion.

Sir E. Goschen reported this to London, and received Sir Edward Grey's answer, namely, that this would be a procedure which was by far to be preferred to all others. At that time Sir Edward Grey agreed to the German standpoint and expressly put aside his proposal for a conference. We especially pursued our mediatory action at Vienna in a form which approached to the last degree the line of what was consonant with our alliance. On July 29 the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg reported that M. Sazonoff had announced to him that the Vienna Cabinet categorically declined a direct discussion. Therefore, nothing else remained than to return to the proposal of Sir Edward Grey for a conver-

sation of four. As the Vienna Government, meanwhile, declared itself prepared to agree to a direct exchange of opinion with St. Petersburg, it was obvious that a misunderstanding prevailed.

I telegraphed to Herr von Tschirschky, our Ambassador in Vienna, that we could not expect that Austria-Hungary should negotiate with Serbia, with whom she was in a state of war. But the refusal of any exchange of opinion with St. Petersburg would be a bad blunder. Though we were ready to fulfill our duty as an ally, we must decline to be drawn into a world conflagration by Austria-Hungary ignoring our advice. Herr von Tschirschky answered that Count Berchtold had declared that, in fact, a misunderstanding prevailed on the Russian side. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg had at once received corresponding instructions. When in England shortly before the war excitement increased and serious doubts became loud concerning our endeavors for the preservation of peace, I published this incident in the English press. And now the insinuation is spread that this incident never took place at all, and that the instructions to Herr von Tschirschky were inventions in order to mislead public opinion. You will agree with me that this accusation is not worthy of reply.

After clearing up the above-mentioned misunderstandings conversations began between St. Petersburg and Vienna, until they found a conclusion by general mobilization of the Russian Army. I repeat that we carried on direct conversation between Vienna and St. Petersburg with the utmost vigor and success. The assertion that we, by a refusal of the English proposal of a conference, are guilty of this war belongs to the category of calumnies behind which our enemies wish to hide their own guilt. War became unavoidable solely by a Russian mobilization. We shall emerge as victoriously from the fight against these calumnies as from the great fight on the battlefield. Our and the Austro-Hungarian troops have reached the frontiers in the east defined by the Congress of Poland. Both now have the task of administering the country. For centuries geographical



CHARLES M. SCHWAB

President of the Bethlehem Steel Company That Makes Munitions for the
Quadruple Entente

(Photo © by Harris & Ewing)



GENERAL VON GALLWITZ
In Command on the Narew River
(Photo from Modern Photo Service)

and political fate has forced the Germans and Poles to fight against each other. The recollection of these old differences does not diminish respect before the passion of patriotism and tenacity with which the Polish people defends its old Western civilization and its love of independence in the severe sufferings from Russism, and a love which is maintained also through the misfortune of this war.

I hope that today's occupation of the Polish frontiers against the East represents the beginning of a development which will remove old contrasts between Germans and Poles, and will lead the country liberated from the Russian yoke to a happy future, so that it can foster and develop the individuality of its national life. The country occupied by us will be justly administered by us, with the assistance of its own population. As far as possible we will try to adjust the unavoidable difficulties of war, and will heal the wounds which Russia has inflicted on the country.

This war, the longer it lasts, will leave Europe bleeding from a thousand wounds. The world which will then arise shall and will not look as our enemies dream. They strive for the restitution of the old Europe, with powerless Germany as a tributary of a gigantic Russian Empire. No, this gigantic world's war will not bring back the old bygone situation. A new one must arise. If Europe shall come to peace it can only be possible by the inviolable and strong position of Germany. The English policy of the balance of power must disappear, because it is, as the English poet, Shaw, recently said, a hatching of other wars. When our Ambassador on Aug. 4 took leave of Sir Edward Grey, the latter said that this war which had broken out between England and Germany would at the conclusion of peace enable him to do us more valuable services than the neutrality of England would allow him. [General laughter.] Before his eyes the giant victorious Russia rose, and perhaps behind it defeated Germany. Then weakened Germany would have been good enough to be a vassal of her helper England.

Germany must thus consolidate, strengthen, and secure her position so

that other powers can never again think of a policy of isolation. For our and other people's protection we must gain the freedom of the seas, not as England did, to rule over them, but that they should serve equally all peoples. We will be, and will remain, the shield of peace and freedom of big and small nations. We do not menace the little peoples of Germanic race. How busily are the diplomats of the Quadruple Entente engaged in influencing the Balkan peoples by telling them that the victory of the central powers would throw them into slavery, while the triumph of the Quadruple Entente would bring them freedom, independence, gain in territory, and economical thrift. It is only a few years ago that the hunger for power of Russia created, under the motto, "The Balkans for the Balkan people," the union which soon decayed through her favoring the Serbian breach of agreement toward Bulgaria. The German and Austro-Hungarian victories in Poland have freed the Balkans from Russian pressure. England was once the protector of the Balkans. As the ally of Russia she can only be the oppressor of their independence.

Hardly another great people in the last century has endured such sufferings as the Germans, and yet we can love this fate which gave us in such sufferings the spirit to accomplish gigantic deeds. For the empire, at last united, every year of peace was a gain, because we made best progress without war. We do not want war. Germany never strove for supremacy in Europe. Her ambition was to be predominant in peaceful competition with great and small nations in works for the general welfare of civilization. This war has shown of what greatness we are capable, relying on our own moral strength. The power that gave us the inner strength we cannot employ otherwise than in the direction of freedom. We do not hate the peoples who have been driven into war by their Governments. We shall hold on through the war till those peoples demand peace from the really guilty, till the road becomes free for the new liberated Europe, free of French intrigues, Muscovite desire of conquest, and English guardianship.

Reply to the German Chancellor

By Sir Edward Grey

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain

To the Editor of The London Daily Telegraph:

SIR: There are some points in the speech of the German Chancellor, made last week, which may, I think, be suitably dealt with in a letter to the press, pending the fuller review of the situation which may be appropriate to some other method and time. I will state the facts and the reflections they suggest as briefly and clearly as I can, and ask you to be good enough to make them public:

1. The Belgian record of conversation with the British Military Attaché was published by Germany last Autumn to prove that Belgium had trafficked her neutrality with us and was, in effect, in a plot with us against Germany.

The conversation of which most use has been made was never reported to the Foreign Office, nor, as far as records show, to the War Office at the time, and we saw a record of it for the first time when Germany published the Belgian record. But it bears on the face of it that it referred only to the contingency of Belgium being attacked, that the entry of the British into Belgium would take place only after the violation of Belgian territory by Germany, and that it did not commit the British Government. No convention or agreement existed between the British and Belgian Governments. Why does the German Chancellor mention these informal conversations of 1906 and ignore entirely that in April, 1913, I told the Belgian Minister most emphatically that what we desired in the case of Belgium, as in that of other neutral countries, was that their neutrality should be respected and that as long as it was not violated by any other power we should certainly not send troops ourselves into their territory?

Let it be remembered that the first use made by Germany of the Belgian docu-

ment was to charge Belgium with bad faith to Germany. What is the true story? On July 29, 1914, the German Chancellor tried to bribe us by a promise of future Belgian independence to become a party to the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany. On the outbreak of war he described the Belgian treaty as a scrap of paper, and the German Foreign Secretary explained that Germany must go through Belgium to attack France, because she could not afford the time to do otherwise. The statement of Herr von Jagow is worth quoting again: "The Imperial Government had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops." In the Reichstag, too, on Aug. 4, 1914, the German Chancellor stated, in referring to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg: "The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained."

The violation of Belgian neutrality was therefore deliberate, although Germany had actually guaranteed that neutrality, and surely there has been nothing more despicably mean than the attempt to justify it *ex post facto* by bringing against the innocent and inoffensive Belgian Government and people the totally false charge of having plotted against

Germany. The German Chancellor does not emphasize in his latest speech that charge, which has been spread broadcast against Belgium. Is it withdrawn? And, if so, will Germany make reparation for the cruel wrong done to Belgium?

2. The negotiations for an Anglo-German agreement in 1912, referred to by the German Chancellor, were brought to a point at which it was clear that they could have no success unless we in effect gave a promise of absolute neutrality while Germany remained free under her alliances to take part in European war. This can, and shall, be explained by publishing an account of the negotiations, taken from the records in the Foreign Office.

3. The Chancellor quotes an isolated sentence from my speech of Aug. 3, 1914, to prove that we were ready for war. In the very next sentence, which he might have quoted but does not quote, I said: "We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it or whether we stand aside." I leave it to any one outside Germany in any neutral country to settle for himself whether those are the words of a man who had desired and planned European war, or of one who had labored to avert it. The extent of the German Chancellor's misapplication of the isolated sentence which he quotes will be obvious to any one who reads the full context of the speech.

As to the other statement attributed to me; not even when we were perfectly free, when Japan, who was our ally, had not entered the war, and when we were not pledged to other allies as we are now by the agreement of Sept. 5, 1914, did I say anything so ridiculous or untrue as that it was in the interest of Germany that we had gone to war and with the object of restraining Russia.

4. The war would have been avoided if a conference had been agreed to. Germany on the flimsiest pretext shut the door against it. I would wreck nothing on a point of form, and expressed myself ready to acquiesce in any method of mediation that Germany could suggest if mine was not acceptable. Mediation, I said, was ready to come into operation by

any method that Germany thought possible, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace.

The German Chancellor, according to his speech, encouraged nothing except direct discussion between Vienna and Petrograd. But what chance had that of success when, as we heard afterward, the German Ambassador at Vienna was expressing the opinion that Russia would stand aside, and conveying to his colleagues the impression that he desired war from the first, and that his strong personal bias probably colored his action there?

Some day, perhaps, the world will know what really passed between Germany and Austria respecting the ultimatum to Serbia and its consequences.

It has become only too apparent that in the proposal of a conference which we made, which Russia, France, and Italy agreed to, and which Germany vetoed, lay the only hope of peace. And it was such a good hope! Serbia had accepted nearly all of the Austrian ultimatum, severe and violent as it was. The points outstanding could have been settled honorably and fairly in a conference in a week. Germany ought to have known, and must have known, that we should take the same straight and honorable part in it that she herself recognized we had taken in the Balkan conference, working not for diplomatic victory of a group but for fair settlement, and ready to side against any attempt to exploit the conference unfairly to the disadvantage of Germany or Austria.

The refusal of a conference by Germany, though it did not decide British participation in the war, did, in fact, decide the question of peace or war for Europe and sign the death warrant of the many hundreds of thousands who have been killed in this war.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Emperor of Russia proposed to the German Emperor that the Austro-Serb dispute should be settled by The Hague Tribunal.

Is there one candid soul in Germany and Austria-Hungary who, looking back on the past year, does not regret that

neither the British nor Russian proposal was accepted?

5. And what is the German program as we gather it from the speech of the Chancellor and public utterances in Germany now? Germany to control the destiny of all other nations; to be "the shield of peace and freedom of big and small nations"—those are the Chancellor's words—an iron peace and a freedom under a Prussian shield and under German supremacy. Germany supreme, Germany alone would be free—free to break international treaties; free to crush when it pleased her; free to refuse all mediation; free to go to war when it suited her; free, when she did go to war, to break again all rules of civilization and humanity on land and at sea; and, while she may act thus, all her commerce at sea is to remain as free in time of war as all commerce is in time of peace. Freedom of the sea may be a very reasonable subject for discussion, definition, and agreement between nations after this war; but not by itself alone, not while there is no freedom and no security against war and German methods of war on land. If there are to be guarantees against future war, let them be equal,

comprehensive, and effective guarantees that bind Germany as well as other nations, including ourselves.

Germany is to be supreme. The freedom of other nations is to be that which Germany metes out to them. Such is apparently the conclusion to be drawn from the German Chancellor's speech; and to this the German Minister of Finance adds that the heavy burden of thousands of millions must be borne through decades, not by Germany, but by those whom she is pleased to call the instigators of the war. In other words, for decades to come Germany claims that whole nations who have resisted her should labor to pay her tribute in the form of war indemnities.

Not on such terms can peace be concluded or the life of other nations than Germany be free, or even tolerable. The speeches of the German Chancellor and Finance Minister make it appear that Germany is fighting for supremacy and tribute. If that is so, and as long as it is so, our allies and we are fighting, and must fight, for the right to live, not under German supremacy, but in real freedom and safety. Your obedient servant,

E. GREY.

Foreign Office, Aug. 25, 1915.

How Germany Saved Her Merchant Fleet

Godfrey Isaacs, Managing Director of Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Ltd., at its last annual meeting in London related how the Germans tried to save their mercantile marine by a wireless message sent out at 5 o'clock on Aug. 4, seven hours before war was declared. Germany's chain of wireless stations in all her colonies cost her £2,000,000. He said:

In the light of what subsequently happened, you will probably say that it was a very bad investment; but you would be mistaken. You will remember that this country declared war on Germany at midnight on Aug. 4 last. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Aug. 4 Germany sent out a message to all its wireless stations, which passed that message on from one to another, and sent it out to sea, covering a radius of something like 2,000 miles or more—a message to this effect:

War declared upon England.

Make as quickly as you can for a neutral port.

By that message, which occupied but a few minutes, Germany contrived to save the greater part of its mercantile marine. If it had but saved one of its big ships—the Vaterland or any one of that class—it would have paid for the whole cost of these wireless stations. We all know that it was a great deal more than that, and it did a great deal more than send this message to its mercantile marine. But I don't think I am permitted to go further or to tell you any more than I have told you with regard to the saving of the mercantile marine.

Billions for Germany's War

By Karl Helfferich

German Secretary of the Treasury

The subjoined speech by Karl Helfferich, Germany's Treasurer, was made in the Reichstag on Aug. 20, 1915. It preceded the addition of \$7,500,000,000 to the first German war loans amounting to \$5,000,000,000. The speech is translated from the official German verbatim report.

QUESTION OF MEMBER, Dr. LIEBKNECHT (Social Democrat)—Is the Government, in case of corresponding readiness of the other belligerents, ready, on the basis of the renunciation of annexations of every kind, to enter into immediate peace negotiations?

SECRETARY OF STATE von JAGOW—I believe that I shall meet the wishes of the great majority of this House if I decline to answer the question of the member, Dr. Liebknecht, as at the present time injudicious. [Energetic storm of "Bravos." Member Dr. Liebknecht cries: "We want peace!" Resounding merriment.]

There follows the second consideration of the supplementary statement of the costs of the war.

COUNT WESTARP, (Conservative,) bringing in the report—In the case of the loan which we last voted, a contribution of 200,000,000 marks was set aside for the nursing of maternity cases and for the support of the wounded and the unemployed. The Government has promised to increase this fund this time also. It has been raised chiefly for the support of maternity cases. Unemployment has not developed to such a degree that large sums have had to be applied for it, but this is always possible in the future. The commission has decided unanimously to recommend to you the granting of the loan. The commission is convinced that not one of our enemies is up to the present willing to give up the plan of annihilating Germany, to say nothing of being ready to make peace, on the basis of our just demands after this war which has been forced upon us. The commission considers the way proposed for raising the costs of the war satisfactory. It has

also convinced itself that our national economy is in a position to bear the newly proposed loan, and that in the furthest circles of the nation there exist the will and the joyful readiness to raise the loan. Greater sacrifices than the greatest financial sacrifices are made by our brothers in the field, offering their lives to save our fields from devastation. The whole German people is firmly determined, in this battle, so long as it lasts, to offer every further sacrifice, until we reach a peace which shall correspond to the just requirements of the security and the future of the German Empire. [Loud applause.] In the name of the commission, I ask for an acceptance of the measure before you which shall be as nearly as possible unanimous. [Applause on all sides.]

THE SPEECH.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY HELFFERICH: In itself the proposition before you needs no vindication nor proof. But, as we stand on the threshold of the second year of the war, we wish to give to the German people, to neutrals, and also to the world of our enemies, a picture of our financial situation. Up to the present, for war purposes, the Reichstag has granted 20,000,000,000 marks, (\$5,000,000,000,) and with the present proposition the total will be 30,000,000,000, (\$7,500,000,000.) One has often the impression that in this war we have in some degree lost the sense of large figures. ["Quite right!"] We must seek new standards. The 20,000,000,000 marks granted so far represent approximately the value of the German railroad system, with all adjuncts, and the entire rolling stock. ["Hear, hear!"] In spite of this we already need an increase of the existent credits, in view of the enormous

and constantly increasing strain on all our powers in this inexorable battle for the life and future of our people. Each month the war devours the mighty sum of 2,000,000,000 marks, (\$500,000,000.) ["Hear, hear!"] This amount, which one month of war now costs, is a third higher than the entire cost of the war of 1870-71. [Loud cries of "Hear, hear!"] We wish to look these figures and the truth in the eyes unterrified. We shall consent to no self-deception as to the greatness of the undertakings which have yet to be performed, as to the weight of the sacrifices which have yet to be made. ["Quite right!"] It is a frightful time that is laid upon the German people and the whole world. We shall not meet this time with big words. [Assent on all sides.] We must be sober and come to a clear understanding that the second year of the war will be more difficult than the first. New problems stand before us, old problems become more difficult. But we must remember that the means which are necessary to carry the matter through become constantly greater than the means expended up to the present. However heavy all these problems may be, we shall not and can not draw back from them. The German people knew from the beginning of the war what sacrifices must be made in this war. Every German knows today also why these sacrifices are made and

THAT THEY WILL NOT BE MADE IN VAIN.

[Loud applause.] The best foundation for this proposition is the unanimous will of the people to prosecute the war to a victorious end, to a peace for which we can answer before ourselves, our children and grandchildren. [Loud applause.] But we are not so far yet that our enemies are compelled to declare themselves defeated; they are still struggling, although hard hit, against the thought that their cause is lost, that they may soon be compelled to save what can be saved and to offer us security for the future. So long as our enemies do not consent to draw the necessary consequences from our invincibility and from our victories, arms are our only means to convince them, ["Quite right!"] so long

must and shall we make every sacrifice that the war imposes on us. For the raising of the credit now proposed, this time also the method of a loan will be taken. The grounds that I brought forward in March to show that war taxes, so long as this is practicable, should not be introduced continue to exist today. We are unwilling to raise by taxation the heavy burden which our people bears so long as there is no imperious necessity for this. A heavier burdening of the consumer would, with the already high prices, be as great a mistake as a heavier burdening of commerce. The direct taxes will be raised hereafter in part in the separate States of the empire and will be followed up more strictly. Concerning the

WAR PROFIT TAXES

I can say this: In the conference of the Finance Ministers of the States of the empire, a fundamental unanimity of opinion was reached. It is a question of a proposed law, which must be thoroughly worked out in detail, for the matter is not yet so far matured. According to our view, the raising of such a tax—I say expressly raising—can only be carried on after the conclusion of the war, for only then will it be possible for those concerned to see clearly the financial changes which the war has brought to them. The Governments of the States of the empire are convinced that the establishment of the idea of war profit taxation without objection is a fiscal impossibility. And on the other hand, the confederated Governments are of the opinion that all those who, during the period of the war, in contrast with the great mass of their fellow-nationals, have been in a position to increase their means to a considerable degree, are also in a position, and under an obligation to contribute to the burden of the war in a larger degree than through the ordinary taxes. ["Bravo!"] Our leaning has been toward the imperial property increase tax. Property increase through inheritance from near relations shall remain free from taxation, and on this point there is complete harmony. The special tax on war profits as a contribution to the cost of the war shall be pay-

able not only in cash but also by war loan certificates. Therefore the expectation or apprehension of such taxation need keep no one from subscribing to the war loan. [Great hilarity.] All countries have had to have recourse to loans. Even England, which, in the first months of the war, proudly announced that war expenses would be financed to a considerable extent by taxation has now come to another view. It is well known that by raising the income tax, by the tax on beer and the tax on tea, England last Autumn covered only some 5 per cent. of the cost of the first year of the war. A second project was given up in the Spring of the present year, without noise or discussion. And if the Government takes under consideration the question of taxing wages, which have up to the present remained free from taxation, it meets with so much resistance that the fate of the undertaking cannot remain in doubt. If we wish to have the power to settle the terms of peace according to our necessities and our requirements, then we must not forget the question of cost. ["Quite right!"] We must have in view that the whole future life activity of our people, so far as this is at all possible, shall be free from burdens. ["Quite right!"]

THE LEADEN WEIGHT OF BILLIONS has been earned by the instigators of this war; in the future, let them, rather than we, drag them about after them. [Loud applause.] We know well that it is a question here of a problem of unusual difficulty, but everything that can be done in this direction will be done. ["Bravo!"] The granting of the war credit has as its counterpart the realization of this credit by the floating of the loan. The public knows that the issue of a third war loan is imminent. Our preparations are to a great degree made. In a few days an invitation to subscribe will appear in the newspapers. Toward covering the previous expenditures, there were also available the war treasure which was in existence before the outbreak of the war, and the balances of the Imperial Treasury. In the same manner the surplus of the account of the ordinary budget of the last fiscal year was devoted

to the same end. In March I estimated the surplus at 38,000,000 marks, but the final statement showed that it amounted to 219,000,000 marks. ["Hear, hear!"] That is a very fair sum, but for the further conduct of the war we need much more considerable means. The material forces which gave to the first two loans a result out of proportion to all expectations, are today as firm and strong as ever. The enormous sums which the empire required have remained almost wholly within the country, they have gone to our soldiers, to our agriculturists, to our industry, to both workmen and employers, and in part

HAVE BECOME A NEW RESERVE CAPITAL.

You can convince yourselves of this if you examine the development of our loan banks. At the time of the first large payment on the second war loan payments into the loan banks amounted to 1,500,000,000 marks and more. Payments from the loan banks amounted to 536,000,000 marks in advances, which were devoted to the aim of making payments on the war loan. In the interval payments from the loan banks have diminished to 292,000,000 marks. This is not more than 3 per cent. of the total amount of the second war loan. ["Hear, hear!"] I wish our enemies would also say, "Hear, hear." [Laughter.] It is spread abroad by our enemies that the success of our war loans is only an illusion, that they are financed with bills of exchange of the loan banks. [Laughter.] I happen to have here *The Daily Telegraph*, a relatively decent sheet. ["Hear, hear!"] In it it is related that our loan banks accept everything that is brought to them, down to toothpicks and chafing dishes. [Laughter.] You may laugh at this, but you must also clearly understand that these systematically propagated calumnies, these depreciations of our financial position and of everything that happens in Germany, work great detriment to us in neutral lands, and it is altogether to our interest that this web of lies concerning our finances should be torn to pieces. ["Quite right!"] The German people may be proud of our savings banks. In 1913 their deposits increased a billion marks.

In 1914, in spite of the state of war, the deposits increased 900,000,000 marks, although considerable payments were made from the savings bank books on the first war loan. In the first six months of this year the increase amounted to almost a billion and a half marks. ["Hear, hear!"] Of course, the amount was almost wholly applied to payments of the war loan on the part of the savings banks, these payments amounting to 1,800,000,000 marks. But today it can be said that the savings banks are once more completely intact; they have a balance of 20,000,000,000 marks more than at any time previous to the outbreak of the war. Matters stand equally favorable with regard to the banks. Here, also, after the heavy payments made on account of the second war loan, capital has reached its former level, and even risen above it. The fluidity of money is a sign of financial strength and health, and to some degree it took the direction of Stock Exchange speculation. But a slight hint was sufficient to bring a check to this tendency and to broaden the understanding that there are better possibilities today for the use of money than speculations.

ALL MONEY BELONGS TO THE FATHERLAND.

War loan stock is now the best form of capital. [Applause.] Free activity on the Stock Exchange has hitherto in reality confined itself within certain limits, and the first warning brought it to full recognition. Now, in the case of the third war loan, we are going to bring all our forces into motion and action. To this end we have still further extended the organization which worked so well in the case of the first two loans. To begin with, we shall bring all the Post Offices of the empire into the work of subscription, and we shall also allow fractional payments to 100 marks for the small subscriptions under 1,000 marks. We further hope, after the good and effective examples of the last loan, to enlist the co-operation of employers, in order that they may facilitate the participation of their workers and employes, in small subscriptions. Further, we shall give out intermediate certificates, in order that the subscriber to the loan may

have something in his hands as soon as possible. The cessation of the issue of intermediate certificates in the case of the second loan caused undesirable situations. We shall enlist co-operation for the new loan to an even larger degree than in the case of the first two. But sensational advertisement, such as England employs in floating her war loans, we shall avoid. [Applause.] It does not suit German taste to involve the serious matter of war in circus advertisements. ["Quite right!"] And we do not need, as England does, to tell our subscribers that they are conferring a favor on the Fatherland when they subscribe for the loan. The German does not make presents or give alms to his Fatherland, but

HE FULFILLS HIS DUTY.

[Loud applause.] Instead, we shall, as hitherto, bring the widest possible circles into co-operation in the work of floating the loan; the representatives of the local Governments, the clergy, and, before all, we count on you, the chosen representatives of the people. The administration of imperial finance will support you to the utmost of its power. As far as concerns the interest on the new loan, we shall remain on the simple, straight path which has hitherto brought us such excellent results. The 5 per cent. war loan is the most genuinely national paper that Germany has ever had. ["Quite right!"] We shall only raise slightly the price of issue, thanks to our financial strength. For the rest, we shall leave experimenting with alluring financial tricks and sensational attractions to our opponents. The certain feeling of strength and power shows itself always in simplicity. [Applause.] We can be all the more proud of our financial situation when we look at it in comparison with the financial relations of our enemies. According to exact investigations, the total costs of this world war for all participants are estimated to run to about 300,000,000 marks (\$75,000,000) daily. ["Hear, hear!"] This makes about 8,000,000,000 marks a month, and for the year in round numbers,

ABOUT A HUNDRED BILLIONS.

["Hear, hear!"] This is the greatest de-

struction of values and dislocation of values that the world has ever seen. Of single countries, until a short time ago, Germany had borne the heaviest burden. But since then England has outstripped us. There the daily expenditures for war purposes have reached the total of £4,000,000, that is, more than 80,000,000 marks. ["Hear, hear!"] We shall not grudge to England, which places so high the idea of the "record," this superiority, [laughter,] especially since the English themselves have the feeling that we are accomplishing more with smaller means. Only a short time ago a member of the English upper house said that he had the impression that a pound went further in Germany than three pounds in England. ["Hear, hear!"] I could give examples of the truth that in certain fields the Lord underestimated these relations to a noteworthy degree. [Renewed cries of "Hear, hear!"] As to the totals of the two groups of belligerents, taken in round numbers, the expenditures fall as follows: To the coalition of our enemies fall nearly two-thirds of all expenditures, to us and our allies a little more than one-third of the cost of the war. ["Hear, hear!"] Of the belligerent countries, up to the present only Germany, England, and Austria-Hungary have covered an amount worth mentioning of their war costs by long-term consolidated loans. England has raised from 18,000,000,000 to 19,000,000,000 marks, of which some 12,000,000,000 to 13,000,000,000 should be paid in. We stand today at a paid-up total of 13,000,000,000, and with the impending war loan, as I confidently hope, also with regard to subscriptions, and the sums assured for the prosecution of the war, we are ahead of every one. Our ally Austria-Hungary has a long-term loan of nearly 8,000,000,000 kroner (\$1,600,000,000) on the market, which, in view of the condition of industry, national wealth and national prosperity in Austria-Hungary,

DESERVES THE HIGHEST RECOGNITION.

[Loud cries of "Bravo!"] In order to make this clear to you, I compare France, which remains far behind the sums which

I have hitherto named. The net return of her long-term loan, the Obligation de défense nationale, today hardly reaches 2,000,000,000 francs, (\$400,000,000,) something like one-quarter of what Austria-Hungary has up to the present done in the domain of long-term loans. All the rest of her financial war needs France has supplied by short-term credits, 8,000,000,000 francs; she has borrowed 16,500,000,000 francs from the Bank of France and, on very oppressive terms, has obtained a credit of 1,500,000,000 francs from England. Of Russia, Italy, and the smaller Entente powers I shall say nothing, for one should not be cruel without need even to one's enemies. [Loud laughter.] Not only with reference to the amount of the sums, but also the way in which they were raised, I think I can safely say that on this point also we have shown incontestable superiority. France,

THE LAND OF THE RENTIER,

has hardly, so far, got as far as a regular loan, the beforementioned obligations were not offered for subscription, but were gradually sold like Treasury certificates. Lately, interest-bearing paper certificates of 20 and 5 francs have been announced. From time to time they are wont to talk of future great consolidated loans, but France has always decided that the time for that had not come yet. And England, the land of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. consols, tried first with a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loan, of which indeed 7,500,000,000 marks was subscribed; but the loan which was issued at 95 went down already on the first day below the price of issue, a sign that the loan was badly supported. In an hour of weakness the writer of The Times financial reports not long ago let out the fact that so much had been said about the brilliant result, that capitalists had not thought it necessary to show especial zeal, so that the great banks immediately before closing had to make special efforts in order to save the situation. But the English market was burdened with it, and no further headway could be made. The loan which should have lasted until the end of July, was used up by the end of March. They helped them-

selves out with Treasury exchanges, but the press of buyers remained absent. Only very recently have they again undertaken the emission of a great loan. Meanwhile

THE MAN OF "SILVER BULLETS,"

Lloyd George, has not found his confidence justified. The rate of interest was set at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, together with the far-reaching rights of conversion, means an actual interest basis of more than 4 per cent. The loan which, according to the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, was to cover the war needs until March, 1916, has brought some £600,000,000; this amount will have been used up by September. Even this result was only reached, for this I call *The Times* to witness, because the great banks decided on the last day—of course quite voluntarily [laughter]—to raise their subscriptions to twice the amount of the previous sums. In all, in round numbers £200,000,000 were subscribed by the banks, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shortly before declared that he did not want a bank loan, but wanted a national loan. To this course of things in France and England I place this fact as a contrast, that in our own case, with the two loans, the price never for a single day fell below the price of issue, but, on the contrary,

ALWAYS KEPT ABOVE THE PRICE OF ISSUE,

that we were able to issue the second loan at 1 per cent. higher than the first, and with the new loan we shall set the price of issue yet a little higher. If, then, the old proverb still has its meaning, that to make war you need money, then even our enemies will see how favorable our position is on the financial war stage also. If we consider the standard national securities in England, France, and Germany before the war, we shall find that the 3 per cent. French rente has fallen about 20 per cent., in England the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. consols touched a low mark of 65, and have since fallen even lower. Our German national securities, on the contrary, show a fall of only 8 to 9 per cent. So in this respect also we cut the

best figure. ["Bravo!"] But here also our enemies have invented false pretenses to prove that we are bleeding to death. From time to time the London Stock Exchange quotes our 3 per cent. imperial loans. A short time ago the Stock Exchange quoted them at $49\frac{1}{2}$. [Laughter.] In vain did I put myself to great trouble, by circuitous ways through neutral foreign countries, to buy German Government loans at this excellent price. [Loud laughter.] Such an opportunity, I said to myself, would never return. [Renewed laughter.] But I did not succeed in obtaining a single stock certificate. [Prolonged laughter.] But such rates are not made for us, nor for the English, for they will not buy our paper, but for Messieurs the French. There the rate of $49\frac{1}{2}$ is accepted with enthusiasm.

A further favorable sign for us is that the Imperial Bank has raised its gold stock more than a billion marks since the war began.

OUR GOLD RESERVE

is today 5.4 per cent. better than in England and about 8 per cent. better than in France, but in spite of this firmly established fact, untruths are sent abroad in foreign lands on this point also. Thus *The Times* wrote that the increase of the stock of gold of the Imperial Bank is due to the fact that we took over the stock of gold of the Austro-Hungarian banks. [Laughter.] Of course, we are helping our allies financially also; our German banks have helped the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to make certain financial transactions, in agreement with the direction of the empire; we have also in respect of the Turks, who are fighting so splendidly, [cries of "Bravo!"] fulfilled our financial duties as allies, and shall continue to do so. We have not haggled with our allies, we have not taken money from them. To regard our allies as objects of expropriation is not the German way; that we leave to the Britons. ["Bravo!"]

Now, as to our foreign rate of exchange. I took the trouble to show you earlier on what combination of circumstances our foreign rate of exchange rests. Things have not improved, but they have become no worse; the matter

stands in about the same condition as in the month of March. This after another half year of war is an advance, in spite of the common proverb that to be stationary is to recede. Meanwhile the derision of the French and the English on this point has disappeared. Proud England is fighting a doubtful battle to maintain the exchange of sterling against its ever-increasing depreciation. Recently it has gone down about 5 per cent. ["Hear, hear!"] In March the exchange value of France was still at par. Today 100 Swiss francs cost 110 French francs. In New York the depreciation is 16 per cent.; the French exchange is now worse than the German. But the French have a speedy consolation ready. The French Finance Minister Ribot has calmed the French in Paris with the following words: "There exists no deprecation of our credit; there are simply certain difficulties in paying." [Loud laughter.] According to the report, these words were received with general expressions of "Très bien!" [Renewed laughter.]

Now I come back to the chief and essential matter, to the root, which is
**THE SECRET OF OUR SUCCESS ON
 THE FINANCIAL STAGE.**

The secret does not lie in what is generally called wealth. In this the British Empire, and per head of population, France also excel us. The wealth of Germany does not rest on savings, it much more truly embraces our entire commercial and technical apparatus. It consists above all in our people's power of work, employed in war and for the war. What the war has consumed, is not our money, it is the sum of war material and means of support, which our people now, thank God, on its own soil, by straining every energy, is able to produce ever anew. The money we use, we do not use up, it is with money as with the railroads which bring us the things we need. As the railroad cars roll along well filled to their destinations, so the money rolls out of the Imperial Bank, and flows back into it again by way of the war loans. Good financing is as important for the conduct of the war as a good railway system. But even the best railway system would be good for nothing, if there

is nothing to transport, and the best money system is useless, if work does not produce the things which are needed to carry on the war. Where money rolls across the frontiers, in order to complete the war material and the supply of food, it does not roll back so easily, and interruptions occur, such as we see in the case of our opponents. If our enemies wish to repair their gold machine and study our example, this will only profit them when they can imitate the power of production of our industry, when they can imitate our workers and employers in every branch of production. And this they cannot do, they can do it as little as they can imitate our army. ["Quite right!"] Much more belongs to this than insight born of need. Thereto belong generations of co-operation, thereto belongs

AN IRON EDUCATION,

thereto belongs consciousness of duty and discipline, thereto belongs a nationality welded together by a history of millenniums. [Loud applause.] Against this nationality, the might and the malice of our enemies will be shattered. We carry the consciousness of victory within us. We feel the promise of victory redoubled within us in these days when, amid the thunder of our guns, enemy forts fall, where every one feels the approach of great decisions, where the wing-flapping of world history is audible in the smallest hut also. We know the nation is saturated with the consciousness and the will to exert and to apply all its forces, as well in the contest in the field, and in the fight against the forts, as in the war of industry. Therefore I hope that what you now grant, will be subscribed by the whole people. No one will exclude himself. They who have remained at home, will thereby contribute to bring us, by overwhelming successes, nearer to victory and to peace, the German peace which will perfect the work of 1812 and 1870, the peace which shall assure to us and to our allies a lasting security, a peace which shall control the passions of turbulent peoples, and give to the German Nation the warrant to maintain its place in the world, and to fulfill its mission. [Loud, long-continued applause.]

Human Documents of Battle

Personal First-Hand Experiences of Men At or Near the Front

Written in the hurry and confusion of the campaign, the subjoined personal accounts of experiences by soldiers and eyewitnesses at the front, while at times inaccurate and incomplete, convey in a unique manner the vivid details and atmosphere of the war—an atmosphere that must be lacking in the future histories of the conflict. Perhaps never in the wars of the past have the scenes of the clash of armies been brought so immediately and realistically before the eyes of the world. The letters from German soldiers appeared recently in the German press.

With the Turks on the Plains of Troy

From a German Officer's Letter

WE rode toward our positions in the direction of Troy. The terrible uproar continued. Under special orders I took a ride along through the country. Those of the poor inhabitants who had still dared to remain in the villages on the coast now began their final and hasty retreat to the interior. Everywhere I met their carts loaded with their few belongings, the owners following on foot. I came to Tschiblak, a village in the neighborhood of the Trojan ruins. By the walls women and children were crowded in fear, huddled together immovable. I comforted as well as I was able their anxious spirits. Roundabout burst the shells. At every explosion a cry of fear from the natives, who believed the enemy coming ever closer. I had to ride on. Behind Troy then for several hours I watched with the telescope the stretches of coast. Finally, toward 4 o'clock, came orders to ride forward toward Kum Kaleh. We met long columns of Turkish infantry on the march, with artillery between and ammunition carts.

Finally, we safely found our way through the continual hail of shells and settled on a hill from which a good deal of the region in which the battle was being fought could be observed. From dispatch riders and returning officers we gathered details. * * * About a division had landed—French Colonial troops and Senegalese. They had come ashore in small boats and sought

to gain ground. * * * A portion of the Senegal negroes wanted to go over to their Turkish co-religionists and had hoisted a white flag. When the sign of surrender was noticed on the ships they fired from there into the ranks of their own fighters. So only a few succeeded in making their way to the side of the Turks. Those who came over told of preposterous tales. To give them enthusiasm for the war the English had told them the Turks had turned over to the Germans the Holy Places of Islam, Mecca, and Medina, and England with the Allies was about to bring the blasphemers to account and to win back these places so holy to the Moslems.

Kum Kaleh was stormed ten times, bloody street fights were continually taking place in which the bayonet played the chief rôle. Toward 9 o'clock, when the tumult had reached its height, the enemy was shooting like mad from his ships with high explosive shells and shrapnel, while two searchlights lit up the scene of battle as with daylight and searched the ground behind. I received orders to bring up a battalion standing ready at Troy and to guide it through the swampy Meander plain toward Kum Kaleh. It was an adventurous ride in the pitch-dark night; roads there were hardly at all, and we had to ride by guess. Finally, I safely reached my destination, and, more quickly than I had expected, put the battalion on the march and led it to the battlefield. No decision

had been reached when I arrived there at midnight. * * *

In the course of the afternoon of the next day the first prisoners came in—French territorials, including a Captain and negroes. The Captain had fought in Flanders, then in Southern Alsace. One thing could be gathered from the equipment found with wounded and prisoners, that the whole expedition had been fitted out to the smallest detail with all possible means. Preserves in great quantities, faultless clothing and durable footwear,

folding wire entanglements, all sorts of engineering tools, immense masses of wine and foodstuffs. Even strong Flanders horses had been brought ashore. Especially excellent were the maps. * * *

Toward evening came more booty and the joyful news that the enemy had been finally defeated, and, leaving hundreds of dead, had fled to his ships. As far as possible they had taken the fallen Frenchmen with them, leaving the negroes, apparently without exception.

Attack on the Heights of the Meuse

A German Soldier's Letter from the Field

WHAT has happened here in recent days you know from the newspapers, but the meagre words of the chief command give after all only a very incomplete conception of the notable work done here. * * *

The preparations had been completed. On the 24th of April at noon the dance was to begin. At 5 o'clock in the morning the batteries began their fire; from 10 to 11 heavy effective shooting was carried on in slow rhythm. From 11 to 12 deep quiet. Sharply at 12—away! Mortars, heavy and light field howitzers, field guns bellow all at once in salvos and an iron hail falls on the foremost trenches while other field batteries direct their fire behind these positions so that nothing shall be allowed to escape. Until 12:20 all the guns fire for all they are worth. When you consider that even the more slowly working heavy howitzers during these twenty minutes fired 250 shots (as a battery) you can get some weak conception of this lovely rain of shells. Sharp on the dot of 12:20 the fire is transferred to the second line, sharply at 12:30 to the third, and after another twenty minutes behind the third, or, rather, that was how it was intended to be. But things came differently. I must explain here that we, that is, the chief of artillery, (my General,) has direct wires to the general command, to the chief com-

mand of the army, and to all points issuing commands to the infantry. Their ends all come together in our little room where orders are given.

MEUSE HEIGHTS.

I sit at the telephone:

"12:20—Our infantry moves to attack."

Every one is keyed up to the utmost. Will they get through with one rush? Will they get to close quarters? Will the ten minutes be sufficient for the second line of the enemy, usually the most to be feared? All this flashes like lightning through the brain.

The bell rings.

"12:24—The regiment has taken the first trench!"

A lighting up of all faces, but yet they repress the flame of joy that is ready to spring up.

"12:32—The enemy clears out of the second trench!"

"12:35—Our infantry is pressing into the second line."

Now here and there a "Hurrah" can hardly be held back.

"12:44—Our infantry has reached the third trench. Lay the fire ahead."

"12:50—The third trench is taken."

"12:52 (report of the artillery observer who accompanies the storming troops and carries the telephone forward

with him)—I cannot get forward in the sap. Everything is filled with prisoners!"

"12:52—Transfer the fire ahead 500 meters; our men are not to be held!"

And now the excitement breaks loose. Hurrah, and again hurrah.

That's how our field-grays storm! Five months of work building defenses against them and in twenty minutes these splendid fellows were through. The artillery, according to unanimous opinion, had made first-class preparation, and

his Excellency said, beamingly: "The wire entanglements hung in the trees!" And then comes the report that makes the artilleryman feel his heart leap:

"12:59—We have the first two guns."

"1:20—Send forward six limbers to take away captured cannon!" And so it went on. Total result of the first day that brought us nearly to the edge of the heights: 1,600 prisoners, 17 guns. The losses on this day were comparatively light, as the enemy was completely swamped in the rush.

Epinal

A German Letter from the Front

MORE than nine months now we have been in the enemy's country. Nine months! We have seen the harvest brought in, in part also go to ruin. Gradually the Winter came. Snow and ice spread over our paths and the trenches. It was a hard time for man and horse, but it had its good side. You became accustomed to the Winter positions, and it was fairly quiet, both with friend and foe. Then came the Spring sweeping through the land. The frozen crust of Winter broke and new life entered nature and man. Spring and war; the month of May with its "become!" the war with its destruction. What contrasts! I find this the most trying time for the nerves.

There is bloom, and fragrance, and chirping, and the renewing of life everywhere. Never before did the Spring seem so glorious to me. We city people perhaps have hardly had the opportunity so to observe it and marvel at it. Instinctively one clings more intensely to this beautiful earth. And therefore one has no joy of one's life. Who guarantees from one second to another this gloriously blooming tree? Perhaps it will strike you, you building red-throats under our eaves. Perhaps that pioneer so exuberant in strength who there chats with the young Frenchwoman, perhaps her, per-

haps you, before you have finished writing these lines.

And as I happened to be speaking of the Frenchwoman—it is a thing to marvel at how these people here have accommodated themselves to their position. And, what is this of Epinal? I do not know the place, but I remember still from school it is a French city, or a fortress. I believe that since that time, some fifteen years ago, I have hardly ever heard the name or read it. Then came the war. Soon we were on the soil of France. There was talk here and there. You asked the women and girls about their husbands, sons, and brothers. "A Epinal." And I ask them still today. "Epinal, Epinal!" And Autumn came and Winter and it has become Spring again and they hold fast to their Epinal, as if those were there on an excursion or a business trip. For nine months none here has heard a word. And they believe them all there. How different with us! These people here hear nothing but German; only among themselves perhaps they gossip and guess and know nothing of losses and mischance and of all theirs. Only the men in field gray they see coming and going, these men in field gray who help them plow their fields and sow them, build their streets and convert their manure

piles into gardens. And if perchance they hear their own bells ringing because of a German victory, they shrug their shoulders in disbelief. They surely believe that, through accident, this little piece of earth that is their own alone is occupied by the enemy.

The Spring came and the Summer is advancing, and the day of peace will come, some time or other, overnight, perhaps. What an awakening will that be in France! After the war the French garrisons and the trenches will open and then homeward will wend what remains of this France, poor in men even without this. And the mothers, sisters, brides, will stand then in the streets and wait for those whom they imagined in Paris, Lyons, Belfort, and who do not come. And see those who are com-

ing, with sticks and crutches, and those that must be brought in carriages. Then will the eyes of these poor ones be opened.

The day will come! Who of us will live to see it? In any event it will be well if we do not live to see it here. I would not like to be present when they stand here and wait for those from Epinal—of whom so many even from the war's beginning, scattered in field and forest, the earth covers, on whose common graves German fellow-feeling has erected a wooden cross bearing words such as these:

"Here lie 150 brave French soldiers
of the regiments —

Erected by German comrades of the —
regiment."

A. N.

A Frankfort Boy

A German Letter from the Field

WHEN I came back wounded from France and lay in the hospital at Sachsenhausen they brought me a newspaper in which was told of a man of the Landwehr who had captured thirty Russians and who asserted he had "surrounded" them all. With my fellow-sufferers there I laughed over it. If then I could have imagined that I myself would succeed in such an "encircling" I certainly should have had doubts about it. And when I tell you that with two men I captured 210 Russians and a baggage train of 30 wagons and four field kitchens!—well, in short, I'll have to tell you how it happened. It was before Eydtkulmen; had been with my two men all night in the saddle, with 18 degrees of cold, and an empty stomach, riding on a stiff trot toward Deeden, when about 200 meters before me I suddenly see Russians coming out of all the houses; two houses the rascals had just set afire. At the first house I halt and take cover, as several shots fall. Suddenly three Russians come running around the house directly into my arms; my revolver points out to

them where they are to put their weapons. Luckily for me there was one of them who spoke German, and I yell at him to go at once to his men and to say that I have in the near-by forest five machine guns and Uhlans at my disposal who will at once open fire on the column if another shot falls from their side. He quickly calls out to his men in Russian what I have said, and just as quickly they throw away all arms. While I am occupied with the prisoners shots again fall, and I see 150 meters away by the side of a cemetery a trench with about another 30 men. I left the prisoners in charge of my two men and had the baggage train which was standing in the field under protection drive up on to the highway, helping them along with revolver and lance. On a trot I drove toward Eydtkulmen; just before this place I came to the — Division, to which I turned over the train. The Major to whom I delivered the 30 wagons and the field kitchens could hardly believe me, but when soon thereafter my two men with the column of 210 prisoners arrived he congratulated me and presented me to the commander of the — Division.

Horrors of the Dukla Pass

By Alden Brooks

The following episodes are described in recent Bucharest correspondence of Alden Brooks to THE NEW YORK TIMES, headed "In the Backwash of Austria's Army."

WE reached a small village called Szvidnik, where there was a long stretch of grass beside the road upon which the cattle could graze, and where every one could take a rest before mounting up at last steeply over the hills.

We looked into the windows of several of the houses. Everywhere we met the stare of silent wounded Russians lying on straw and mattresses. Further on was a little chapel flying a red cross on the relic of its roof. Inside every available yard, right up to the altars, was covered with these same miserable wounded Russians. They had been there for over a week now without proper care. We wandered among them. The air was very foul; there were flies; there were a few stifled groans here and there, and it was all very sad. A few were asleep, a few were in pain, a few were dying, a few were already dead; but the great majority lay there staring silently with curious, sleepless eyes. One of them suddenly began to whisper to me in broken German. He spoke with tears of six bullets in him and his right leg broken. Could I get him a piece of paper to put over his head and keep off the flies? It was the least I could do.

There was a priest outside, a stout, amiable man. All these, it seemed, would probably die, gangrene was so far advanced in every instance. Removing them was a mere matter of form, and in any case a long undertaking. There was the Austrian and German wounded to be cared for first. We drove the cart under a tree in a sort of garden and ate bread and sausages, bought in Bartfa. There were some soldiers close by, sitting around a fire. They were arguing about something, and, just after we had sat down, two of them began to go for each

other in earnest, one an Austrian, the other a German. The German was getting the best of it when there suddenly appeared a young German Lieutenant.

A loud inquisition followed. In the end the Austrian was led off and tied to a tree to stay there until sunset. As for the German, since he was the aggressor, he was ordered to remove his uniform, boots, everything except his trousers. Then, hands tied behind his back, he was brought before the Lieutenant. Before I half realized what had happened, the Lieutenant drew his sword and rammed it violently into the man's stomach. There was an agonizing scream, and the man fell to the ground. It was the most dastardly brutal act I have ever seen. Yet no one said a word. On the contrary, a great silence fell upon the company and every one was of a sudden off about his business, while two of them took a spade, and, scooping up a bit of earth, buried the poor wretch. As for the young monster of a Lieutenant, he came over to a pump near us, and, after wiping his sword carefully upon the turf, washed his hands, then stood there idly and cleaned his finger nails.

From Szvidnik to the Dukla Pass the road curved up rapidly. The forests were torn and burned with shot and shell. Here were more scenes of violent struggle, trees fallen across the road, and now roughly shoved aside, rudimentary trenches, abandoned artillery caissons, two or three cannon with broken wheels, and soon bloated, mangled horses, legs in the air, and finally the dead. They lay there to right and left, Russians for the most part, some dead in a last agony, their fingers clutching the air; others in the gutter, where they had crawled to die, blackened face buried on an arm; others killed in full action, legs



ARCHDUKE CHARLES STEPHEN OF AUSTRIA
Who May be-Proclaimed King of New Poland
(Photo - by American Press Assn.)



ARCHDUKE KARL FRANZ JOSEF

Heir-Presumptive of Austria-Hungary. Emperor Franz Josef Celebrated
His Eighty-fifth Birthday on August 18

(Photo from P. S. Rogers)

tense, still striving, an extended hand clutching a broken rifle.

We drove on. Mile upon mile of such sights. There came a jagged promontory of rock near the road. The Hungarian seized my arm and pointed up.

"Look there."

"What?"

"Lammergeier!"

And as he spoke two huge vultures flew heavily over our heads, only to perch on a rock lower down.

"Ah, that must be it," he said, pointing now to a road running parallel to ours on the other side of a bit of ravine, "the road to the Beinhaus I heard them speaking of."

As I could see no Beinhaus, or charnel house, he went on to explain that there was an old abandoned salt mine near by and that they were throwing the dead

into it, as the quickest and simplest way of being rid of them. The road soon joined ours, and at the junction was a cross, and upon it a haggard, weather-beaten Christ. Here we met three large hay wagons coming down the hill. We gave them the right of way. Each was packed with dead bodies, hands and arms and feet falling over the sides or jutting out through the bars. We watched them joggle down the by-road to the salt mine. Suddenly one of the bodies tumbled off the top of the first cart. There were shouts and oaths exchanged between the first and second wagons; but the body lay where it had fallen. Finally, the last wagon stopped and two soldiers pitched it up on top of the others.

"A soldier's burial," murmured the Hungarian.

Lieutenant Hanot's Feat

AMONG a recent batch of French officers decorated with the Legion of Honor figures the name of Sub-Lieutenant Hanot. The Journal Officiel gives the following brief description of the feat of arms for which the distinction was conferred on him:

"Conveying an order to the line of fire, and passing an enemy outpost, discovered seventeen Germans in a dug-out; ordered them to surrender, and brought them into the French lines marching the goose-step."

The incident occurred a few weeks ago. Lieutenant Hanot, while threading his way between the trenches which the French had just captured, lost his bearings, and inadvertently went beyond the first line of French trenches. He was immediately assailed by a hail of bullets.

Seeing that he could only escape by a miracle, the young officer resolved to sell his life dearly, and rushed forward with drawn revolver. By chance he stumbled into the German communication trench, and the first man to bar the way was the officer commanding the sec-

tion. The Frenchman blew the man's brains out. Behind the German officer were three or four soldiers, who offered no resistance when ordered to throw up their hands.

"I have a battalion with mitrailleuse behind me," cried the Frenchman in excellent German, "and if but one of you moves I will have you all exterminated."

Thereupon from the next communication trench emerged, one by one, a dozen or more German soldiers, their hands in the air. "Pardon, pas kaput!" they begged.

Not a little surprised, and somewhat uneasy all the same, the French officer debated within himself what he should do with his captives. It was no easy thing to get the seventeen prisoners to the French lines unless he could maintain their belief in the battalion close by.

After a second's hesitation, the Lieutenant ordered them all out of the trench, made them fall down flat on the edge of the parapet, and then told them to go forward in bounds on all fours in order to escape the bullets which swept the

900 yards separating them from the French lines.

When they were nearing the French outpost guard he gave them the order to march at the goose-step, and the Germans obeyed immediately, raising their

legs in their best parade manner, to the huge amusement of the French officers and soldiers, who could hardly believe their eyes when they realized that these seventeen prisoners had been captured by one man.

A British Recruiting Scene

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

I EDGED my way into the crowd. A tall, sunburnt soldier was talking quietly in serious tones. He leant over a raised desk with his stick in his hands. A Union Jack hung from a pole by his side. He was sparing of gesture. The homely image was the weapon upon which he relied, with a word or two of slang for ornament. Latin's dead. He had no tricks—the words came from the living mouth—he had looked into hell. The crowd grew and grew.

He was calling for recruits, and spoke of men who hung back.

"Shirkers," shouted a woman.

"Well, that's one name for 'em—I've heard worse than that though. Oh! haven't they got any imagination? I'm sure if they could but see the sights I've seen they'd come rollin' up—aye, rollin' up—wreck and ruin wherever you look—fire and brimstone all that there—dead and livin' all mixed up of a heap—men, horses, sheep, cattle—you should have seen 'em when the floods went down all a hangin' over the tangled wire—then you'd feel what I feel," with just one bang of his great fist on the desk. "Now—listen—you hear lots say they should be *made* to go—I'm not 'ere to talk politics—but *this is a free country*, and I don't want conscription for one—*now you're never goin' to wait till they come and fetch you!*"—throwing his head and shoulders back till you could hear them crack.

Then a band came marching by with a crowd behind it, and the roll of the drums made our flesh creep.

But the music only raised his scorn and bitter ire. He paused. The strains died away.

"Oh! yes—it's all right when the band

plays!—it sounds fine, don't it?—it makes you want to knock somebody down—like when you see the soldiers at the Picture Palace and they plays 'Rule, Britannia' on the pianny—then you wave yer hats and handkerchers and give 'em a cheer. Oh! yes, I know—like when you sit at home by the fire with your slippers on—(there's no slippers in the trenches—you never get your boots off—there's lots o' fire though)—and read the fine stories in the papers—and then you say, 'We've done well today'—'*We've done well*'—like that—'*We've done well*'—and these are the men who stop comfortably at home and pinch the jobs of them as is fightin' the battles for 'em—pinch their jobs—aye!—they'd pinch the missus if she'd let 'em—a general roar of laughter.

"Not *me*," shouted a woman; "and he's left five little 'uns behind 'im"—one in her arms.

"We'll take care of 'im," said the soldier gravely; "but this is not a pantomime. I'm not here to make you laugh—but, I tell you, Charley Peace was a gentleman compared with some I know. Why, a cat's got more conscience—a cat'll pinch the bloater off of the table when your back's turned, but when you look around and find it's gone, there she is, a-washin' of her face, and a-starin' up at you like as if she owned up to it and couldn't help it."

"Oh! you young men, think of France and Belgium! think of the men who are layin' down their lives by the thousands and thousands so that you shall sleep safely in your beds! think of the Lusitania! think of the gassin'—I tell you, we're up against a reptile. What do you do with reptiles?—stamp on 'em—*crush*

the life out of 'em!"—and his hands met like cymbals.

Then he quickly surveyed the crowd, resting against the pole and clutching the Union Jack.

"Now—who's comin'?—I'm not goin' to single out anybody—that wouldn't be fair, and we don't do it—but there's men of military age here and physically fit, I'm sure. Now, who's goin' to be first—you can be sworn in at the hut there right away—then you've only got to pass the doctor. You'll be in khaki this time to-morrow. Give the men in the trenches a rest—they come home to be patched up

and have to go back again—give 'em a rest, I say! Now—hallo! here's one—[cheers]—another—come along, my lad—another—I thought you was all right—and another," with a girl on his arm blushing furiously, but proud of him—and so the cockades were busy.

It is such a lovely evening, but war broods like a horrid shape over all.

The sun sets over the tree-tops—a blood-red. Half a silvery moon hangs in the eastern skies—a splintered shell. The mighty pulse of London throbs in our ears—the booming of great guns.

The Blonde Beast

By HAROLD BEGBIE.

[From The London Daily Chronicle.]

*Everything which is desperately immoral,
being in its constitution monstrous, is of
itself perishable.—Wordsworth.*

The stars standing over the sea
In the depths of the night,
The moon making darkness to be
More lovely than light,
The sun surging upward in flame
From the waves and the sky,
Endure as their legions of shame
Go bloodily by.

For the patience of God is above,
And the beauty of life;
The stars know the lasting of love
And the passing of strife;
And there shall be joy in the way,
And delight in the hour,
And their hosts shall be dust in that day,
And their seed without pow'r.

They are trampling on cities and lands
To the guilt of their goal,
There is innocent blood on their hands,
And a lie in their soul;
The sea is made foul by their breath,
And the earth is a tomb;
But the stars are their coursers to death
And the sun to their doom.

And the earth shall return to her peace
And mankind to their goal,
And the love of the heart shall increase,
And the strength of the soul;
And the world shall be glad with great
glee
In the goodness of right,
With the stars standing over the sea
In the depths of the night.

They have chosen the charter of rage,
They have taken the sword;
They have torn from God's Writing the
page
Of the love of the Lord;
They are Murder and Rapine and Lust,
They are Madness and Pride,
And Him who wrote love in earth's dust
They have jostled aside.

They are rushing from slaughter to God
Like the swing of a bell,
Each beat of the clock is a rod
That fast flogs them to hell.
They shall find not one hour of all time,
Nor one point in all space
To escape from the anguish of crime
And the loss of God's grace.

No joy evermore in the day,
And no peace in the night,
Shall be theirs as they tremble away
From humanity's sight,
As they reel from the light of the sun,
And the welcome of man,
And drop from the web they have spun
To eternity's ban.

Latin America as It Is Today

By Julius Moritzen

The changes wrought by the great war in the economic and political structure of the South and Central American nations, their closer relations with the United States as an outgrowth of the European conflict, and the Latin-American republics as new factors in world affairs are dealt with succinctly in the subjoined review.

ANY present consideration of Latin America in its relation to other countries and to the stirring events abroad must include Mexico, although Mexico constitutes a problem by itself. While it is true that the existing chaos below the Rio Grande antedates the great war, and while the economic and political status of the neighboring republic has been lowering without any reflex pressure from the titanic struggle across the Atlantic, yet the Mexican situation is closely interwoven with the affairs of all the nations in the Western world. That leading republics in South and Central America so consider it is apparent from the several conferences in Washington and New York with the purpose of aiding Mexico in putting her topsy-turvy house in order.

One need not assume the rôle of seer to affirm that, just as the first clash of arms abroad marked the coming of a new era in Europe, so the Latin-American people are destined to play an increasingly important part in much that will concern the well-being of the Americas as a whole in the future. That the advanced positions of the leading nations in South and Central America are due in a large degree to co-operative effort with the United States only accentuates the new spirit that now possesses the West-

ern Hemisphere; a spirit wholly constructive and healing in its intent.

The great European war revealed with startling suddenness the interdependence of nations in every part of the globe. Let be for the moment that certain countries appear self-sustaining, that the horrors of warfare apparently have left the people in these specific lands comparatively untouched in respect to means of subsistence. No fallacy could be more cruelly deceptive than to insist that such a state of affairs can continue for an indefinite length of time. As for the neutral nations, and particularly those of South and Central America, despite momentary demands for products of their soil, the catastrophe abroad disarranged their entire financial and commercial machinery. It was left for the Pan-American conference held in Washington in May to show to what an extent Latin America was made to suffer as a result of the European madness. It was also the purpose of that noteworthy conference, participated in by men identified with great enterprises throughout the American republics, to devise ways and means whereby a new order of things might prove the saving clause in a situation fraught with momentous consequences.

A Congress for Solidarity

THE calling of the Pan-American Financial Conference at the joint instance of President Wilson and Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo was an event of such historic importance that it must be left to time to measure adequately its full value to the

Latin-American republics and the United States. Preliminary, as it were, the work begun at Washington a few months ago is already bearing fruit. In recently expressing their thanks for the warm welcome extended to their representatives as the guests of the American Govern-

ment, the Presidents of the southern nations as with one voice declared their readiness to co-operate that the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere might be an example to the whole world. The coming return visit to South and Central America, of financiers of the United States, unquestionably will give further impetus to that movement which, as President Victorino de la Plaza of Argentina expressed himself in his cablegram to President Wilson, is "stimulating the economic bonds necessary for their mutual development," meaning the various republics of America.

In estimating to what an extent Latin America has suffered as a result of the war in Europe and how the rehabilitation of trade and traffic may be brought about, whether it concerns present and future relations with the United States, or with the European powers now engaged in conflicts basing their very existence as powers, it is essential that geographical conditions be considered. What applies to Argentina and Brazil, for instance, does not necessarily have the same important bearing on the west coast countries of South America. Generally speaking, however, the effect of the world war has been identically depressing. The rebound also is gradually introducing a more satisfactory condition in the business affairs of all Latin Amer-

ica. It remains to be seen how the appearance of the United States as an element for greater buying and selling among South Americans is working a change in countries formerly almost wholly depending upon Europe for their capital. Central America may be eliminated from the present consideration, not because European money is not plentifully invested there, but because much closer relations have existed for some years between these five republics and the United States than between the latter and South America. It is, however, necessary to add that as a considerable purchaser of South American products the United States has been chiefly deficient in purveying to these countries. Europe's predominance as salesman has been due to the fact that trade in times past has had the habit of following investment of capital. The bankers of London, Berlin, Paris, and other financial centres abroad opened up South America to itself, hence exploitation left a dependence upon them unfortunately not always of greatest advantage to the South Americans. Mexico is sometimes cited as an instance where United States investment, under circumstances not always too exacting, has become its own boomerang, alike distasteful to capitalists and those the money was meant to partly benefit.

South America's Money Question

THE South American banking situation is so complex that it reacts into every avenue of economics and politics. Demands of growing countries for funds, the necessities of foreign trade, the requirements of speculation have created all manner of banks, trust companies, investment, mortgage, loan, and brokerage companies, not to mention the ever-present exchange merchant. The money question of all Latin America is a hydra-headed monstrosity whose recurrent mischief making never worked greater harm than when the European war broke out. The decline in pounds sterling, so vexa-

tious to financial interests in England and the United States, was as a drop in the ocean to what at times happens to the money values of some Latin-American countries. To stabilize these moneys was one of the chief functions of the Pan-American Financial Conference.

The opening up of branch banks of the National City Bank in some of the leading cities of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, and the possibility that other American financial institutions will follow suit, may be considered entering wedges to that greater business development looked for between the United

States and South America. To the extent that American capital enters the southern field, to that extent may it be expected that European bankers will relax their hold on South America. Let there be no anticipation that because of the present world war, financial interests abroad are likely to exclude themselves permanently from South America. At this very moment there is the keenest rivalry to be prepared to extend operations in Latin America. The minute the war ends there will be a revival of efforts to capture more and more of the trade in the southern republics. What other meaning is contained in the French commercial mission to Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay or the formation of the German Economy Association for Central and South America, with Dr. Bernhard Dernburg as its President? Has it been overlooked that Japan has started a commercial propaganda in Chile, with a view to meeting Europe on its own field of selling cheaply? These are facts the United States exporters must take into consideration now that this opportunity is present to deal more largely with the southern neighbors. It will be a battle royal for a trade well worth the struggle and the outlay in time and money. The real fight will begin when Europe signs its treaty of peace.

Now, as to the position of South America fourteen months ago. It is quite well known that a serious financial crisis has existed in some of the South American countries for the last few years. Brazil was sinking deeper and deeper under its load of indebtedness. Argentina, more elastic in its commercial structure, while no less in need of money, found means to tide over the difficulty as occasion demanded. A similar

story could be told relative to the other republics in South America. The national strong boxes were depleted, if not entirely empty. The respective Governments were confronted with conditions that made the office of Minister of Finance no easy task. Money was decidedly scarce everywhere. With collateral the richest that any soil could produce as nature's bounty, yet South America only grudgingly found the purse strings unloosen to satisfy its wants. High interests, besides, were additional penalties where loans were at all obtainable.

Then came the war. This proved the climax where all things had conspired to produce a depressing financial outlook. Money from European sources was not to be thought of now. Brazil, about to negotiate a large loan with French banking interests, saw that avenue of relief cut off at once. To make matters worse, ocean traffic came to a temporary halt on account of the presence of the German fleets in both the Atlantic and the Pacific waters. Fear seized the shippers of Brazilian coffee and rubber, Argentina packing interests, Chilean nitrate exporters, producers of cacao in Ecuador, and copper and tin mining concerns in Peru and Bolivia. Except for the trade in coffee between Brazil and the United States and Argentina's increased shipments of beef to northern ports, few vessels left South American ports during the early months of the war, when German men-of-war scoured the oceans for prey. When finally the Atlantic was cleared of the raiders traffic took a new spurt. As a result, the financial cloud began to lift slowly. At the present time it may be said with confidence that the worst is over.

"America for the Americans"

IT was a positive stroke of international genius when Secretary McAdoo invited the Latin-American republics to participate in a conference the purpose of which should be to talk the situation over as between country and country.

Here for the first time it can be said that the United States and South and Central America found each other. It was an opportunity seldom offered where the well-being of a whole continent, so to speak, was at stake. At Washington was

discussed also the existing need for better transportation facilities with the ports to the southward. It is immaterial to the real purpose in view whether the respective Governments or private capital furnish the necessary means for carrying the proposed plan for increased traffic facilities to completion. Without more and faster steamers plying up and down the coasts of North and South America, without the closer connection that transportation alone can furnish, the Pan-American question of solidarity must remain a vague something that looks well enough in theory, but which lacks that practical stamp which alone is entitled to the name success. All this South America realizes today more keenly than at any time in its economic history.

Because certain steamship companies in Europe continue to run their vessels to South America, this is not enough to warrant the belief that the situation from now on is clear. The United States has entered into the life of the South American republics for weal and woe. There can never again be that distance in economic and political relations as characterized the countries concerned before the European war. Henceforth the slogan "America for the Americans" takes on an actual meaning. It is not for nothing that eighteen Chief Executives of Latin America cable President Wilson their appreciation of this new-found friendship that tells the world of the continent whose neutrality stands unimpeachable despite agencies that would wreck this neutral attitude that will mean so much to the future of the nations everywhere. When it becomes possible to travel, as travel demands are today between South America and the United States, then the interrelation between the Governments and the people will be as important to the nations as a whole as it is necessary to the trade operations between the various countries to have more and quicker ships for both freight traffic and passengers.

At its nearest calculation, Brazil alone

has an area of 3,292,000 square miles, figures better appreciated when it is said that this South American republic is larger than the United States, fifteen times larger than Germany, and sixteen times larger than France. The immensity of this territory is cited in the present instance to show the impossibility of presenting in a single article all the phases and features having to do with South America in its reawakened activity and response to outside influences. In the same way, Argentina, progressive, growing in population faster than any other country outside the United States, has in that wonderful City of Buenos Aires enough to rivet the attention of the traveler for months, as well as to furnish material for columns upon columns of printed matter. A city with more than one million and a half of population, with a subway that outrivals other metropolitan centres in point of construction and management, a city where opera is given under auspices unequaled anywhere, where the people live in an atmosphere of constant advancement, such is Buenos Aires, on the River Plate.

On the other hand, so much of South America remains still a no man's country, such vast regions yet await the settler, so many opportunities lie buried in that wonderfully fertile soil, those mountains rich in minerals of every kind, that one is unable to even hint at what these republics will be like when, with the coming years, the ingenuity of man and the demands of the world will unchain the latent forces of the South American tropics. That more and more Latin America will enter into the economic plan of the Old World and the New, that at the end of the European war immigration may here set a new high-water mark, are possibilities evident enough from all that has taken place in such proximity to the United States, while North Americans, but a few years ago, scarcely knew their South American fellow-men except by name.

South American Sympathies

WHEN it is said, that, following an early declaration of neutrality, South America has maintained its neutral attitude ever since, there ought to be added that the Governments' strict interpretation of international obligations has found the press and the public independent in their sympathies. People living in the United States have no conception of what the European outbreak meant to South America at the beginning, and the difficulty of adjusting ordinary affairs of life to the changed order of things. Let it be remembered that in Argentina, for instance, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards are present in large numbers. The German element here, as elsewhere in South America, has been an important factor in the industrial progress of the country. Yet the war abroad has spelled little less than disaster to many Germans in Argentina. There is no denying the fact that the Argentines are overwhelmingly favorable toward the Entente powers. The newspapers show it constantly. Belgium found no greater champions during its invasion than the press of Buenos Aires. The Allies' cause, despite the rigid attitude of the Government of Argentina, notwithstanding repeated appeals for greater moderation in expressions of the press, also is the cause of the greater part of these South Americans. What with the large number of Italians resident in Buenos Aires, Italy's entrance into the war made Argentina's sympathy for the Allies more emphatic than before.

Argentina, more so than any other South American republic, has drawn upon Europe for its varied population. Brazil, while originally developed through Portuguese admixture, is more largely peopled with Germans than any other country in South America. That a considerable portion of the Brazilian population leans toward the Teutonic cause is a very natural state of affairs in view of the fact that some of the States are settled with natives of Germany. Here the German language takes prece-

dence over Portuguese in the schools and home circle. In Rio de Janeiro, however, both the Government and the public maintain a rather undeviating neutrality. The leading newspapers, headed by the *Jornal do Commercio*, espouse the Entente cause. The fact that Dr. Lauro Muller, the Foreign Minister of Brazil, is of German parentage may or may not have something to do with Rio de Janeiroans showing less antipathy to Germany than is the case in Argentina. Dr. Muller will be remembered for his visit to the United States a few years ago. He is one of the ablest statesmen in South America.

AN AMERICAN TRIPLE ENTENTE.

This brings us to what is generally known as the A B C alliance of South America. As fate would have it, the alphabet has been instrumental in ranging the three most important nations in Latin America under a common termination which is simplicity itself. The A B C powers of South America! There is here a resonance that spells Triple Alliance, Entente! The newspapers are beginning to fill with the doings of the Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean nations. Solidarity is believed to be the underlying motive for the coming together of these three republics. Twice in the diplomatic dealings of the United States has the A B C combination figured as a conspicuous element. In both instances Mexico was concerned, and on both occasions—at Niagara Falls when the Huerta insult to the American flag was the issue, as well as more recently with the appeal to the various factions across the border—disinterestedness marked the appearance of the representatives of Argentina, Brazil and Chile in a matter where the Mexican civil strife was considered the affair of all America. That Bolivia and Guatemala were invited to take part in the conferences presided over by Secretary of State Lansing gives emphasis to the declaration that Mexico's interests were the chief concern of all the republics.

Whether or not too much importance is being attached to the recent meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the fact is patent that it was more than a social affair that called Señores Muller, Mura-ture, and Lira together. There is no public record that any signed agree-ment between the three countries has come into existence as a result of the visits to Buenos Aires and Santiago. That a treaty actually was signed is the current report in the capitals of the countries interested. Possess-ing effective navies, their armies drilled and equipped on European lines, the Governments headed by Victorino de la Plaza, Wenceslao Braz Gomez, and Ramon Barros Luce, respectively of Argentina, Bra-zil, and Chile, constitute a united body of political consequence to Europe and the rest of America providing an alliance for whatever purpose has been agreed on.

It is not to be overlooked that in cer-tain sections of Latin America the re-ported entente between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile is looked at askance. The question is already being asked whether any such combination as that outlined may not prove a menace to the independence of the smaller countries. The Monroe Doctrine is being dragged into the limelight once more as perhaps

the real cause for the forming of the A B C alliance. To all suggestions that smack of interference with their own plans the three nations concerned have turned the shoulder of indifference. The Governments of the other republics in South America have been very careful to express no opinions. Here and there some fervid Latin-American orator, or some journalist with access to less in-fluential newspapers, has ventured to say that the rest of South America had better have a care. The leading jour-nals, however, are free from making political guesses of a nature that might be decidedly uncomfortable and cause Governmental embarrassment. That the international position of South America is undergoing a tremendous change there is no gainsaying, and that in the trans-formation Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are playing stellar rôles is an indis-putable fact. Whether European in-fluence will be less great as a result is a mooted question. Nor is it revealed so far what concerted attitude the A B C alliance would take should the defense of South America from whatever quarter be the issue, except that it can be taken for granted that the liberty-loving Latin Americans will defend their independence to the last man. Is the A B C alliance strengthening itself to cope with even-tualities? The answer is for the future and the eventuality.

Railways vs. Revolution

IN relation to the political and econom-ic regeneration of the Latin-Ameri-can countries more than passing mention ought to be made of the recent election in Peru when José Pardo, once be-fore the Chief Executive of the west-coast republic, was chosen President. In point of orderliness this election stands first among the similar events in Peru. Un-der the régime of President Billinghurst Peru made considerable progress, but the Chief Magistrate failed to gain the con-fidence of the military as well as of a large portion of the civil population. President Billinghurst's overthrow at the

hands of Colonel Oscar Benavides proved an affair that led to the former's exile. Colonel Benavides assumed the provi-sional Presidency, and the recent election was the result of a coalition between leading parties guaranteeing Pardo's selection in advance of the voting. The Peruvian Minister to the United States, Federico A. Pezet, happened to be in his home country during election time, and his presence is said to have had a very marked effect upon the conduct of the campaign.

With the opening of the Panama Canal Peru assumed a commercial importance

which, while momentarily halted because of the European war, is bound to assist in opening up this country to foreign capital. The chief lack of Peru is railroad communication sufficiently advanced to bring more of the interior into touch with the coast. Some of the railroad enterprises are remarkable enough, but more lines are needed. Neighboring Ecuador suffers similarly from the absence of adequate transportation means. Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil—in each of these countries railroads are the call. Argentina and Chile are alone among South American nations where the transportation question is being solved more nearly in accord with the demand for mileage, and both countries are continually extending their railway nets anticipative of ever greater demands for their products and foreseeing the necessity of being able to take advantage quickly of new markets. The Andean railway systems, joining Chile and Argentina, have also been of marked influence in smoothing over political differences growing out of boundary disputes, which is one more instance to the effect that nations get along better when better acquainted with each other. Except during the Winter season, when the Andes passes

are blocked with snow, railroad traffic across the mountain range is of considerable volume.

Aside from the economic advantage of having railroads penetrating into the byways of their territories, it is an agreed fact that wherever transportation is fairly adequate revolutionary disturbances have been reduced to a minimum. Mexico, of course, may be exempted from this conclusion, for the Mexican uprising originally embraced an element whose grievance was so logical that the liberating propaganda against dictatorial powers did not have to confine itself to remote sections of the republic. It is evident, however, that more recently the splitting up of factions has led to guerrilla warfare shockingly demoralizing; and the same may be said of recent occurrences in Haiti, and in Venezuela and Ecuador some time ago. In almost every instance the constitutional régime has been confronted with great obstacles, where no railroads were present to send troops into distant parts. Certainly, Argentina and Chile consider revolutionary activity a matter of the past, and the orderliness of these countries is also attributable to the general education of the masses, a sequence where the country is easily accessible in every direction.

Commercial Rapprochement Near

IT has been shown so far that, as between the United States and South America, the commercial rapprochement so much desired and so necessary is in a fair way to be accomplished to the complete satisfaction of the countries interested in extending their fields of trade. Whether or not it needed the European war to force the American republics into the arms of each other, mutual gain would seem assured from greater business development throughout the Western Continent. But what of the political outlook, as it may concern the twenty Latin American nations in their relation to the big brother in the North? Has there been any indication that a full under-

standing exists regarding the future attitude of America as a whole? Is there any foundation for the rumors that the A B C alliance of South America came into being as an effective argument against United States supervision over the less affluent countries in Latin America; as a warning that so far and no further would the northern nation be permitted to go in the desire for putting unstable Governments on more solid footing? Is the participation of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, and Guatemala in the parleys with the United States regarding Mexico nothing more than an empty response to a friendly invitation on the part of the American Department

of State? Let us look into this situation a little closer, for, without absolute assurance that South American commercial co-operation also means international accord where the Foreign Offices are concerned, the trade structure would become little less than a house of cards. If rumors carrying uneasiness can be contradicted finally, it ought to be done forthwith and bereft of equivocation. While the Pan-American movement is in its infancy, every obstacle to mutual confidence should be removed as weeds in a garden, in order to give the useful plant its fullest scope and growth.

The leading newspapers of South America, while discussing the advantage of co-operation between their countries and the United States, have been somewhat guarded in touching on the political

phases springing from the trade entente. It is to be recalled, however, that within the last few weeks the Brazilian Congress was the scene of inquiry regarding the meaning of the republic taking part in the conferences anent Mexico. Cabinet Ministers were obliged to reply to the requests of the Deputies for information in this matter. And the strongest possible emphasis was placed on the declaration that in no event would Brazil sanction anything placing Mexican sovereignty in jeopardy. Brazilian participation, was the official statement, was in the nature of cordial acquiescence that Mexico ought to be saved from itself, but that even so Mexicans themselves were to accomplish this task, difficult as it might seem. Here the matter was permitted to rest for the moment.

Europe and Latin-American Alliance

NOW, since Europe is directly concerned where the relations of the United States and Latin America are in question, it may not be amiss to look across the ocean for some sign of how the A B C alliance is accepted there.

The Frankfurter Zeitung, whose political articles carry considerable authority, in a recent issue said as follows regarding South America and the changed conditions wrought by the war:

A short time ago Europe learned that an alliance had been concluded between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile which was intended to guarantee peace on the South American Continent. Amid the roar of cannon the announcement passed almost unheard, and only a few were conscious that in the Far Southwest a new page of history had begun which might become full of significance for us.

The German newspaper then went into the complete history of the situation, the supposed reason for the forming of the alliance, the relation to one another in the past, and continued with reference to Germany:

These then are the three States which have concluded an alliance that puts an end to mutual enmity which appeared implacable a few years ago. But in addition the alliance signifies that the three most important South American republics

are ripe for an independent policy. It signifies that they are weary of the desire of their "big brother" in the north to interfere, that they are going their own way, and that in place of the Monroe Doctrine they demand the recognition of their own program, "South America for the South Americans."

For European interests it can only be desirable that the A B C States should form a counterpoise to the influence of the United States. It was the intention of the latter to claim, economically, the whole of the South American Continent for herself; South America was to buy only in North America, and to export exclusively to the latter, insofar as the Union was capable of being a buyer. The greatest efforts were made to achieve this object, but the success achieved was not in proportion to the means employed. Europe—England in the first place and Germany in the second—remained the main purveyor and capitalist of the rising States of the Southwest. Unfortunately, Europe is now working against herself. Germany is cut off from the outer world, and must for the moment renounce her splendid position in South America. For England, certainly, the sea route is open, but she is as little capable of maintaining her position, because she is obliged to sacrifice all her energy to the war. The advantage rests with the United States in South America, just as it does with Japan in Asia. To appraise correctly the new conditions created by the A B C alliance

will be an important preliminary to the reconquest of the South American market, one of the most important tasks awaiting us upon the conclusion of the war.

So much for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, presumably an estimate representative of what Germany as a whole thinks of South America in its present and future relations with the United States and other nations. South American newspapers made sparing reference to the article; its tenor was such as to lead with suspicious direction from the counting room to the foreign office. By implication, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was saying things dangerously close to the thin-cruled ice of diplomacy. Too many interests were at stake to comment diffusely on a matter where the issues crisscrossed continents and oceans.

In his somewhat picturesque but little satisfying book, "Pan-Americanism," Professor Roland G. Usher ventures to say that no matter who will be the victor in the European war, it will be the fate of the United States to defend itself against the promised aggression of the conqueror. Whatever good ground Professor Usher may have had for writing his "Pan-Germanism," the consensus of the press of the United States is that the distinguished author fell foul of the real facts when he penned his more recent volume. The South American newspapers, likewise, far from being flattered because of allusions to their liberty-loving qualities and the spirit of independence characterizing their international dealings in recent years, in a majority of instances refused to believe that such danger as Professor Usher threatened actually existed. Speaking of the future of Pan-Americanism the writer says:

A Pan-American confederation and administrative bond between sovereign States, with something approaching a Federal Executive and possibly a Legislature, can be real only as the expression in institutional life of a mutuality of economic interests and an identity of political ideas, of a mutual confidence and an identity of policy. None of these exists. In short, not one of these conceptions from the slightest to the more elaborate seems based upon realities. On the contrary, Pan-Americanism is likely to impress an impartial mind as an absolutely artificial and sentimental concept, diametrically op-

posed to the racial, economic, political, legal, and social interests of the American republics. A concept so contrary to all fundamental factors in the situation on whose existence all observers quite agree, an ideal which so clearly lacks an adequate motive in its own fundamental assumptions, demonstrates to the South Americans very convincingly that the advocacy of Pan-Americanism is intended to further the aggressive schemes of the United States by clothing them in so gracious and idealistic a form.

The day is at hand when the Latin-American republics will challenge Pan-Americanism, the Monroe Doctrine, and the assumption by the United States of the supremacy of the Western Hemisphere. As soon as a convenient occasion offers, some public manifestation of this intention will appear.

Since that occasion has not yet arrived, the author of "Pan-Americanism" should turn to the answers by the eighteen Presidents of Latin-American republics to President Wilson's message congratulating them on the success of the Pan-American Financial Conference. Something has already been told about the reply of President de la Plaza of Argentina. What the next-door neighbor of Argentina, Uruguay, thought of that Washington conference for American unity is contained in the cablegram sent by President Feliciano Viera. It read as follows:

The co-operation furnished by the Uruguayan Government has been an affirmation of the solidarity of interests and objects which exists among the American countries and a recognition of the prestige and spirit of initiative of the Union. I am glad to share the opinion of your Excellency that the work of the conference must bear beneficial fruit for the American countries. Permit me to add to these sentiments my wishes for the prosperity of the United States and for the happiness of your Excellency.

In this message, as in that of the Argentine Chief Executive, there is not the slightest hint of fear of United States aggression. The similar spirit pervaded each of the other sixteen cablegrams sent President Wilson as representing the feelings of the respective Governments. Professor Usher evidently was not one of those fortunate enough to see the magnificent coming together of the men who met in Washington last May. If he had, he might, perhaps, have wanted to detach

Pages 319 and 320 from his "Pan-Americanism."

It would occupy entirely too much space and would scarcely add to the already established fact that Latin America is desirous of United States friendship, to speak in detail of the extraordinary tributes paid the American Government while the visitors from South and Central America were the special guests of this country last May. In view of the sometime strained relations between Washington and Colombia, it may be of value to show how that relationship has been improved. By a curious coincidence the best-endowed speaker among the Latin Americans, according to their own judgment, was Señor Santiago Perez Triana, a former Colombian Min-

ister to Great Britain and a leading financial expert. To him it fell on various occasions to act the mouthpiece for the South and Central American countries. Señor Triana, from whom something more conservative might have been expected, owing to the Panama affair, which is not yet entirely adjusted, boldly declared at Washington that America needed today a "Pan-American union for the maintenance of peace and the defense of neutral rights—a whole hemisphere acting as a unit in sharp contra-distinction to Europe, rent into hostile camps." His speech proved little less than a revelation and was echoed to the full by his fellow-delegates from Latin America.

Forces Working for Common Interest

IF Colombia can take an attitude of such friendly interest in Pan-Americanism, is there any reason to believe that Latin America is hostile to these efforts for western-world co-operation? Since the Colombians are willing to forget past misunderstandings, as Señor Triana repeated again and again, South and Central American nations with no grievances whatever will hardly oppose what seems the best solution for the welfare of America.

Latin America consists of about 9,000,000 square miles of territory. The population is estimated at 75,000,000. In some of the republics education is woefully behind what civilization demands. This is a fact readily admitted by the Governments themselves, but, on the other hand, praiseworthy efforts are being made to better this state of affairs. In the cities, however, school work is according to the most modern methods. The overwhelmingly large Indian populations in the remote sections of South and Central America are the present stumbling blocks, but with the coming of more railroads and more settlers important changes must occur. The number of Latin-American students in United States colleges and universities is con-

stantly increasing, and here is being made ready a new bond of fraternity. The visits of leading American statesmen to South America have also added to the general educative scheme below the Rio Grande. New ideals are being presented, and Latin Americans are quick to take advantage of what is both idealistic and practical. Denominational barriers are being removed to facilitate free religious observance. The interdenominational conference of Protestant churches, to be held in Panama City shortly, is a step in the direction of bringing social workers throughout America into closer association. The Young Men's Christian Association movement has the sanction of Latin-American Governments in some of the leading republics, and more and more the southern nations are copying the Constitution of the United States in important particulars.

The language question may for some time yet prove one of the main reasons for keeping Americans of the north and Americans of the south at a distance from each other. With Spanish and Portuguese the national tongues of Latin America, the United States must gain a fuller acquaintance, at least with Spanish, before the best results can be ob-

tained from increased intercourse. American schools, however, are gradually rising to their opportunities in respect to this language matter. Commercial institutions are specializing in the teaching of Spanish. Young men and women are perfecting themselves in this linguistic

medium for the Americas getting better acquainted. It is on this field that Europe must be met squarely, for trade can only prosper where buyer and seller understand each other. European exporters learned this lesson long ago.

A Predilection for Paris

IT is a foregone conclusion that so soon as Americans gain a more perfect knowledge of the languages of Latin America a new spirit of inquiry regarding the life and aspirations of these interesting people must spring up. The literature of South America, for instance, is an inexhaustible mine of information anent the mental activity of the republics. To understand why South Americans of culture show such predilection for Paris and other great European centres of learning and literary productivity, it must be known that the passion for writing possesses every Latin American of consequence. Not one of the Presidents at the present time but what has made his mark as *littérateur* or journalist. Dr. José Murature, the Foreign Minister of Argentina, is the editor of that great newspaper in Buenos Aires, *La Nación*. Knowing Spanish will yield a wonderful harvest to the North American investigator of South American conditions. Without this knowledge such investigator will grope largely in the dark. The Latin American, by the way, in almost every case has a working acquaintance with the English language, due, perhaps, to the fact that Great Britain has been prolific with men and money where these southern countries are concerned. The recent agitation in Cuba for the retention of the English language in the schools shows how great a value this island republic places on linguistic accomplishments. There is reason to believe that those few working for the removal of the English teaching will meet defeat.

American journalism in its wider sense can do much to facilitate the opening up of Latin America to United States

interests. It is a fallacy to hold to the supposition that revolutions furnish the most interesting "copy" from the newspaper point of view where even Central America is concerned. Here, as elsewhere in Latin America, earnest efforts are being made to reduce internal disturbances to a minimum. It is not that risings of the people have not been justified frequently in the past, but that, with the coming of the years, such methods are losing their popularity. If the taking over of the Custom Houses by the United States Government in Santo Domingo, Haiti, and, perhaps, Nicaragua can relegate revolutions to obscurity, the motive actuating the American authorities should be at once apparent. Cuba is an example that, so soon as the less settled republics regain their stability, Washington is only too pleased to let go its supervision of Latin-American fiscal affairs.

Now, then, Latin America today needs funds with which to conduct its business. Europe is a closed door, no better evidence to that effect being needed than the coming to the United States of the financial commission of the allied powers to raise loans in this country. On the admission of leading financial interests, funds are plentiful here, and investors are in search of outlets. It is for banking experts to examine for themselves what are the collaterals of the southern countries. But one fact stands out, namely, that no greater opportunity ever presented itself to lend a neighbor a hand than this hour when South and Central America are looking wistfully northward. Notwithstanding pessimistic utterances to the contrary, Pan-Ameri-

canism has arrived and come to stay. Is it too much to say that this solidarity between the twenty-one American republics refutes any belief that mere selfishness bases the motive that has brought about this good understanding between

the Americas? the picture that unfolds before the vision grips the imagination, for here for the first time in history an entire continent looms as beacon to guide the world on its onward course.

The English Graves

By LAURENCE BINYON

The rains of yesterday are flown,
And light is on the farthest hills.
The homeliest rough grass by the stone
With radiance thrills;

And the wet bank above the ditch,
Trailing its thorny bramble, shows
Soft apparitions, clustered rich,
Of the pure primrose.

The shining stillness breathes, vibrates
From simple earth to lonely sky,
A hinted wonder that awaits
The heart's reply.

O lovely life! the chaffinch sings
High on the hazel, near and clear.
Sharp to the heart's blood sweetness springs
In the morning here.

But my heart goes with the young cloud
That voyages the April light
Southward, across the beaches loud
And cliffs of white

To fields of France, far fields that spread
Beyond the tumbling of the waves,
And touches as with shadowy tread
The English graves.

There too is Earth that never weeps,
The unrepining Earth, that holds
The secret of a thousand sleeps
And there unfolds

Flowers of sweet ignorance on the slope
Where strong arms dropped and blood choked breath,
Earth that forgets all things but hope
And smiles on death * * *

They poured their spirits out in pride,
They throbbed away the price of years;
Now that dear ground is glorified
With dreams, with tears.

A flower there is sown, to bud
And bloom beyond our loss and smart.
Noble France, at its root is blood
From England's heart.

Great Britain's Register

Stock-Taking of the Human Resources of the British Empire

In accordance with the instructions furnished by the British Registrar General, a specimen form is filled up for a commercial clerk, married, and with two children, one of whom is over 15 and in the receipt of a purely nominal salary. These two must be regarded as wholly dependent. He partially supports a relative. He possesses a motor bicycle, of which he is an efficient driver, and the mechanism of which he understands. The particulars in this specimen form are, of course, purely imaginary.

B RITISH Registration Day under the terms of the National Registration bill was Sunday, Aug. 15, 1915. The forms were collected by the enumerators during the week following. All persons, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 65, were required to fill out the forms in the manner shown above.

In Lord Lansdowne's speech in the House of Lords July 13, on the second reading of the National Registration bill, he declared that the bill was the only foundation by which any country could measure its resources, especially its resources in men. He claimed that the bill would make up the defects in British organization and machinery. The country, he declared, would not tolerate a recurrence of certain incidents of which it had had recent experience, for there had been a great awakening since the time when an invincible navy, a small army, sufficient for home purposes, and an expeditionary force were considered sufficient. But the old go-as-you-please system, which left every man to do as he liked, had broken down entirely.

Lord Lansdowne admitted that the stream of men that had flowed into the army had surprised "many of us." Unfortunately the stream of equipment was not so satisfactory. "The great purveyors and contractors left us in the lurch, and there was a scramble with our allies in foreign markets for munitions." But no one knew, added Lord Lansdowne, what the defects in organization had cost Great Britain in money, anxiety, men, and lives. The ideal to be aimed at, he explained, is that every member of the community should bear the part which he is best qualified to

take. In the past, however, this did not happen under the recruiting system, for men were taken from munition works and agriculture and other trades who were needed at home, and, worst of all, numbers of married men were taken.

Speaking of the details, he maintained that it was absolutely essential that women should be included in the bill, for it was absolutely impossible to organize the industrial forces of the country without including the women. As for Ireland, the bill was not forcibly applied, because undoubtedly there was not the same enthusiasm for the measure as in England, and the great majority of men in Ireland lived on the land, and were unsuitable for industrial work. Lord Lansdowne predicted that the register would prove most valuable after the war when the work of demobilization had to be undertaken.

Finally, he insisted that the bill was not intended to introduce compulsory service by a side wind. The only form of compulsion in the bill was registration. But there was no word or syllable about compulsory service either in the army or navy, and nothing could be done about that without further legislation.

In a sense he did not think that the bill brought Great Britain nearer compulsory service, for he did not believe that voluntary service, with its anomalies and injustices, would be tolerated much further by the country. But the bill did in another sense assist compulsory service, for it would make the application of compulsion easier. If any one objected, let him ask the question whether he could guarantee how long the war would last, and whether in the future the stream of munitions would not outstrip the stream of men. For the present the bill would as-



GRAND DUCHESS TATIANA

Second Daughter of the Czar of Russia. She Is 18 Years Old

(Photo from P. S. Rogers)



M. ALBERT THOMAS

France's Under Secretary for War and Minister of Munitions
(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

NATIONAL REGISTRATION ACT, 1915. Form for MALES.**Name:**(Surname first) **NEMO, JOHN JAMES****Residence:**(Permanent postal address.) } **13, Somewhere-st., London, S.W.**(Present address, }
{ away from home) }

Age last Birthday	If born abroad and not British. state Nationality.	State, whether Single, Married, or Widower.	How many Children are dependent on you?		How many other Persons are dependent on you, excluding employees?		Profession or Occupation. State fully the particular kind of work done, and the material worked or dealt in (if any).
(1.)	(2.)	(3.)	(4.)		(5.)		(6.)
40		Married	Under 15 years.	Over 15 years.	Wholly dependent	Partially dependent	Clerk; Commercial.
			1	1		1	

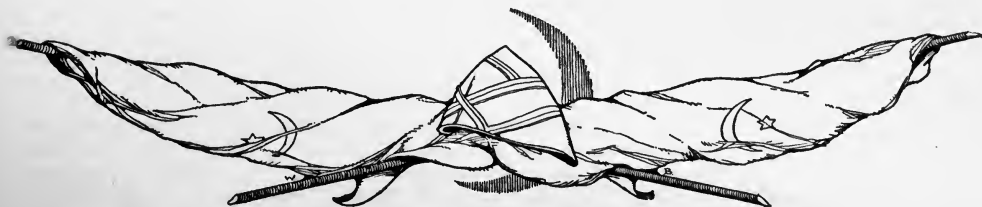
Name, Business, and Business Address of Employer. (If not working for an Employer, write "None.") (7.)	Are you employed for or under any Government Department? Say "Yes," or "No," or "Do not know." (8.)	(a.) Are you skilled in any work other than that upon which you are at present employed, and if so, what? (b.) Are you able and willing to undertake such work. (9.)
A. N. Other & Co., Ltd., Paper Manufacturers, 500a, New Bridge-st., London, E.C.	No.	(a.) Motor cycle driving and repairs. (b.) Yes.

Signature JOHN JAMES NEMO.

sist Lord Kitchener in voluntary recruiting, and how then could it be refused to him because it might be used for compulsion?

"If there are a few," said the noble Lord, "who object to this bill because they think that to that extent it brings us nearer to compulsion, they will find

that their real opposition is this: That they want to deny to Lord Kitchener now the measure which he requires to assist in the organization of a voluntary army, and they want to impede him, if at a future time he should desire to obtain this weapon in order that the war might not be brought to an inglorious conclusion."



An Object Lesson In



(A) Actions of Heligoland Bight, Aug. 28, '14; Dogger Bank, Jan. 24, '15; and Belgian Coast, Oct. 19, '14; and this chart, which was originally published by The London Times. The London Times says: "German warships and merchant ships have been swept from every ocean, either being sunk, captured, or interned. The German battle fleet remains penned in harbor, and the watch over the North Sea by our grand fleet gives us freedom of commerce with allies and neutrals, and the power to send troops and supplies in safety to every theatre of war. British sea power has cut off Germany from her colonies, which are one by one falling into our hands."

The key to the chart is as follows:

(A) Actions of Heligoland Bight, Aug. 28, '14; Dogger Bank, Jan. 24, '15; and Belgian Coast, Oct. 19, '14; and subsequently. (B) Action off Coronel, Nov. 1, '14. (C) Action off Falklands, Dec. 8, '14. (D) Actions in Gulf of Finland, Aug. 27, '14; Gulf of Riga, June 3 and 6, '15; and coast of Courland, July 2, '15. (E) Blockade of Adriatic; action between Gloucester and Goeben, Aug. 8, '14. (F) Samoa occupied, Aug. 29, '14. (G) German Pacific colonies occupied; action at Herbertshöhe and defeat of main German forces, Sept. 11-12, '14; capture of Nauru, last wireless station, Sept. 21, '14; occupation of Friedrich Wilhelm Town, Sept. 24, '14. (H) Occupation of

British Sea Power



Togoland, Aug. 26, '14. (I) Invasion of Cameroons, Duala captured, Sept. 27, '14; Victoria captured by marines, Nov. 13, '14; blockade of Cameroon coast, April 23, '15. (J) Conquest of Southwest Africa; surrender of Luderitz-bucht, Sept. 19, '14; Swakopmund occupied, Jan. 14, '15; Windhuk and wireless station seized, May 12, '15; German final surrender, July 8, '15. (K) Operations on Lake Nyasa. (L) Action between Königsberg and Pegasus, Sept. 20, '14; bombardments of Dar-es-Salaam, Aug. 8, '14, Nov. 28, '14, and Feb. 26, '15; blockade of German East African coast, Mar. 1, '15. (M) Dardanelles operations; first bombardment, Nov. 2, '14; Naval attack begun, Feb. 19, '15; action against the Narrows, Mar. 18, '15; landing of allied armies, Apr. 25, '15. (N) Operations against Turkey in Asia; Akaba bombarded, Nov. 2, '14; seizure of Fao, Persian Gulf Nov. 8, '14; Basra occupied, Nov. 21, '14; Sheikh Seyd bombarded, Nov. 15, '14; Kurna captured, Dec. 9, '14; Smyrna bombarded, Mar. 5, '15. (O) Kiao-Chau occupied, Nov. 7, '14. (P) Emden sunk, Nov. 9, '14. (Q) Königsberg sunk, July 11, '15. (R) Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse sunk, Aug. 26, '14. (S) Cap Trafalgar sunk, Sept. 14, '14. (T) Navarra sunk, Nov. 11, '14. (U) Dresden sunk, Mar. 14, '15. (V) Karlsruhe sunk, Nov. 25, '14. (W) Prinz Eitel Friedrich and Kronprinz Wilhelm interned, Apr. 8, '15, and Apr. 27, '15. (X) Convoy of Canadian troops. (Y) Convoy of Australasian troops. (Z) Convoy of Indian troops.

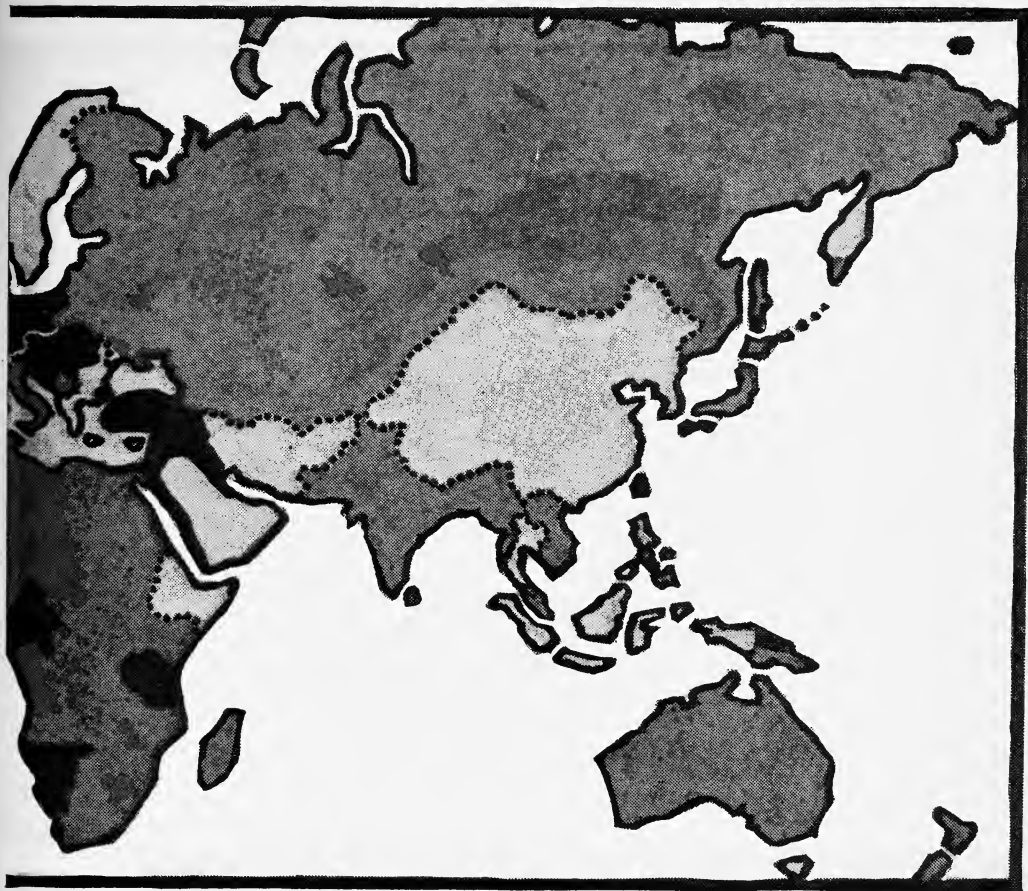
Germany After a Year of War

"Showing the Superior Power"



Black areas indicate Teutonic territory throughout the world.

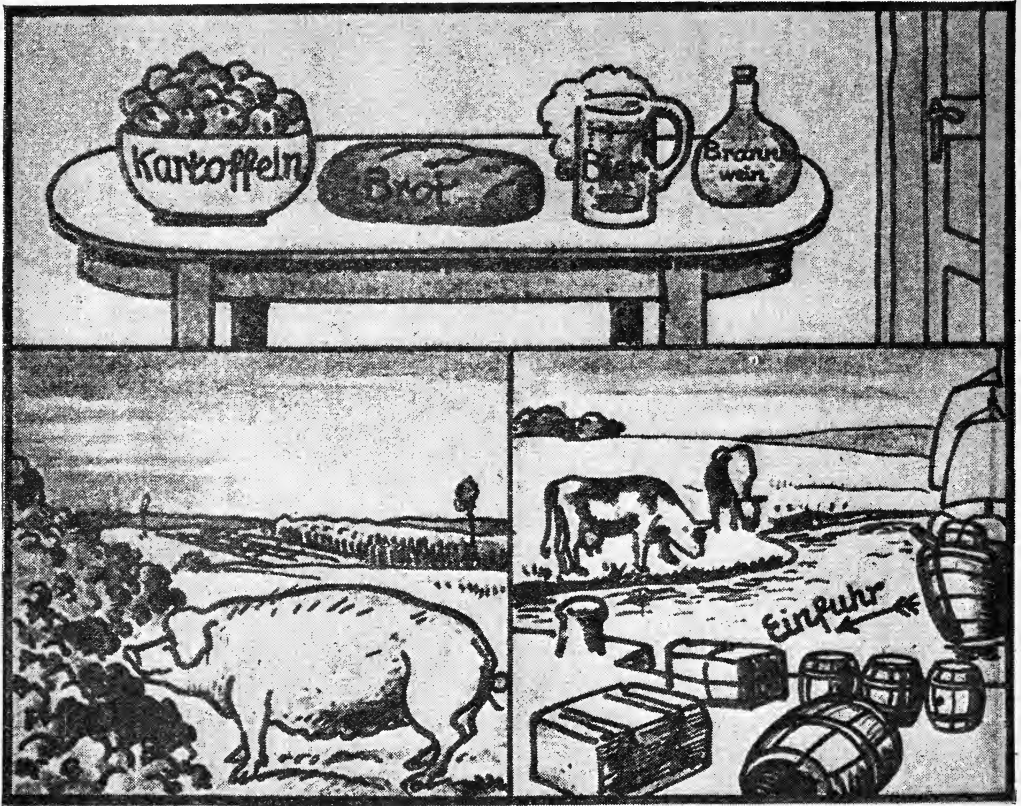
Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts of Germany's Enemies"



Gray areas indicate territory of enemies of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

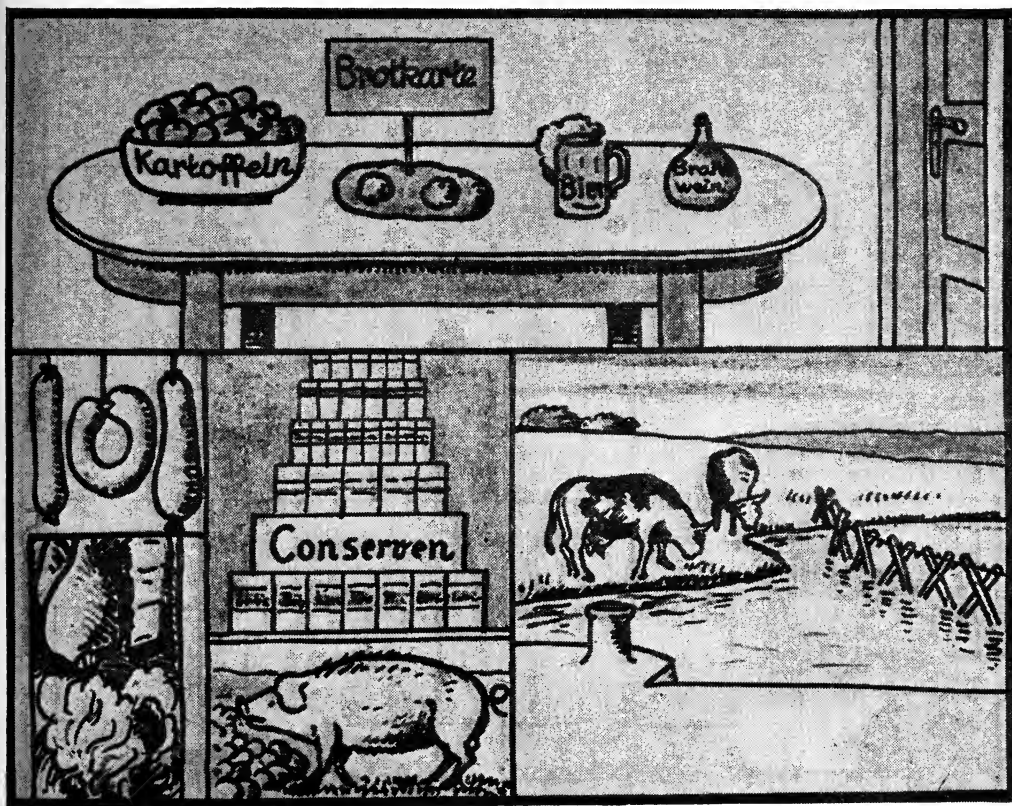
Germany After a Year of War

"The German War Economy—English Been



Germany has been buying abroad, in time of peace, foodstuffs to the amount to \$750,000,000 annually. Now England seeks to starve Germany out by preventing all these imports. Germany is consequently thrown entirely on her own resources. During the first months of the war a limited amount of food was still being imported; the total somewhat increased by some help from invaded districts. Organization began immediately; the rich potato yield was made to serve more largely than ever before for human needs. Bread was partly made of potato flour, the potato distilleries were permitted to turn out but 60% of their

—Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts Starvation Policy and How It Has Met"

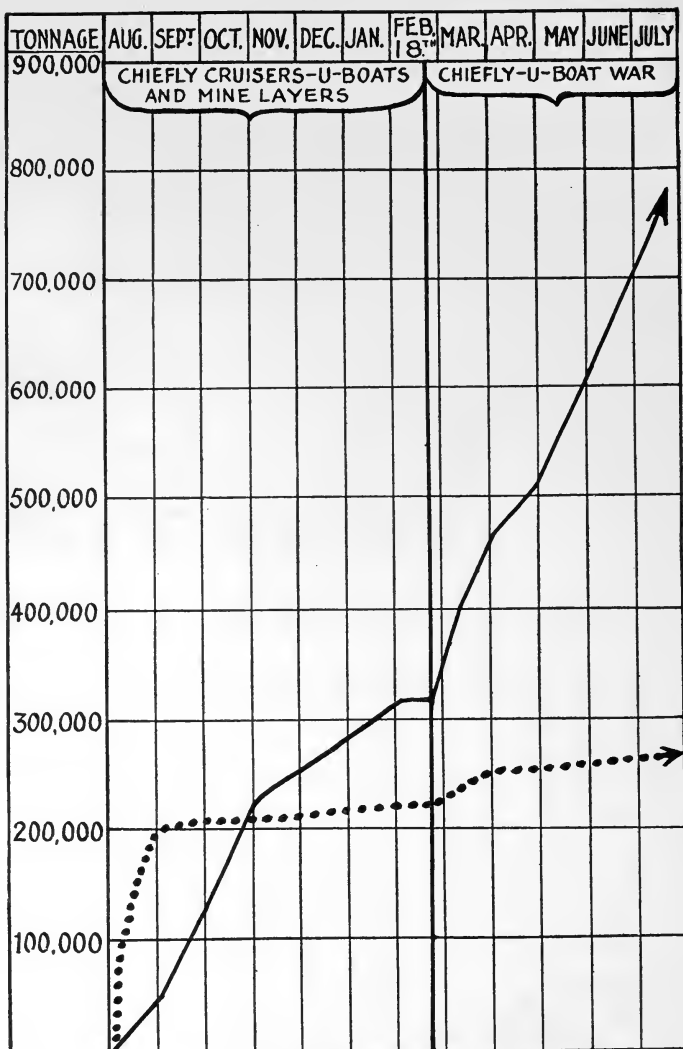


former production; the bread ticket regulated the daily rations of every German. The number of pigs, formerly tremendous ravagers of the potato crop, was reduced from 26 to 17 million. Pork was not used fresh, but smoked, thus allowing the real output to keep to its former amount. The beer production was cut down 40%. There is an excess production of sugar, for Germany produces, in peace times, one-third more than she uses. This surplus is being used for feeding cattle and for preserving a great quantity of foods, thus making the excellent fruit crop of 1914 useful.

Germany After a Year of War—Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts

Gains and Losses on the Sea

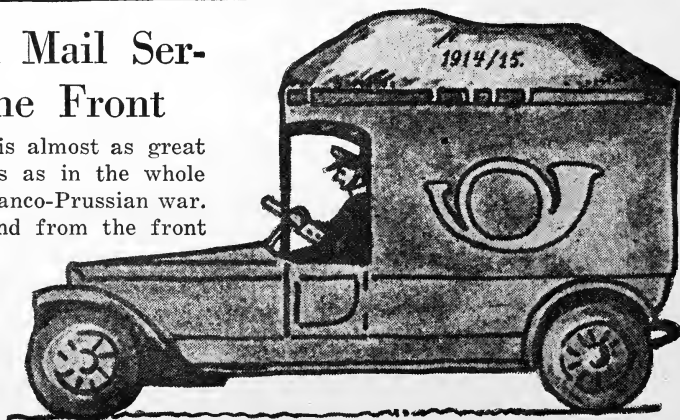
The curves indicated at the right show the tonnage of merchant vessels, sail and steam, which have been as good as lost, together with those held in the prize courts and those undoubtedly destroyed. The liners interned at the beginning of the war in enemy ports are also included. On the side of the German opponents, the loss, especially in England's case, has been enormous. Since the historic day, Feb. 18, (the day of the German war zone declaration,) the tremendously increasing losses of the enemy are clearly shown by the rapid upward curve, while the German curve remains about stationary. The actual losses of the enemy are still greater than the curve indicates, as our specific knowledge of the total loss is not complete.

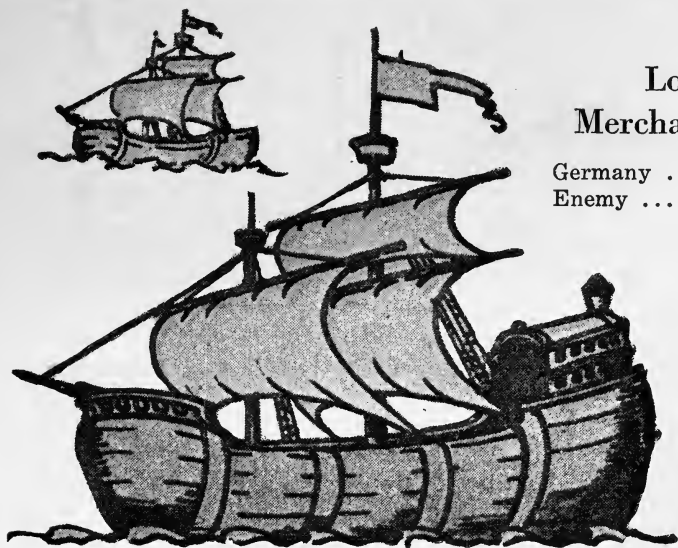


The German Mail Service for the Front

In one week there is almost as great a number of sendings as in the whole nine months of the Franco-Prussian war. 1870-71: Total to and from the front about 100 millions.

1914-15: During the first year of the war about 4,000 millions.

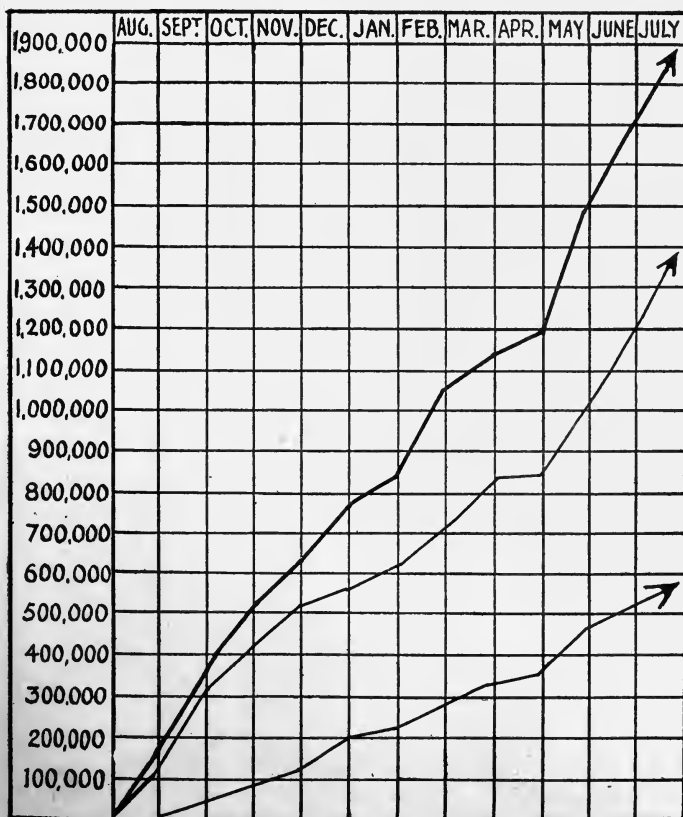




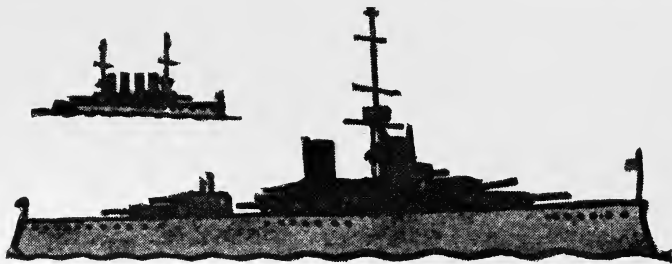
Loss in Merchant Vessels

Germany ... 255,977 Tons
Enemy 790,000 Tons

Increase in Number of Prisoners of War



The upper of the three curves indicates the total number captured by German and Austrian troops. The middle curve shows the number fallen into German hands alone, the lower those taken by our allies.



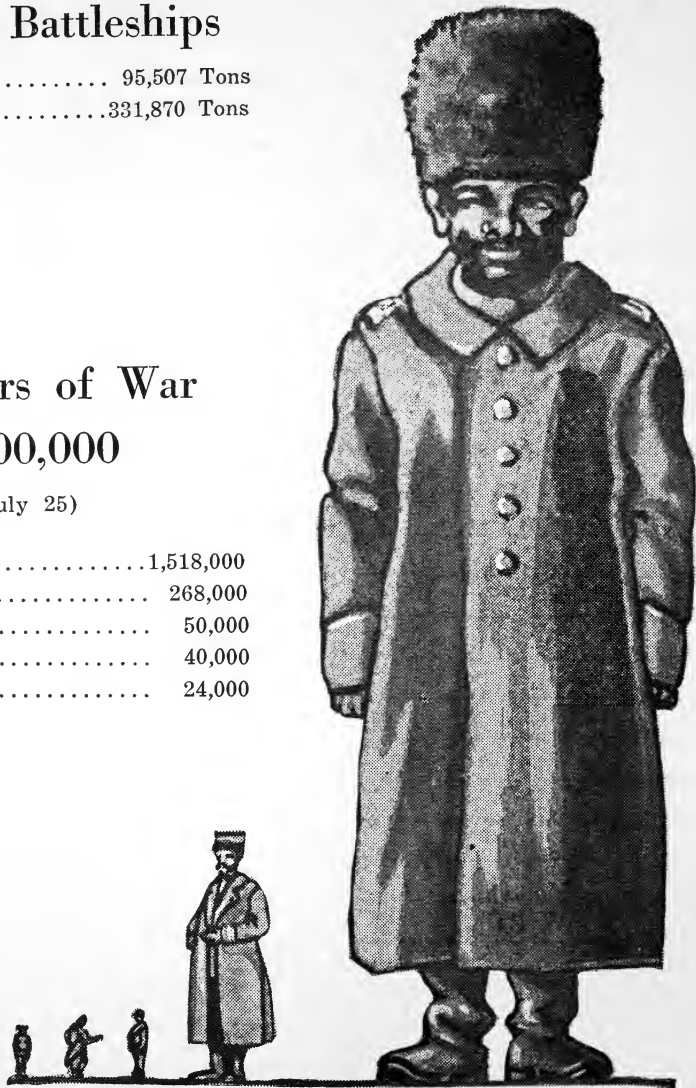
Loss in Battleships

Germany	95,507 Tons
Enemy	331,870 Tons

Prisoners of War 1,900,000

(July 25)

Russian	1,518,000
French	268,000
Serbian	50,000
Belgian	40,000
English	24,000



A Sword in Pity's Hand

By Gilbert Murray

This comment is taken from a new and unpublished preface to Professor Murray's translation of "The Trojan Women," the Euripidean war play which was given recently at Harvard University, under the direction of Granville Barker, and a little later at the dedication exercises of the new stadium erected for the College of the City of New York:

NOT Peace, but a Sword!" The burden of the Trojan women has now fallen upon others, upon Belgian women, French women, upon the women of Poland and Serbia. God grant that the discipline of the Allies may hold firm, and that mankind may not have to add to that tragic list the names of German and Magyar women!

Some twelve years ago, when I was steeped in this drama of Euripides, I felt that, vivid as it was, the things it depicted belonged to the horrors of the far past. War might come again, even among civilized nations; but it could never again be this kind of war. Mankind had advanced since the days of Troy or Melos; there were rules of honorable warfare firmly established, pathetic efforts made by man in his gentler moments to insure that, even in his fury, he should not sink utterly below the brutes. Women and children were safe, prisoners were safe, the wounded were safe. So much seemed certain; and yet the very reverse was true. The next war was to be baser and crueler than the old wars, just as it was vaster in extent.

Other things, too, are strange. We could scarcely have believed that, if war could come, the first step would be the deliberate massacre of a small and unconcerned nation, as innocent as Melos and as far removed from the quarrels of its great neighbors. We could scarcely have believed that, with almost all Europe eager to preserve peace, with Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Serbia, day by day and almost hour by hour offering to accept any form of arbitration, mediation, conference, or even delay, one power would have taken on herself the responsibility of saying: "No, I can have arbitration, but I prefer war. It is by war that I shall gain the most."

And that power was not only the strongest in the world, the best prepared and the most accustomed to think of politics in terms of force—that was natural. She was also the nation of all others whom in so many walks of life we most honored; the nation who had given us so much of our music, our philosophy, our great works of ordered knowledge; who through all the interwoven lines of human endeavor was making the rest of us her willing disciples. She was not content to be the first nation of Europe, the most rapidly growing in wealth and activity; not content to penetrate all neighboring lands with her influence and impress their imaginations with her disciplined strength; not content that we thronged to her universities to be taught; that we filled our libraries with her books and hardly counted any work successful till it won the approval of her authority. She was not content. She craved for a homage more abject, more brutalized. She wanted subjects, not neighbors. We offered her justice, but she preferred organized murder. It seems incredible, and yet it is the oldest of old stories. By that sin fell the angels! Other nations, great and fine nations, have gone mad before, and almost always with this same madness. Hubris the Greeks called it, the ancient sin of pride which must needs come to a fall if any balance is to be maintained in human life. There is hardly one strong nation in the world's history, from Xerxes to Napoleon, that has not in one degree or another been drunken with it. This should make our judgment more gentle, though it must not weaken our resolve.

Doubtless we have all sinned in our day; but that is no reason now against defending the innocent. We have all at some time, in some degree, transgressed the law; but that does not absolve us from the duty of upholding the law. We have all been cruel; but does that mean that we have no right any more to feel indignant pity? And pity in this case has put a sword into our hands.

Reasonable men in Great Britain do not need to be warned against the folly of any desire to "crush Germany." Such a thing cannot be done, and if it could it would be a disaster. We do not need to be warned against deliberately setting ourselves to "hate Germany." To hate Germany would be a stupidity as well as a sin against civilization; I should not like to die calling a whole nation of men my enemies. But before peace can come the world must set its seal upon three great lessons: That public right still lives between nations, that the freedom of a civilized people shall not be violated with impunity, and that those who are swift to make war for the sake of gain shall find in their wars not profit, but bitter loss.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

Two review articles by German writers, one by Herbert Kraus on "The Monroe Doctrine as Germans See It," the other by Count E. Reventlow on "The Duty of Neutrals in This War," have been deemed of sufficient note to warrant separate places in this number. But of perhaps equal importance is the article by Sydney Brooks, quoted below, while special problems in Ireland, Russia, Ruthenia, France, Turkey, Italy, and Serbia are dealt with in a wide range of topics treated by the world's leading writers and presented in the subjoined text.

Future Developments of the Nations

By Sydney Brooks

THE war widens, it will widen still more before it is over, Sydney Brooks says in *The Atlantic Monthly* for August, in an article entitled "Side Issues of the War." Twelve powers, including Turkey on the Germanic side and Portugal and Italy on the side of the Allies, have spread the conflict to three-fifths of the total population of the earth and over three-fifths of its land surface. Three-quarters of the peoples of Europe are now at war. Only China, Mexico, the greater part of South America, and Spain are confidently neutral; the "United States, the Republic of Switzerland, the small kingdoms in the north of Europe, and the tempestuous powers of the Balkans, are all alike obliged to take into account the possibility of intervention." The future effects of the war, particularly in Great Britain, Germany, and Russia, are considered by Mr. Brooks in a careful forecast:

There has been much to deplore and a little to be ashamed of in the British record during the past year, but there has been vastly more to admire; and I, for one, am confident that we are turning at this moment one of the most glorious pages in British annals. I am not thinking solely or even mainly of naval or military successes in the seven widely separated theatres of war in which Great Britain is engaged. I am thinking of a nation strung up to the heroic pitch, wholly united in a cause that holds out no prizes but those of duty done, honor fulfilled, and security won by valor and sacrifice, absorbing discipline and stead-

ied by it without losing their characteristic flexibility and self-reliance, and pitting against a monstrous mechanism of tyranny the full, spontaneous, and orderly strength of millions of free men.

Great Britain, it may be said, has not yet scaled these heights of splendor. But she is nearing them; she is climbing already beyond the lower slopes; she will gain the summit. She will not, however, do so without carrying still further that process of shedding old habits of thought and old ways of doing things which set in from the first moment of the war. We have seen in the past twelve months two developments of unique significance in British life—the exaltation of the State and the crushing down of party politics. It has been made a reproach to the Socialists of all lands that they did not prevent the war. If they cared for the reply, they might well make answer that at any rate it has had to be waged by applying their doctrines. Whether that shows the common sense of socialism or merely its abnormality, I shall not attempt to determine. But the fact is patent that in Great Britain, as in all the other belligerent countries, the State has taken on an unprecedented increase of powers and responsibilities. For the time being, the old economics are dead.

The British are among the least submissive and the most independent of peoples. Yet their chief complaint against their Government at this moment is that it has not sufficiently restricted their liberties, that it does not enforce discipline on every human being in the kingdom, that it does not prescribe for each one of them his or her special sphere of usefulness. Every step that the State has taken beyond the province assigned to it in times of peace has been received with a round of popular applause. The State regulates the prices of food; the State makes vast pur-

chases of necessary commodities for resale to the people; the State takes over the railways; the State gags the press; the State, by one enactment after another, places the entire kingdom under what is virtually martial law; the State fixes wages, annexes profits, takes control of the saloons, starts new industries, enters the insurance business, commandeers all the engineering works in the country, abolishes trade union restrictions, regulates and disciplines labor—essays, in short, a hundred enterprises that would be utterly closed to it in ordinary times.

The approval with which the British people have watched and encouraged these inroads upon their traditional philosophy is something more than a tribute to necessity. It implies a conscious recognition that the organization of Great Britain as a community has hitherto been singularly defective and that only State action can improve it. This recognition, in my judgment, will outlive the war. A sane and humorous people like the British are never likely to deify the State as the Germans have deified it; but they will more and more incline to enlarge its functions and to invoke its assistance. The awful transitional period that lies ahead of Europe, when the stimulus of war is removed and its ruin and waste come to be counted, and a desperate scramble of readjustment and rebuilding begins, will force all nations to turn to the State for leadership in the work of salvage. I cannot conceive that in Great Britain all problems of Government ownership or control of such utilities as the railways, such services as the banks and Stock Exchange, and such industries as mining, will not after the war be considered from a new standpoint. I cannot conceive that the British people, when peace returns, will tolerate for long the failure of the State to recolonize the British countryside or to provide a genuinely national system of education. Still less can I conceive of the empire continuing to be the same loose, unfederated, disjointed congeries of States that it was when the war began; or of domestic politics being resumed on anything like their old footing; or of women continuing to be excluded from that share in public and professional life to which their incomparable services during the war have with compelling effect underscored their claim; or of emigration from an exhausted and overburdened Great Britain to the ampler skies and prospects of Greater Britain beyond the seas being allowed to pursue its old haphazard course.

System, organization, discipline; a new sense of the State; a more realistic conception of unity throughout the nation and of brotherhood among all classes—these are the attributes that one hopes may survive the war and animate the

British people without detriment to their native impulses of initiative and self-confidence. I find myself relying, blindly perhaps but profoundly, upon those three or four millions of young men who will have volunteered for the war, to introduce into Great Britain, on the return of peace, a wider democracy, not so much of political forms as of spirit and opportunity, a national and not a party outlook in public affairs, a better type of legislator than "the tired lawyer," and a higher standard of efficiency in the business of government. With the soldiers of the war, if they will but hold together and assert themselves, rests the future of the nations engaged in it; and in France and Great Britain and Italy, the three belligerent lands in which political life is most highly developed, their influence will naturally be thrown, not on the side of a resumption of party politics, but on the side of prolonging and upholding the temper and methods of the really national Governments that the plain urgencies of the war have already set up in London and in Paris.

If Great Britain has much to learn from Germany, Germany has far more to learn from Great Britain, Mr. Brooks believes:

But the capacity of each to assimilate what gives strength to the other is by no means identical. Great Britain can find room for, and in almost all departments of life stands to benefit by, those qualities of patient foresight, scientific exactitude, thoroughness in preparation, thrift, realism, and devotion to the State of which Germany has set so far-shining an example. For these are virtues that already exist in the British character, but are largely lost to the national service through faulty organization. They can be developed and they can be applied without any harm to, and, indeed, with a positive enrichment of, those traits that are the backbone of the British people. Great Britain, for instance, could adopt national military service without canonizing the uniform or enthroning a military caste. She could extend the functions of the State and yet still regard its agents and functionaries with the good-humored tolerance of today. She could reach Germany's standard of education and intelligence without forfeiting her ancient dower of a natural and resourceful rebelliousness. She could become as systematic, economical, and provident as her adversary and still retain her talent for meeting responsibilities gladly and for thriving on emergencies. What Britain, in short, can borrow—and, if she is to hold her own in the war and in the not less difficult times that will succeed the war, must borrow—from Germany is in

the nature of expansion. What Germany can borrow from Great Britain is in the nature of explosion. Once plant in the Fatherland the careless British doctrine that a man is a human being and not a cog in a machine, and the whole apparatus of autocracy, caste-government, impotent Parliaments, and manufactured opinion begins to crack and crumble.

I fancy that in any event it will hardly emerge intact when the defeat which is as distant as it is inevitable strips from the ruling classes in Germany the prestige of infallibility and success. The people have long been beating against the bars. More and more they have begun to ask for a share in the Government commensurate with their numbers and intelligence, and to realize that the ballot, as an end in itself, is insufficient; that, divorced from direct responsibility, it is little more than a national plaything, and that it affords no adequate security against the subjection of Government to the interests of a single class or against the capricious and hazardous policies of a semi-absolutism. For some years before the war the German people had been working around to the conclusion that no Emperor, however patriotic, and no Chancellor, however dexterous, could be quite so safe a guardian of the national interests as the nation itself. I do not say that they had actually reached that conclusion or that, even if they had, they possessed the political capacity to give effect to it. But unquestionably that was the direction in which the German mind was moving. It seems not unreasonable to assume that the defeat of Germany in this war, by discrediting the whole philosophy of the State for which the Hohenzollerns have stood, must powerfully aid the political enfranchisement of the masses.

But it is, perhaps, on Russia that the war is destined to work its greatest effects, says Mr. Brooks:

Whatever else happens, the days of Prussianism in the empire of the Czars are numbered; and with its disappearance there vanishes a baleful influence that since the days of Peter the Great has corrupted the Slavonic spirit and interposed an estranging barrier between the Czar and his peoples. Changing the name of the capital from St. Petersburg to Petrograd was a small thing, but symbolic. It was a token that the Russian sovereign and his subjects, long separated by Prussian ascendancy in the Court, the army, and the bureaucracy, were at last coming together in a mutually intelligible identity. The true genius of the Russian people is kindly, tolerant, and democratic. It is almost everything, indeed, that the Prussian spirit is not. That is why this war is for Russia essentially a war of

moral liberation that will clear a path for the fruition and expansion of all that is most genuinely Russian. The results may be long in showing themselves, but those who know Russia best and are possessed of something of her own unconquerable faith have the least doubt of their ultimate advent. Another and a decisive milestone is being passed on the long and tortuous road of Russia's progress toward liberalism and unity.

But it is on wider problems than these that the observer of the present struggle soon finds himself ruminating. There is not a question of all the many questions that have harassed European statesmanship for the past hundred years that has not been started by it into fresh vitality; and one at least, forgotten by all diplomats and remembered only by dreamers, has re-emerged from a still older tomb. Poland! That name, that ideal, that inveterate aspiration of a people martyred with the peculiar callousness of the eighteenth century—what "practical" man gave it, until the present war and Russia's resounding pledge of national resurrection, a single moment's thought? Yet the final and, as it were, the sacramental token of victory for the Allies has been solemnly and sincerely declared to be the ancient Kingdom of Poland reconstituted and made whole. And the principle by virtue of which this miracle is to be wrought is the principle of nationality. There, if anywhere, is the point of sharpest opposition between the Teutonic powers and the Allies. The triumph of the former means the trampling of the smaller peoples of Europe beneath the jackboot of Prussian militarism: the triumph of the latter is the vindication of their right to security and self-realization.

But one who, with this clue in his hands, seeks to thread the maze of European politics, will find "the principle of nationality" an erratic and even convulsive guide. By its light he may, indeed, picture to himself, without too much effort, the lost provinces restored to France, Belgium once more independent, and the neighboring kingdoms as self-contained and relatively tranquil as they are today. But as his eyes travel eastward, he becomes aware that, if nationality is to determine everything, very little is left of the map of Europe. Poland rises again; Austria-Hungary disappears, the German elements gravitating toward the Hohenzollerns and the Slav toward the Romanoffs, leaving Hungary to form a Magyar Switzerland; a Greater Serbia, a Greater Rumania, emerge; Bulgaria expands to the limits of her original agreement with Serbia and Greece; Italy annexes whatever in Austria and along the Dalmatian coast is Italian in speech or sentiment or by tradition; and Greece overflows into Asia Minor. Such a rearrangement is not

impossible, if and when the Allies win. But it raises almost as many problems as it solves, and the more he looks into it the more will a dispassionate onlooker wonder whether nationality may not prove as refractory and aggressive—and may not be the forcing-bed of as many wars—as religion itself.

Not even here, however, do we reach the limits of this "greatest of all wars." Is the 500-year-old curse of Turkish rule at last and really to be removed from Europe? Is Russia actually within sight and touch of her insistent goals—Constantinople and an outlet to the warm waters? And if the Turks are driven from Europe, can they hold their own or maintain any sort of authority in Asia Minor? Syria and Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia, what is to become of them? Can Great Britain with her 80,000,000 Moslem subjects be indifferent to the fate of a country that contains the holy places at Mecca and Medina, and that commands the trade route to India as well as the coasts of Egypt? Is another and a greater empire to rise where the Assyrian and Babylonian empires fell? Will cities more magnificent than they cover the sites of Nineveh and Babylon, and the Tigris spread fertility like the Nile, and Mesopotamia become

once more the granary of the East, and the oil wells of Kerkuk rival those of Baku? These are not idle speculations. They are as much and as pertinently the conceivable consequences of the war as the fate of Germany's possessions in Africa and the Pacific, and the rounding off of the all-British route from Cairo to the Cape.

But all forecasts, all possibilities, are subject to the issue of the struggle and the nature of the peace. The world is at war today very largely because the Congress of Vienna one hundred years ago redrew the map of Europe on the artificial and transient lines of dynastic claims and antiquated technicalities, and ignored the rights and sentiments and individuality of the peoples it was dealing with. Since then democracy and nationality have made themselves felt as the most potent of all forces in the politics of today. If the settlement is guided by them, a new and saner dispensation may be created such as Europe has not seen since the peace of the Antonines was broken. For by far the most crucial question propounded by the war is not its effect upon this country or upon that, but whether it is to end merely to be renewed later on, or whether "the greatest of all wars" is to be also the last.

The Future of the Ruthenians

By Bedwin Sands

IN The British Review Bedwin Sands declares that the Ruthenians, who are known by American immigration agents as Russian Poles, Galicians, South Russians, Bukowinians, and so on, are descendants of the ancient Scythians, and that several authorities claim that they are the purest type of Slavs. The Germans called them Ruthenians, but recent writers in Russia and abroad use the name of Ukrainians. The original Rusjky, that is, the people of the Kiev Kingdom or land of Rusj and of the Eastern Carpathians and sub-Carpathian districts, were called Malo-Rusky, or Little Russians, part of that country being called historically Ukraine, or border, they have extended that name within the last few years to the whole of their land and that of Ukrainians to their people. Of their characteristics Mr. Sands says:

The Ukrainian occupies a place apart in the Slavonic family. The Slavs are like so

many brothers settled under different climes. The Ukrainian is a fine-looking, tall and slender, dark-haired son, the favorite child with visitors, but, if a sudden change of sex be forgiven in the course of this simile, he is a veritable Cinderella to his younger brother, the Muscovite. The latter has gone north, has taken in Mongol and Finnish blood, and become a pushing, masterful, money-saving creature. He is less shapely but more sturdy, less poetical but more enterprising, less fond of books, of education, of merry songs and dances, but keen on "siller," and can be depended upon for a certain standard of patient output. He will ignore the gibes of the quick-witted Ukrainian and go on with his work unperturbed. The rugged, stern Muscovite, like the Bulgarian, is by now too far removed from the pure Slav stock to care for public opinion. Only sensitive Western nations trouble about that. Tell a Bulgarian or a Muscovite he is an Oriental—he will not often care to deny it. The Ukrainian is anxious to be considered a European. He certainly deserves the name. Ten years of life under a free Government has proved it many a

time, in Canada and the United States of America.

The national aim of these 30,000,000 people, whose language shows their affiliation with the Serbo-Croats and Poles, besides securing the right for the Jews to reside in all parts of Russia, is freedom to worship as Greek Catholics. In addition, they desire the introduction of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction in primary, agricultural, and

other lower schools, and their language as a subject of study in all Ukrainian schools; the introduction of all studies bearing on Ukraine in all the Ukrainian universities; the free use of the Ukrainian language in all meetings and public institutions, and the right of the Zemstvos, of the co-operative insurance, financial, and other public institutions of the Ukraine to form unions covering the whole or parts of the Ukraine.

Ireland's Recruiting

By N. Marlowe

Describing "The Present Mood of Ireland," N. Marlowe says in *The British Review*:

In the matter of recruiting Sir Edward Carson's followers in the North of Ireland gave at once a practical demonstration of their loyalty to the empire. But the significance of the contrast between the recruiting figures for Ulster and those for the rest of Ireland is not entirely political. The main industrial districts of the island are situated in the northeast of Ulster, and it is possible to argue that, even if Ireland had no "politics" and no "religion," the greater proportion of recruits would have come from this quarter. It is always easier to find soldiers in the towns than in the countryside. Nationalist Dublin, as we have seen, has done very well, (it has recently provided five new battalions of Dublin Fusiliers,) and the recruiting figures for the City of Cork are also good. The smaller towns in the south claim excellent records. For instance, Wexford, with a population of 14,000, has sent 2,000 recruits to the army and navy. Criticism, therefore, is chiefly directed against the agricultural counties. The farmers' sons are a favorite target for letter writers to *The Irish Times*. But excuses are forthcoming. The laboring population in the country districts was already limited before the war, and such recruiting as has taken place in it has been felt by the employers, the owners of land, and their sons. Moreover, the increased demand for agricultural produce, consequent on the war, makes the shortage of labor more pressing than usual. In poor counties like Donegal, Mayo, Clare, and Kerry, where the drain of emigration has been severe, many a peasant finds it impossible to spare the one son who is still at home—there has already been a great struggle to keep him away from America. Such being the position, the Sinn Féin party could declare with some truth at the beginning of the war that there was no need for an anti-recruiting cam-

paign in rural Ireland. "England," wrote Arthur Griffith bitterly, "having destroyed our Constitution, suppressed our Parliament, loaded her debt on to our shoulders, turned our tillage fields into cattle ranches, trebled our taxation, and halved our population—all within a century—wants what is left of us to fight for her supremacy over the world."

The Nationalist argument for recruiting was:

"The more we help the better terms shall we receive when the time comes to reconsider the Irish settlement. By refusing to make war sacrifices we merely play into the hands of the Orangemen of Belfast. The Irish are a warlike race, and after they have been trained in arms and fought on Continental battlefields, is it likely that they will submit to the partition of their country?" Thus spoke Mr. Dillon to the Nationalists of Belfast, and, as may be imagined, his words did not conduce to the maintenance of the party truce: the Orangemen were never in a nastier temper than they are today, and swear that when their soldiers return from the war home rule will be "relegated to the devil."

But the politicians have used other appeals with effect, e. g., the wrongs of Belgium, horror of Germany, and the cry of small nationalities. Mr. Marlowe continues:

Sometimes, too, the Irish recruiting speeches strike a really original note. Listen, for instance, to the speeches of Professor (now Lieutenant) Kettle, who fifteen years ago was distributing anti-recruiting leaflets in the streets of Dublin. "Why," he exclaims, "we Irish have only just succeeded in civilizing England. If Germany should win this war and es-



ELENA

Wife of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and Daughter of Nicholas, King
of Montenegro



QUEEN MARIE

Wife of Ferdinand I. of Rumania and Daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg
and Gotha

(Photo from P. S. Rogers)

establish her hegemony over the world, we shall have to begin the work of ages all over again. We shall have to civilize the Germans, and how long will that take? No—it is too great a sacrifice that the Kaiser's friends here ask of us!" Ireland, continues Lieutenant Kettle, must put aside all considerations of profit and loss—since when did we become a people of hucksters? She must remember her

duty, if not to England, then to Europe. Certainly it is "difficult" for Irish Nationalists to don the khaki, nor have we any assurance that England has renounced her imperialistic ambitions. Still, the fact remains that the present war is a good one, and Ireland can only effectively count in the settlement by sending her sons into the British Army. So the controversy reached a higher plane.

"Dinant la Morte"

By Camille David

HUMAN suffering such as Dante himself could not have imagined" is described by Camille David in *The Contemporary Review* for August from facts which he attests after visiting the ground on which Dinant was razed. During the awful sack of Dinant and the flight of the terrified inhabitants in the last days of August, 1914, M. David presents this as a faithful record:

Saturday, Aug. 22, was quiet, except that toward evening there was artillery thunder in the valley.

Sunday was a terrible day. As early as 5:15 in the morning, at dawn, the Germans, under the orders of Lieut. Col. Blegen, began to bombard Dinant. Shells rained on the town. Soon the mitrailleuses, which were hidden in the trees, sent down a great shower of bullets. From the left bank the French replied vigorously. Hardly had the fight begun before several hundred Germans of the 108th Infantry Regiment advanced through the Ponds de Leffe and by the heights of St. Nicolas. The first victims fell at Leffe.

The faithful took refuge in the Eglise des Prémontrés, where mass was being celebrated, while outside was the crack of rifle fire. It was 6:30 o'clock. The German soldiers burst into the church and drove out the worshippers. They had heard their last mass!

Protests and supplications aroused no pity in the barbarians. With the butt ends of their rifles they separated the men from the women, and made them stand in a group while they shot into the middle of them under the horrified eyes of the women. About fifty civilians fell dead. The women uttered terrifying shrieks. At the door of his house, and in the presence of his wife and children, they killed M. Victor Poncelet. Bloodthirsty fury took possession of the soldier-assassins. Street by street and house by house they pillaged the town and set fire

to it, destroying Dinant from top to bottom. * * *

At 9 o'clock a pitiable cortège approached the prison. It was composed of men, women, and children, about 700 of them. With their hands held up and surrounded by soldiers, these martyrs crossed the burning town. Tears flowed, sobs, lamentations, prayers arose from among them. No one listened. The officers and soldiers were unmoved. Until dusk these wretched people were kept prisoners. The soldiers passed backward and forward in front of them, saying: "You will all be shot this evening." Evening arrived. Darkness fell slowly, so slowly, prolonging the terrible agony. The battle had come to an end. Namur having fallen, the French had orders to retire toward Philippeville. The Germans were masters of the town.

At 6 o'clock a German Captain had the women placed high up on the Montagne de la Croix. A cordon of infantry barred the street before them. Thirty steps away, against the wall of the garden of M. Tchoffen, the public prosecutor, in the Rue Léopold, at the corner of the Place d'Armes, a row of men was placed standing, and in front of them a second row kneeling. Opposite the public prosecutor's house soldiers were stationed ready to shoot. To avoid the ricochet of the bullets they were aiming slantwise. A little further on, waiting their turn, another group of inhabitants helplessly watched these lugubrious preparations. The German officer passes in front of the crowd in reserve and chooses more victims. At this tragic moment a thrill of horror goes through the condemned men and through the crowd of relations and friends who are looking on at the scene. The women implore and wring their hands and throw themselves on their knees, the children weep, the men cry: "Mercy! Mercy! we did not shoot, we had no arms. Have pity on us for our children's sake."

It is in vain! The German officer will listen to nothing. He takes up his posi-

tion, shouts an order, lowers his sword. The rifles go off, the bullets fly, and men fall. A great clamor is heard which makes the rocks tremble. Women are fainting. * * * The dead now rest in M. Tehoffen's garden. A few flowers and some little wooden crosses stuck in the ground mark the two big graves.

Not all the men, however, have been hit. About twenty were not touched. They fell down pell-mell among those who had been shot. Others were only wounded. One received a bullet in his head, another was hit by five bullets, another had his thigh perforated. All remain motionless in a pool of blood which gradually congeals, lying side by side with the corpses of their friends, now become cold and stiff in death. Not a cry, not a murmur, not a breath rises from this human heap. Agony and the will to live glue them to the pavement. Fear itself prevents their teeth from chattering. They feign death and await the darkness of the night. There is silence for a long, long time. Then a head lifts from among the dead in the shadow. Enemies are no longer to be seen near the prison. In a low voice, in a whisper, the owner speaks and says in Walloon: "Can you see any one over St. Nicolas way?" A man lying on his back opens his eyes and answers: "No, nobody." "Let us go into the house opposite," says young G. It is 8 o'clock and quite dark. The survivors, silently, with beating hearts, revived by hope, rise up, cross the street with a run, plunge into a house, climb through the gardens, the unhurt dragging and supporting the wounded, and hide in the mountain. They are covered with dark blood which is not their own. They rub themselves with leaves and grass. For several days and nights they live on carrots and beets and other roots. The wounded are untended. Their comrades tear up their shirts for bandages. They suffer terribly from thirst.

* * * * *

That tragic Sunday, Aug. 23, saw other massacres. In the prison civilians were shut up, men and women together. At 6 o'clock in the evening a big gun started shooting from the upper part of the mountain, and dropped a rain of bullets on the prisoners, who were in the courtyard. A woman fell pierced through the body. Three other people perished at her side. Soldiers ran up to kill them. In order to save himself Dr. D. smeared his face with the blood of the victims and pretended to be dead.

The butchery had been organized at various points in the town. Inhabitants who had taken refuge in cellars and were discovered were shot at once. At Leffe, at about 5 o'clock in the evening, the soldiers forced M. Himmer, the Argentine Consul, Director of the Oudin Works, a

Frenchman, and fifty workmen, women and children to come out of the cellars of the weaving factory, where they had fled. Four times did they set fire to the establishment. M. Himmer came out first with a white flag. "I am Consul for Argentina," he said to the officer, "and I appeal to that country." What was that to the assassins? They were all shot. The officer said: "It would have been too much luck to spare you when your fellow-citizens were dead." The toll of the dead at Leffe is horrible. One hundred and forty civilians were shot. There are only seven sound men left.

In the garden next to that of M. Servais, ex-Secretary of the Commune, also shot, rest eighty of the inhabitants of Dinant. In the cemetery of the Faubourg de Leffe others lie buried. Others again to the right of the road, in a garden near the Catholic school, at the entrance to the Fonds de Leffe. And here it was the inhabitants shut up in the Couvent des Prémontrés who dug the grave. M. M. told me, shaking with indignant feeling: "They made us dig the grave, like martyrs, saying to us, 'That's for you this evening.' They made us bury our massacred fellow-citizens. I saw seventeen bodies thrown into that enormous hole, and then the contents of three carts, each carrying fifteen murdered corpses. They were tossed in like bundles, without being identified."

Toward 6:30 the German savages passed along the Rue St. Roch. Against the house of M. B. a group of civilians was shot. Then the soldiers threw the bodies into the cellar, which has been walled up. Forty victims are in that charnel house. In the Rue En Ile a paralytic was shot in his chair. In the Rue d'Enfer a young fellow of 14 was killed by a soldier. He had with him a little child whom a soldier tossed into the burning house of M. François G.

At Neffe, a southern suburb of Dinant, armed bandits sacked, pillaged, and stole, with fire and slaughter. Under the railway viaduct they shot men, women, and children. An old woman and all her children were killed in a cellar. A man, his wife, and son and daughter were put against a wall and killed. An old man of 65, his wife, his son-in-law, and the young wife were shot. Down at the river bank there was further butchery. Inhabitants of Neffe who had gone by boat to the Rocher Bayard suffered the same horrible fate. Among them Mme. Collard, aged 83, and her husband, and many women and children. Ninety-eight civilians were buried in M. B.'s garden, according to the accounts of the German soldiers themselves. And while this awful carnage was deluging the town with blood, the German soldiers gave demonstrations of their cowardice. For

instance, this in the Faubourg St. Paul. Mme. L. P. relates: "Soldiers came into my house. They struck me with their fists in the chest, smashed everything in the house, then, with a revolver pointed at me, dragged me out of doors. Other women were there under the threats of these brutes. They pushed us before them to the parapet at the waterside, exposing us to the French fire, while the coward Prussians stooped and fired, sheltering themselves behind women." It was there that Mlle. Madeleine Massigny was killed.

I have heard of four cases of violation, a young woman who died after the abuses of fifteen horrid bandits. I have also had an account of a young mother who was confronted with a choice between the strangling of her little girl and her own dishonor. It will be readily understood that names cannot be given, and that the population keeps religious silence with regard to these cases.

Dr. A. L. took refuge with his wife and a baby of a few months in a sewer. They had no food but a little sugar, and nothing to drink but the filthy water flowing by. To feed the child they had to damp the sugar with this noxious liquid. The horrible situation lasted two days.

The "Kultur"-bearers have refinements of cruelty. In the barracks at Leffe 300 civilian prisoners were placed in line along the wall with their arms up. Behind them a pastor recited the prayers for the dead, while an officer worked an unloaded gun! This torture was kept up for a quarter of an hour. It seemed a century long. In the Eglise St. Paul prisoners were kept for five days. In the Eglise des Prémontrés an officer of the 108th Infantry came to demand a candle. He was given a taper. He refused it, and the sacred lamp was taken down. He was satisfied, and marched all around the as-

sembly, jeering, and holding his revolver at the faces of the women. He carried his trophy away with a roar of laughter.

Pillage and fire continued on the Monday and Tuesday. The soldiers drank as much wine as they could steal. They wallowed in murder and blood, celebrating their triumph glass in hand. Drunken officers sat down with their men. They obliged the inhabitants who had survived to be present at their orgies on pain of death. On Monday the soldiers, just to amuse themselves, killed three old men of 80. On Tuesday, at 5:30 in the morning, soldiers scattered through the town, shouting and setting fire to the houses on the Quai de Meuse and in the Rue du Moulin des Batteurs.

From the Monday processions had been formed. Surrounded by soldiers, who struck the French monks in the face with horsewhips, the prisoners were taken away toward Prussia, some by Ciney, others by Marche. About 400 went. How many will return? And what must have been the sufferings of those innocent victims on the long routes, who had not been able to dress themselves suitably or get their boots, who had been torn from their wives and children, leaving behind them that nightmare of bloodshed and ruin. One had only stockings on his feet. Many were in sabots. Already the dead were strewn along the roads. On the left of the Ciney road, on the Tienne d'Aurcy, lie buried four old men who were found with their hands bound, unable to go any further, and exhausted by suffering and fatigue. They were MM. Jules Monard, 70; Léon Simon, 65; Couillard, 75, and Bouchat, 73. The farmer of Chesnois was harnessed between the shafts of a cart and forced to drag it up the hill of Sorinnes.

Such is the true and sad story of Dinant. It remains for the world to pass its judgment.

Mobilizing the Russian Nation

By V. Kuzmin-Karavayeff

(In *Vyestnik Evropy*, "The European Messenger.")

THE main interest of the moment, the main problem, is the mobilization of Russian industry, or, more exactly, of the forces of the nation and of society. By mobilization is understood the measures which change the country from the normal conditions of peace times to a war basis. This includes the filling up of the ranks of the army, the supply of

horses, and the organization of all kinds of munitions of war. The rôle of the people in all these matters has generally been passive. It has only had to meet certain demands, such as requisitions from factories and manufacturing plants, to supply hay, food products and articles required for supplies of other kinds, for the army. But the active rôle has always

been reserved for the military power itself.

When the present war had just begun the forces of society, which had gained experience in the Russo-Japanese war, were given an active participation in the care for the sick and wounded, at first only in the interior of the country, but soon also at the front. Gradually the share of the forces of society in the active work of the war was enlarged. It was frequently given a share in the sanitary organization of the different war sectors; it was called on to share in the provision of uniforms and linen for the troops, in erecting baths, laundries, victualing stations and so on. But all this did not touch the burning need, as the tenth month of the war revealed it—the point at which the evident insufficiency of the forces of the Government showed itself.

Our recent military reverses and the successes of the Austro-Germans have shown that our enemies have a notable superiority in the weight of metal thrown by their guns. To try to develop our fire also to the same irrational number of shells per day and per hour—a number entirely unjustified by the results gained—would, of course, be a stupid and useless imitation. But to improve the quality of our artillery fire, and its accuracy, is indispensable. The prolongation of the war has exhausted our reserves of shells. In like manner our supplies of other kinds of military equipment have been exhausted. No foresight could have anticipated the conditions created by this unprecedented war. The Germans used up their supplies prepared in time of peace long before we did. But they have long had a largely developed production of war munitions, with which they even supplied the armies of foreign countries, and also, from the early weeks of the war, they have had command of all the metallurgical resources of Belgium and a large part of Northern France. It is impossible not to regret that the call for the forces of the nation and of society was not heard earlier in Russia.

But it is not too late. The war may and must last long yet. The vital thing is that the problem of the hour has been

recognized, and that the necessity of mobilizing all forces of the nation to meet it has been seen. The representatives of industry have said the first word. To their voices have immediately been added those of the representatives of our social organizations, the local and municipal councils. The telegraph wires daily bring news that the national mobilization is developing in width and depth, and growing irresistible. The technical forces of all teaching bodies, technical organizations of all kinds, trade organizations and so on, are taking part in it. And if the members of the Imperial Duma, of all parties and factions, await with such eagerness the day of renewal of their legislative activity, this passionate desire is explained, to a notable degree, by the moral necessity of plunging into the general work of the mobilization of all the forces of the nation. To be a member of the Imperial Duma, to feel one's responsibility as a representative, and at the same time to remain in enforced idleness, or to devote one's painful leisure to the work of the Red Cross or to social organizations, was simply torture. There are groups of the Extreme Right of the Imperial Council who do not share this feeling, and who have not taken part in the national life of these momentous days.

And in the region of direct legislative work, the mobilization of industry and of the forces of the whole nation opens up for the Imperial Duma a whole series of important and responsible problems. A work of immense significance is in motion. No ready forms and molds exist. The forms and regulations of the committees already created to supply war munitions and for other purposes must be thoughtfully worked out, their activities must be regulated without delay. And it must not be forgotten that this work requires the co-ordination of the efforts of such different participants as men of science and technical knowledge, social workers and organizers. And with them must co-operate the forces of the working classes, without whom not one step forward can be taken, and which up to the present have not been included in the work of organization.

The members of the Duma, as they have declared in interviews with newspaper correspondents, feel that, in the person of the new War Minister, General A. A. Polivanoff, the fullest co-operation of the Ministry of War with the mobilized forces of society in the task of providing war munitions for the army is guaranteed. The Ministry of the Interior, under the guidance of Prince Stcherbatoff, will also, it may be affirmed, raise no obstacles. Of the problem of the hour, Prince Stcherbatoff says: "All the efforts of society and of the Government must be strained toward a single point—to fight and to win." If the Imperial Duma succeeds in finding forms for the vital regu-

lation of the work, and if, in addition to the authority of the social organizations, the authority of the Duma also supports the work, then we may look forward with confidence. The army knows that for nearly a year already all the thoughts of the land and of the people are with it. When the army learns that to it, to its military equipment, its martial might, the whole force of the nation is also directed, its force will be increased tenfold. And this the Germans already understand. On the Pruth, on the Dniester, on the Vistula, they are firing hundreds of thousands of shells. They know that to their successes will soon come an irrevocable end.

Turkey's Present Rulers

By E. Nouridjan

Formerly Counsel of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy.

(In La Revue.)

IN Turkey, as everywhere, murderers and robbers are brought before an Assize Court or a criminal tribunal and punished in conformity with the law. Authors have based on this the idea that the Turks respect human life and property, and so were not as savage as they were thought to be! But what these writers did not see, what they could not see in a superficial study, in the course of a long or short voyage, was that assassins are punished in Turkey not because human life is respected there, but simply because assassination being the exclusive privilege of the Sultan, the murderers infringe his monopoly.

The Sultans, however, have never failed to exploit this monopoly; Sultan Abdul Hamid accorded assassination permits to his favorites. Who can tell the number of people assassinated in the last few years by two of these favorites, Gani Bey and Fehim Bey, for motives that had nothing to do with politics? They assassinated in order to steal, but, it is reported, they were scrupulous in handing over to their master a part of the booty.

When the Committee of Union and

Progress in fact usurped the sovereign power, it naturally profited by one of the most important privileges attached to the person of the Sultan; the right of inflicting death. It is just to the committee to say that it has used and abused this right in a way to make Abdul Hamid, the red Sultan, grow pale! The first act of the Committee of Union and Progress, in assuming power, was in order to get its hand in, to give the order for the assassination of the Christians of the Province of Adana; since then, the assassinations of which the committee had been guilty cannot be counted; it disdained no adversary; the strongest and the weakest, all disappeared as if by magic, in accordance with its wish. After having thoroughly purged Turkey, it sent its emissaries as far afield as Paris, to complete their exploits. One of these last was killed while endeavoring to accomplish his mission; his accomplices were released for lack of proof.

In France people still believe in the Young Turks and the Old Turks. The expressions Old Turk and Young Turk do not even exist in Turkey—any more

than the things themselves, nor is there any equivalent term. What are called in Europe Young Turks are the Turks who are not satisfied with their posts, and who are intriguing against the Old Turks, that is, against those who have more desirable posts.

The state of war, as will easily be believed, has in no way remedied the current evils and has only increased the opportunities for abuses. The Constitution, having proclaimed equality among all the races, it was, or at least it appeared, natural that the Christians should perform military service, for which only Mussulmans had hitherto been liable.

* * * Those who do not wish to serve have, it is true, the privilege of being excused on payment of 1,000 francs, (\$200.) But every three months a new decree of mobilization is issued, and the payment must be repeated; I know Christians who have paid six or seven times, and are always threatened by a new demand. Some, sick of this and without means, declared that they were willing to serve. In groups of three, they were intrusted to two gendarmes with fixed bayonets, who led them to the high roads, where, under threat of the bayonets, they had to break stones for twelve and fourteen hours a day; the moment they wished to

rest they were abused and threatened; at the end of a week of this existence these poor "soldiers" sold whatever they possessed, their furniture, their wives' jewels, to pay the fine for non-service. They were set free—until the next decree of mobilization. Such is the life of all Christians in Turkey between the ages of 19 and 45. Long live the Committee of Progress! Who would have said that we should come in time to regret Abdul Hamid?

Five years ago I was chatting with an official who had spent twenty years in European countries and occupied a high post in Turkey.

Do you not see, I said to him, that you are on the road to ruin? How can you expect a country to progress when the fools rule the intelligent?

He began to laugh.

How long, do you think, he asked me, Turkey can exist under these conditions?

You want me to answer frankly?

Yes.

Ten years, at most.

In my opinion, that is enough. So you think we can last ten years more? Well, why should we not profit by present conditions for ten years? Why do you want us to commit suicide now?

Italy and Serbia

By C. Stojanowich

Former Minister of Commerce of Italy

(Rivista d'Italia.)

After a general discussion of the Balkan problem, M. Stojanowich takes up the special question of the relations between Italy and Serbia as future neighbors:

DURING this war the question of the delimitation of our frontier in the direction of Italy has come to the front. Between Serbia and Italy, precisely as also between Serbia and Rumania, there has never existed, and cannot arise, so far as can be foreseen, any

cause of conflict. If the Serbians, Italians, and Rumanians win their freedom from Austria, and if our expansion absorbs those regions of Austria-Hungary which are inhabited by our co-nationals, this solution cannot bring causes of dissension nor furnish reasons for strained relations in the future. For centuries our boundaries have marched with those of the Rumanians, and history knows of no conflict between these two nations. Our relations of neighborhood with Italy,

which lasted for a long time in the Middle Ages, have always been amicable, and were always consolidated by close commercial bonds, as well as by those of economics and culture, and we are not able to perceive any cause that should hinder these relations of neighborhood, once more restored, from becoming closely knit, as before, and even rendered more intimate. A strong and great Serbia, with a reinforced and enlarged Rumania, in union with Italy, will represent, both north of the Balkans and in the Apennine Peninsula, a powerful barrier against the irruption of the Germanic torrent, which for more than twenty centuries has threatened to overwhelm the Balkan lands and Italy.

The barrier which, when the war is ended, should find its expression in a Slavo-Latin alliance, would consist of about 70,000,000 of population. If two more Balkan nations, natural members of the Balkan confederation, in spite of temporary misunderstandings, have essential reasons for uniting with the compact mass of the others, should also enter this alliance, then the new regrouping of forces in Europe, represented by Italy and the consolidated Balkan group, would become highly important.

The future relations of Italy with the Balkans should be regulated in such a manner that Italy should be able to advance her interests in common with her natural friends; and this in complete contradiction with the past, when the relations of Italy were bound up with the interests of powers which, both by reason of geographical position and through racial causes, were straining toward the conquest of those lands and those seas in which Italy must safeguard her own interests. I repeat, the Greater Italy, together with a strong "Balcania," should form that natural group which alone can guarantee the necessary development and the defense of all those interests which we in Balcania, and Italy likewise, have most at heart. No nation can have a greater interest than Italy in the formation and consolidation of the Balkan group. And especially is it Italy's chief interest to co-operate in the systematization of the separate Balkan nations, along

the line of their national aspirations, since with the Balkan States so constituted Italy will have ready to hand that alliance which is best suited to her for the protection of her own interests, which cannot fail to harmonize with those of the Balkan States.

Our intention is to seek sure pathways. Generations which are to come after us will have as their task to develop the grand idea which affirms its rights arising from a hecatomb of those who have fallen, and who have given it faith and life. Therefore Mazzini has said: "Great ideas make great peoples." (*Il pensiero di Mazzini*, cccliv.)

Therefore it is opportune to indicate also the false ways which have already been too much trodden, and which, it seems, some still wish to follow, holding obstinately to the old errors which still survive in Europe, according to which Balcania is considered a territory open to conquest, subjugation, division at pleasure. But this is now an absurdity. Only evil and avaricious nations can counsel the sustaining of unnatural relations in Balcania, from which can come only new conflicts, new and unnecessary struggles, which will work detriment to the progress of all European peoples. Therefore, like all the nations of Europe, the Balkan peoples must work in such a manner that we may not once more become the victims of new underhand machinations, which could only serve to kindle conflagrations more tremendous even than the present war, and which would be nothing but the inevitable result of false political principles, drawn from the errors of the past. Let that ideal which stands in the program of the Balkan peoples, which contains the sanest principle that has been consecrated by history—the principle of nationality—be followed, and there will be secured, in the best way possible, a durable condition of peace, both in the Balkans and in Europe. The Balkans, because of these questions of nationality, fomented and incited dangerous desires in other nations, and were the occasion of intrigues, disorders, gigantic struggles, between European imperialism and the principle of the protection of the smaller peoples and

of their independence. In such a conflict, the foreign forces could succeed only when the Balkans were divided; the Balkan States, because of internal dissensions, which, however, were always inspired from without, were led to gravitate toward different European groups, the tendencies of which are irreconcilable.

The Balkan States can be grouped in two strong ethnical groups, that is: A Slav group, formed of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, and a non-Slav group, formed of Greece, Rumania, and Albania. The formation of these two groups could be accomplished without any injury at all to the separate Balkan nations, while the delimitation of the boundaries between the different Balkan nations must follow the standard of the principle of nationality. And side by side with national diversities, the common possession of the past, the sharing of misfortunes throughout the course of their history, the similar characteristics of the different races, resulting from centuries of oppression, must bring into high relief the all-compelling reasons for the creation of a union of interests among the Balkan States. The desire to divide the inheritance of the Turks, which will continue in the hearts of the Germans, united with the experience of the unhappy past, should consolidate among the Balkan peoples all the reasons which make greater solidarity imperative. The examples of the recent past, save a few exceptions, are there to confirm our conviction that a splendid future lies before the Balkan peoples.

However great one may consider the

forces for the consolidation of the new Balkan constellation, we are convinced that, if the Balkan States come forth stronger from the present war, the natural increase of the population of these States will constitute a reinforcing of the elements of defense against any foreign invasion whatever. The 25,000,000 of actual population, and the 35,000,000 which will result from the territorial increase of the actual Balkan States, will, in a few decades, presumably amount to 70,000,000. If to this complex, Italy should be added, as the nearest and most natural ally, then within a half century Italy and Balcania together will form a group of 150,000,000 inhabitants which will represent the strongest barrier and the most powerful defense against the pressure of Central Europe toward the Balkans, the Adriatic, and the Mediterranean.

He who wishes peace and progress in Europe must open the way that leads to certain and lasting success, and this way is that of the protection and respect of the smaller peoples. And therefore we must take account of the interests of the Balkan peoples, who, in their age-long struggles, have wet with their blood every yard of soil they have reconquered, every enterprise they have undertaken. In the actual position of the relations between the various Balkan States, which, although it has not yet reached a final stage, and is nevertheless one of the most solidly based, the bad example of the past must not be renewed, and no groupings must be created like those invented by the infernal ingenuity of Bismarck in 1878.

The Cost of Swiss Neutrality

By Ernest Lemonon

(In *La Revue*.)

SWITZERLAND on Aug. 4 announced her neutrality to the belligerent powers. Among other means of safeguarding her neutrality, Switzerland decided to mobilize her army. To meet the first expenses of the mobilization

Switzerland had at her disposal 41,000,000 francs, (\$8,200,000.) Considerable as this sum was, it was, however, notoriously insufficient. It was possible to foresee that the war, while it would steadily increase expenses, would at the same

time bring a constant diminution of receipts, and that thus the budget situation of the Swiss Confederation, already difficult enough, would be notably aggravated.

On Aug. 12 the Swiss Government decided on an internal short-term loan of 30,000,000 francs, (\$6,000,000.) Issued at 5 per cent., payable in February, 1917, it produced nearly 42,000,000 francs, thus exceeding by 12,000,000 francs the sum required. But soon a new appeal for credit became necessary. The Federal Council, which this time needed 50,000,000 francs, issued a long-term loan. This time, also, the subscription greatly exceeded the amount of the loan; it gave more than 179,000,000 francs. Nevertheless, the Government was soon under the necessity of procuring new funds; it found them by having recourse to the disposable capital of special funds, by issuing Federal Treasury notes, and by imposing a war tax.

From the month of August to the end of December, 1914, the sums paid for the cost of mobilization mounted to 103,480,000 francs. Since that date each month there have been spent about 15,000,000 francs, (\$3,000,000.) The message of the Federal Council relating to the war tax, dated Feb. 12, 1915, indicated that at the end of June the cost of

mobilization would have reached 230,000,000 francs, (\$46,000,000.)

The total of expenses paid by the State Treasury for the period Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1914—including the cost of mobilization—exceeded by 147,857,000 francs the total Government receipts. Naturally, this deficit has since increased; it is estimated that at the end of 1915 it will amount to at least 300,000,000 francs, (\$60,000,000.)

But this direct cost is only a small part of the total cost of the war to Switzerland. Her economic loss is also exceedingly heavy. In fact, Switzerland gives the impression of a country whose economic life has been violently interrupted. Whether we consider her railroad traffic, her foreign commerce, or her internal production, there is apparent a veritable economic stagnation.

Therefore the Swiss, like all neutrals, need peace. But no more than the French can they desire that, in five years, in ten years, a new conflict should burst out; quite the contrary. What they need, as we do, is to be certain that the balance of Europe will no longer be menaced by German ambitions; what they need is that Germany, which has been the ceaseless troublemaker, should be beaten down and permanently deprived of the power to do harm.

A Ray to Cut Through Wires

A Petrograd dispatch to The London Morning Post, dated Aug. 20, 1915, says:

I hear that the Germans have now some mysterious scientific device for clearing a way through wire entanglements from a considerable distance. The instrument has all the appearance of what is known as a projector—that is, a searchlight. No specimen has yet been captured, and nothing is known about it, except that it disposes of wire entanglements from a distance of a mile by some means at present incomprehensible to the lay mind.

Greek fire projectors have now made their appearance on the western front. These also were apparently intended originally to fuse wire defenses, but they can only operate from a maximum of a couple of score of yards. The new instrument must probably be some novel application of electric forces.

Looking Ahead

By H. G. Wells

This article by Mr. Wells appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle.

THE war has lasted a year, and we are growing accustomed to it. At first it presented itself to our minds as a rapid dramatic catastrophe. We are now able to regard it as a state of affairs. It seemed to be the end of the world, when it was merely the end of an age. It turns out to be neither so destructive nor so terrible as we expected. We are prepared to consider it calmly, as something that may go on for another year or for another two years. We have experience enough in England now to contrast life under war conditions with life under the plethoric conditions that preceded the war. We are in a position to estimate something of the changes that are in progress, and to frame some conception of the changes still to come.

On the whole I think most thoughtful people will be ready to confess that what one might call the normal peace life of the world, the life of home and harvest, has proved to be a stabler, tougher thing than they had imagined. Not only over the still neutral areas, but over ninety-nine-hundredths of the belligerent countries the usual crops are standing, and will be gathered, the children are still playing, the pot still boils. Famine is represented only by fractional rises in the price of food; pestilence has been held off. There are no signs of exhaustion anywhere. There are local desolations, but if they were blacked out upon a three-foot globe they would scarcely be perceptible. There has been a great deflection of industrial energy into the manufacture of purely destructive material, but as yet that has produced no marked evil results upon the general life. It has been balanced to some slight extent by a decreased production of luxuries. War is, I still believe, the profoundly evil consummation of evil conditions of human life, but that does not blind me to the fact that England is to-

day a cleaner, harder, brighter, and finer country than it was last August. It is sweeter-spirited, and on the whole it is happier than it was a year ago.

Along the "front," which amounts altogether to a strip of country rather over a thousand miles long and twenty wide, about 25,000 men are being killed or wounded or made captive every week; vast treasures of physical energy that can never more be recovered by mankind are being wasted in shell and mine explosions; but this does not affect the obstinate normality of the bulk of human lives. Whatever processes of general change are going on are not catastrophic, but secular, changes; they are changes perhaps deeper and broader, and in their deep, broad way more rapid, but otherwise not different in quality from the gradual changes of the peace state.

If an American who had been in England in 1913 or early in 1914 were to revisit this country today he would notice no perceptible ebbing of the national life; in many ways, indeed, it would seem much fuller. London, it is true, is not so brilliantly lit at night nor so crowded with idlers, and there are fewer theatrical productions; the Court has become inconspicuous; the West End shops concentrate upon war novelties; a larger proportion of women prefer to be out of the fashion, and there are everywhere, in town and country alike, great multitudes of soldiers. If our American was very observant he would notice a diminution in the number of big, expensive automobiles upon the road and an increase of cheaper American types. * * * There would be many such intimations of changing conditions, but no revolutionary differences.

The omnipresent soldiers would most impress the American visitor. In 1914 there were few soldiers to be seen in England, except here and there where there was a garrison or in such a spe-

cially military district as the Aldershot region; now in London every third man is in khaki, and the countryside everywhere is alive with marching troops, artillery being exercised, and columns of transport and horses. And the quality of these troops is manifestly of a better type socially than the old army. They are not only brown and extraordinarily fit, but alert looking and intelligent. The average chest measurement in England must have increased by some inches in the last twelvemonth. It is rare, indeed, now to see a good-looking, well-built youth out of uniform. And something more than the chest measurement has changed. Our American visitor would presently begin to realize the deep significance underlying this "khakification" of England. The flower of British manhood has left desk and counter, lecture room and plow, butler's pantry and factory bench, to become the finest democratic army the world has ever seen. They have not been called out by compulsory service under the rather irksome conditions of peace; they have been called out by a vast emergency, romantically and generously.

Between two and three million young men who under normal conditions would have drudged on rather dully at the profit-seeking routines of industrial and commercial life have been touched to heroic intentions and introduced to a life harder, more healthful, and more stirring to the imagination than anything that seemed possible to them in 1914. They will not go back in the old spirit to their former lives. They may become better disciplined, but they will be less submissive. They are not only serving their country; these men are taking possession of their country. They are camped in parks that were once protected from trespassers; they are billeted in houses that once excluded every stranger; they are seeing the railways administered by the Government for the common weal. Their womenkind are assured of separation allowances and, if they are injured, they get pensions; they are no longer liable to dismissal at short notice. All the resources of the country are for the men who serve their country now—a doc-

trine that may easily be extended from war-time to peace-time. It extends already from the fighting forces to the munition makers, to the miners, to the productive worker generally. That is the first great change that is perceptibly dawning upon England, this new valuation of service as something more important than property. It is a change that may go on to extraordinary consequences. That England is all colored khaki is the mere superficial first intimation of these.

This pulling up of all the multitude of young men from the roots on which they have grown, this invigorating transplanting of them, does not end with the mere army and navy. If our American were to push his inquiries below the surface he would discover that in relation to these khaki myriads, myriads of other people, men and women, are being shifted about into new occupations, people's homes are invaded by billeted troops, women are taking up men's work in countless spheres, tradition and prejudice are vanishing, countrysides are changing in character. For an overwhelming mass of the population habit is being destroyed and totally new relationships are being substituted. The strength of English conservatism has always been long established social habit. We had become an unenterprising people, because we had never been obliged to shift. We were fairly comfortable as we were. * * * This war has shifted us. England is mobile and plastic today, as it has never been before. England has fused. England, which was a rock, is alive.

And what is true of England is probably even more true of every one of the belligerent countries, and even of the neutral countries within the radius of the war influence. Social and economic conditions that seemed frozen forever into certain forms are now molten. They may not remain molten, they may set and crystallize again presently into a new series of forms and traditions, but those will not be the old forms and traditions. Nineteen hundred and fourteen is ancient history. Only old women and British politicians dream of returning in England to that vanished state of affairs,

of finishing the war and reviving the Ulster dispute and the dispute about the Welsh Establishment, and all the extinct bickerings of that remote period. It is the same everywhere. Enormous readjustments and reconstructions are inevitable. To a certain extent they will be foreseen and designed; to a much larger extent they will just happen, fate deciding among the divisions and indecisions and pettiness and self-seeking of men.

Let us speculate a little upon the probable forms that will be established when presently a new phase of comparative stability is attained. I will assume that the war regimen will continue for Europe for at least another year. Neither side, it is clear, will or can give in until it is decisively beaten, and there is far less appearance now of any such decisive ending than there was a year ago, when the Germans marched upon Paris and had Calais for the taking. We have to clear our minds of the idea of a possible internal collapse on either side. I will assume, too, that whatever happens the United States will remain morally above the possibility of participation in the struggle. One thing follows upon these assumptions almost inevitably. The United States will take the financial sceptre out of the hands of London and become the country of rich men, the usurer country, to which all other countries will be in debt. An exhausted Germany will face the peace with no gold and enormously depreciated paper currency; France and Great Britain will be in a scarcely better position. For the necessary capital for peace recuperation, just as much as for war supplies, they must look to America. England will cease to be the "fat" land of the world; that doubtful privilege of fatness will pass across the Atlantic. That does not mean that the American common man will be any better off than he is at present, a rise in prices will probably make him practically worse off, but that the American plutocrat will become the financial master of the world. One practical consequence of the world's debt to America will be that imports will rise against and exceed exports. There will be more prosperity and less stimulus in

American life. The United States will in fact tend toward the pre-war conditions of Great Britain, and will in many ways take her place in the world's affairs.

The social effect of the war upon the belligerent communities seems likely to be of a quite unanticipated character. It is not the common people who are paying most for this war, it is the property-owner and the share-holding class. Because of the comparatively restricted areas of the actual fighting the destruction of the ordinary civil life of the community has been less than any one would have dared to hope a year ago. And because it is before everything else a war of gear and millions, it has been more necessary in this war than it has ever been in any preceding war to keep the mass of the population favorably disposed and actively and willingly co-operative. A vast proportion of England's internal expenditure upon the war has gone in wages and billeting allowances, separation allowances, and so forth to our own people. There were anticipations last year of wide unemployment and distress; there is and has been less unemployment and, in spite of rising prices, less distress, than in normal peace years. The poorer classes have experienced no class disaster by this war. On the other hand, as one specimen of the securer classes, I find the carefully arranged system of investments upon which I had relied for my old age and for my widow's security has depreciated by about 30 per cent. We are fighting this war very largely on our savings, on our social fat; the whole community is being impoverished, but, relatively, the rich are getting poorer and the poorer better off. Much wealth is being destroyed, but much wealth is also being distributed. From being a rich plutocratic community, infested by non-functional investors, England while the war lasts is tending—not, indeed, toward ruin, but toward a general economic mediocrity.

The modern war regimen tends to destroy plutocracy and substitute an economic democracy; it also tends to convert all classes of the community to the advantages of collective over individual enterprise. The disadvantages of chaotic

individualism have been demonstrated in this war by a thousand striking instances that should fill the socialist textbooks of the coming years. The England, therefore, that emerges from this war will be a leaner and more experienced and more democratic England, with its habits of acquiescence and chaotic "freedom" broken, and its imagination touched to activity. Something analogous will have happened to all the European communities.

Through the silences enforced by the necessities of war it is apparent that no European people is altogether satisfied with the Governments that have made and failed to triumph in this conflict. It is not too much to expect that the end of the war will prepare the way for a very grave and extensive series of attempts to reconstruct these Governments upon the lines and suggestions of these experiences—in other words, it will prepare the coming of a period of revolution. This may not follow immediately upon the war. Pacification will be the first aim of the European mind, and at the end of the war the dominant idea will be the desperate resolve to establish some sort of peace alliance that shall prevent a recurrence of this war. It will be as the concentration upon this end relaxes, in the nineteen-twenties, let us say, and as the international interest becomes fatigued and less urgent, that the revolutionary forces that are now gathering will come into play. And they may not come into play as insurrectionary forces.

England in 1832 showed that there can be revolution without insurrection, just as Norway and Sweden have shown there can be separation without war. The revolutions of the twentieth century may be brought about by the conviction of reasonable men.

Toward what forms will the revolutionary forces of the twentieth century drive? Here it is that a man's desires and persuasions and fears most blind and confuse him.

The world is sick of dynasts; but also it is sick of party politicians; the dream of strong men dictators is the dream of despair. Democracy has still to work out some method of discussing its affairs more satisfactory than the venal newspaper; it has to determine upon some way of choosing its rulers, some electoral method that is proof against the manipulation of the party organization. With every step away from individualism toward social organization the need for these solutions becomes more urgent. But this is an intellectual task, and the popularization of constructive ideas is a process much more subtle and less calculable than the development of revolutionary forces. That there will be a vast revolutionary effort toward republicanism and a higher level of social and economic organization as the outcome of this war is almost a certain thing; but what that effort will achieve, how far it may not be tricked, misled, divided against itself, and defeated, lies among the dramatic secrets of the future.

A Message to King George

By KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM.

In reply to a telegram received from King George on the occasion of the anniversary of the ultimatum addressed to Belgium by Germany, the King of the Belgians sent the following message, dated at Havre, France, Aug. 5, 1915:

I express to you my deep gratitude for the telegram which you have sent me and my unshakable conviction that the efforts of the allied armies will lead to a peace founded on the triumph of justice. Having at the outset sacrificed herself in order to safeguard her honor and to remain faithful to the treaties which insured her autonomous existence and the very equilibrium of Europe, Belgium will continue to do her duty until the end, in spite of the suffering and mourning with which she is overwhelmed. Your fresh expression of sympathy touches me profoundly, and from my heart I give you the assurance of my devoted attachment.

The Under Side—A Hospital and a Hostel

By Arnold Bennett

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This article originally appeared in The London Daily News, and is here printed by express permission of Mr. Bennett.

WHEN I paid a visit to the chief military hospital in London, an establishment which is the administrative head of thirty-six London hospitals with accommodation for 3,000 wounded, the exceedingly benevolent Colonel in charge took me first to the X-ray room, which clearly for him was the heart of the organism. My imagined perspective of a hospital was at once rather violently altered. The opaque blinds of the laboratory were drawn down, producing black darkness, and my hand was X-rayed as a matter of form, but the interest began with the exhibitions of numberless large photographic negatives of heads, shoulders, wrists, and other parts of the human body.

In each of these a small faint blur showed the situation of a projectile which had entered the flesh on some battlefield in France or Belgium. The wounded man, part of whose frame was the subject of the photograph, had been transported to the base hospital in motor and train, across the Channel in steamer, to London in one of the grandiose trains of the War Office, and to the hospital in motor; and his tragedy had suddenly become a speck on a glass plate; or, rather, a speck on two glass plates, for of every suitable wound two photographs are taken. And the surgeon was professionally less occupied with the man than with these telltale plates, which he would hold up in the air in order to peer at them. On a table was a measuring apparatus with strings and other devices.

"As we take two photographs at different angles," said the Colonel, "it is obvious that the wound must be at the point where the two strings cross each

other, and the distance of that point from the surface is automatically shown on this inch rule. So that the surgeon operating knows exactly where he is."

And we gazed almost passionately at the point where the two strings met, which had neither length nor breadth, which had nought but a geometrical existence—and it was the tragedy of some man lying upstairs! The organization of the German Army and the organization of the British Army met and canceled each other out in that intersection of two bits of yellow string—the total impersonalization of war.

After the X-ray room in importance came the kitchen, whose walls were hung with framed diplomas won in culinary contests. The kitchens were like those of a large hotel, except that they were much airier and that the cooks saluted.

"Give your patients well-cooked meals," said the Colonel, "and they will stand anything without a murmur. Give them poor meals, and nothing else will please them."

From which it was apparent that a military hospital is very much like the outside world. Thence I was led to the operating room, of which the chief pre-occupation seemed to be sterilizing. I saw that surgical instruments had grown simpler with the advance of the craft, and I learned that the patient was not put under the anaesthetic in the operating room itself, amid all the terror-striking apparatus of his ordeal, but in an apartment adjoining.

Everywhere was the peculiar inexplicable gay serenity of a good hospital. The immense wards were, of course, full of flowers, for no hospital that respects

itself would be without many flowers. But there was more than the gayety of flowers in those wards. There was an extraordinary contentment, even in the entirely crippled man who wheeled himself about very slowly from room to room, and in the man who sat up in bed meticulously washing his face and hands, and in the calm, pale countenances of those who lay prostrate and quite motionless beneath their white coverlets. I imagine that it signified the peace of being withdrawn from the world.

In the ward allocated to officers, however, the world had surged in; it was the visiting hour for officers, and women were clustered in armchairs around many of the beds. A pianola in the middle distance was performing Chopin in the most brilliant manner. Here flowers blossomed even thicker than elsewhere, and between the beds were screens, creating corners of privacy. In a hospital the principal difference between an officer and a ranker appears to be that an officer has his tea out of his own earthenware, and the crockeries of no two officers are alike. I saw various specimens in a pantry close by, waiting to be called for.

While I regarded the enormous bower, screened everywhere with foliage, and the serene gossiping groups around the beds, each bed a throne, and while I listened to the virtuosos pianola, a grave suspicion crossed my mind. Was it not notorious that the authorities of institutions invariably concealed things from inspectors such as myself?

"But where are the serious cases?" I asked.

"They are scattered about the hospital," answered the Colonel, with placidity. "There are several here in this ward. That is one, there; and three beds further on is another. You can't see under the counterpanes, you know."

I should never have suspected the existence of serious cases in that ward. The revelation made me uneasy and rather afraid. And these sensations were intensified when, after indicating the nurses' tennis court, and the mortuary, the Colonel took me along a slope into the Memorial Chapel, with its

stained glass, its altar, and its walls incised and painted with the cenotaphs of dead soldiers. There was one comprehensive inscription: "To all who have fallen —."

"Very many of my old friends are here," said the Colonel, quietly.

I seemed to understand for the first time the solemnity of the military tradition of Britain.

On the same day I lunched at a hostel for soldiers and sailors blinded in the war (only no sailors have yet been blinded in the war) organized and superintended by C. Arthur Pearson, who is Chairman of the Blinded Soldiers and Sailors' Care Committee, in a palace called St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, lent by an American banker. The palace has a garden of fifteen acres, into which runs an arm of the Regent's Park Lake. On the waters of this gulf, by the way, blind soldiers practice rowing, which is considered to be the finest of all exercises for the blind.

It was in the ballroom of the palace that I heard the Bishop of London, sitting at ease in a chair, and crossing and uncrossing his legs, recount, with many jokes, his Easter experiences at the front to about forty blinded soldiers (including one or two officers) and their nurses. Unseeing eyes gazed at us out of white bandages; black spectacles glared at us; some eyes were closed; others were bent toward the invisible ground.

"Now, when I was at St. Omer," the Bishop would say, and, interrupting himself, "Were any of you at St. Omer? Hold your hands up if you were."

And up would go hands. And then the Bishop would name another place, and up would go other hands; and battlefield after battlefield was thus recalled. This, indeed, brought the war home to London; it was very pathetic.

If not the Bishop of London, then other entertainers divert the guests of the hostel every afternoon after luncheon for about an hour. And then lessons are resumed.

"How do you begin?" I asked Mr. Pearson.

"We begin," said Mr. Pearson, with

that exuberant, energetic, twinkling brightness that nothing can conquer, "we begin by teaching them to be blind."

I think there was more in this phrase than a seeing person could explain in two columns. It seemed to mean a recomencement of life, a transmutation of all sorts of values, a complete change of attitude toward the phenomena of existence. The results are astonishing. At least they were astonishing to me, who was quite unfamiliar with such activities as I saw in the palace. It was astonishing to me to watch blind carpenters making complicated cupboards, and blind cobblers knocking minute nails with certainty into the soles of boots, and blind craftsmen making the most variegated baskets and mats. The massage class, where men learn the one craft in which the blind can surpass the seeing, I did not reach. But I saw the typewriting department, and when the instructress of one of the men, herself totally blind, took down a letter in Braille shorthand from dictation and typed it out on the typewriter, with absolute assurance and exactitude, I had nothing to say; the tears came into my eyes—the thing was so marvelous and so touching. Nearly all the teachers in the Braille section are voluntary. Branches of instruction beyond the pal-

ace include poultry farming, market gardening, and telephone operating.

The palace was, if possible, even more cheerful than the hospital. In the case of most of the inmates hope, ambition, and curiosity had already been fairly re-established in those minds ravaged by what at first must seem an overwhelming disaster. The profound lesson of "being blind" had been in the main learned. It was miraculous. And these men were prodigies. But they were also martyrs. We are all of us their debtors.

The hostel is now so organized that it expects with proper financial help to be able to deal with all soldiers blinded or to be blinded in the war. It is managed under the joint auspices of the British Red Cross Society, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the National Institute for the Blind. It has received a considerable contribution from the Prince of Wales Fund. But the State has no hand in it. The State—that is, our collective selves—pays none of these heroes, prodigies, and martyrs more than 17s. 6d. a week—at the outside. Such is the official recompense of a supreme sacrifice. Let us remember this when the question of disabled soldiers' and sailors' pensions next comes up for review.

Afterwards

By GEORGINA B. PAGET.

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Last night I dreamed he came to me,
My soldier and my saint;
Somewhere, far off, an earthly sea
Beat desolate and faint;
In a dim twilight place we met,
No world before, behind.
I could not see his face, and yet
I knew his eyes were kind.
No words; he knew my heavy part—
Longing that may not cease—
And, knowing that he knew, my heart
Fell upon utter peace.
And then I woke—a late cock crew,
The clocks were chiming seven—
O God! if Heaven be dreams come true
We need not dream, in Heaven.



GENERAL KROBATIN
Austria-Hungary's Minister of War
(Photo from Bain News Service)



LUDWIG III.

King of Bavaria, Who Addressed the People of Munich After the Fall of
Warsaw, Prophesying a Permanent Extension of Germanic Frontiers

The Nation That Died for Europe

By G. K. Chesterton

This is one of the first articles written by Mr. Chesterton since his recent illness. It appeared in the British press on Aug. 6, 1915.

I HOPE you will grant me space to say a few words about the Belgians still in Belgium. The admirable efforts of the National Committee for Relief in Belgium are going a long way to avert famine, but if the million and a half destitute Belgians are to be kept alive the National Committee must have yet further support. The only conceivable cause of doubt in the matter must lie in the mere weariness in well-doing, produced not by any intellectual difficulty, but by such wholly unintellectual things as time and fatigue. I think, therefore, the best way of preventing any possible neglect of so great a matter is to repeat once more the great truths upon which rested the whole original claim, not so much on our sympathy as on our common honesty. The simplicity and enormity of the Belgian story can best be set forth, perhaps, in four truisms, all toweringly self-evident.

First, of course, the mere badness of the story is almost too big to be held in the mind. There have been stories of a woman or a child actually robbed of reason for life by the mere ocular shock of some revolting cruelty done in their presence. There was really a danger of something of the kind paralyzing our protest against the largest and, by the help of God, the last of the crimes of the Prussian Kings. The onlookers might have been struck into a sort of gibbering imbecility, and even amiability, by the full and indefensible finality of the foul stroke. We had no machines that could measure the stunning directness of the blow from hell. We could hardly realize an enormous public act which the actor did not wish to excuse, but only to execute. Yet such an act was the occupation of Belgium; almost the only act in history for which there was quite simply and

literally nothing to be said. Bad history is the whole basis of Prussia; but even in bad history the Prussians could find no precedent and no palliation; and the more intelligent Prussians did not try. A few were so feeble-minded as to say they had found dangerous documents in Brussels, as if what they had done could possibly be excused by things they did not know when they did it. This almost piteous lapse in argument was, however, covered up by the cleverer Prussians as quickly as might be. They preferred to stand without a rag of reason on them than with such a rag as that. Before we come to the monstrous material suffering, there is in the existing situation an abstract unreason, nay, an abstract insanity, which the brain of man must not bear. A nightmare must not abide to the end. The tiniest trace of Prussian victory that remains will make us think of something which is not to be thought of; of something like the victory of the beasts over mankind.

Second, it must be remembered that this murder has been done upon a people of such proximity and familiarity that there cannot be any mistake about the matter. There is some shadowy justification for the comparative indifference to the wrongs of very remote peoples, for it is not easy for us to guess how much slavery shocks a negro or cannibalism a cannibal. But the innkeepers and shopkeepers of Ostend felt exactly as the innkeepers and shopkeepers of Dover would feel. We have to imagine a prehistoric cruelty coming suddenly upon a scene which was civilized and almost commonplace. Imagine tigers breaking out of the Zoological Gardens and eating all the people in Albany Street; imagine red Indians exhibited at Olympia literally scalping every passer-by from that place to Ham-

mersmith Broadway; imagine Jack the Ripper crowned King of Whitechapel, and conducting his executions in broad daylight outside the tube station at Aldgate; imagine as much as you can of what is violent and contradictory in an overturn of all modern life by troglodytes; and you are still falling short of this fearful Belgian scene in that familiar Belgian scenery. It is idle to talk of exaggerations or misrepresentations about a case so close to us. Chinese tortures may not be quite so fantastic as travelers tell us; Siberia may not be so desolate as its fugitives say it is; but we could no more invent such a massacre in Belgium than we could a massacre in Baham. The things of shameless shame that have been done are something worse than prodigies, worse than nightmares, worse than devils; they are facts.

Third, this people we have heard of daily have endured this unheard-of thing, and endured it for us. There are countless cases for compassion among the bewildering and heartrending by-products of this war, but this is not a case for compassion. This is a case for that mere working minimum of a sense of honor that makes us repay a poor man who has advanced his last penny to post a letter we have forgotten to stamp.

In this respect Belgium stands alone; and the claims even of other allies may well stand aside till she is paid to the uttermost farthing. There has been self-sacrifice everywhere else; but it was self-sacrifice of individuals, each for his own country; the Serbian dying for Serbia, or the Italian for Italy. But the Belgian did not merely die for Belgium. Belgium

died for Europe. Not only was the soldier sacrificed for the nation; the nation was sacrificed for mankind. It is a sacrifice which is, I think, quite unique even among Christians, and quite inconceivable among pagans. If we even privately utter a murmur, or even privately grudge a penny for binding the wounds of so solitary and exceptional a martyr, we ourselves shall be something almost as solitary and exceptional. We shall, perhaps, be nearest to the state of that unspeakable sociologist who persuaded his wife to partake of a simultaneous suicide, and then himself cheerfully lived on.

Fourth, if there be any one on this earth who does not find the final success of such crime more than the mind can bear; if there be any one who does not feel it as the more graphic since it walks among the tramway lines and lampposts of a life like our own; if there be any one who does not feel that to be caught napping about Belgium is like being caught robbing one's mother on her deathbed, there still remains a sort of brutal compassion for bodily pain, which has been half admitted here and there even by the oppressors themselves. If we do not do a great deal more even than we have already done, it may yet be said of us that we left it to the very butchers of this nation to see that it did not bleed to death.

I, therefore, plead for further help for the members of the National Committee, who have taken this duty upon themselves. All subscriptions can be addressed to the Treasurer at Trafalgar Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, or to local committees where they have been formed.

A Letter from Sir John French

In a recent speech delivered in London, Ben Tillett, the British labor leader, who had just returned from a visit to the battle front, read the following letter from Sir John French, Commanding in Chief the British Forces in France:

I sincerely trust your visit to the front and experience have been helpful and convincing. Our armies are doing splendid work, and more men and more material must be immediately forthcoming to back up the zeal and grit of our fighting force. Our men in the field are looking to the nation to vigorously back them up. Energetic measures and concentration of our national resources to secure greater efficiency will lessen the loss of life by limiting the duration of the war.

A Year of the War in France

By Emile Faguet, Frederic Masson, and Jean Richepin of
the French Academy; Victor Berard; Alfred Capus
and Rene Bazin of the French Academy

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A Year of War

By Emile Faguet

Member of the French Academy

A YEAR of war behind us. Before us, no one knows, no one in the world. Let us come to ourselves and pass again the road we have traveled, in order to bring back our successive impressions to us. This is, perhaps, not unprofitable in order to gain a firm standing ground, and to face the future with serenity.

First came Germany's threats, the decree of mobilization. The blow was sudden and heavy. The President of the French Republic said indeed, as was his duty, "Mobilization is not war"; but no one, any more than he, was deceived, and men looked at each other firmly, but with strained heart and thoughtful brow.

Then the declaration of war, the tocsin sounding through all the countrysides of France, the decisive words; words, I mean, full of decision:

"It is done, the lot is cast. Let every one rise to the call of duty."

All rose to the call. No one was downcast. Men felt themselves at a terrible turning point of history; but they were firm, looking fate in the face. The sight of the mobilization was such, too, as to give courage. It was accomplished with admirable order and precision. There was not an accident, not a hitch, not a delay. That part of our preparation was evidently perfect. Confidence, I will not say, was born, but, so to speak, it grew more substantial.

An incident arouses the nation's joy. Mulhouse is occupied. A short-lived joy. The feat of arms, which remains fine, was risky. We are forced to leave Mulhouse, which is threatened, and move backward. But our hearts are untroubled by it, and remain firm and valiant.

A graver check; we are bent back at Charleroi, for lack of adequate munitions, without doubt, and this withdrawal necessarily entails that of our whole battle-front. By forced marches, the enemy reaches Compiègne, then Senlis. Paris is threatened.

By General Joffre's imperious order, a quick right-about, admirably carried out, of the whole army of the east, supported by the army of Paris. An immense and furious battle. It is won all along the line. From that moment General Joffre is the object of the admiration, the love, the fullest confidence of France. He is the man of the victory of the Marne; the future, the early liberator of our territory. The whole world is watching him.

The enemy changes his method. He adopts the intrenched retreat. He burrows holes; he digs into the earth and hides there. As elsewhere there is submarine war, in France there is subterranean war.

We accept this method and adopt it, taking the new qualities which it demands—endurance, tenacity, obstinacy.

It is war mile by mile, village by village, house by house; for, on the one side as on the other, everything becomes a fortress to be besieged and carried. This war, of necessity, is slow; but it is advantageous to us, because it lends itself to our best weapons—cannon and bayonet.

So we make continual progress in it, day by day. Four principal war regions—Alsace, the Heights of the Meuse, the Argonne, and the banks of the Yser. At first the struggle is intense in the Argonne, where we contest the ground foot by foot, in a country of forests, valleys, ravines, exceedingly difficult. We make continuous progress, wasting the enemy day by day, inflicting losses on him which he himself recognizes as enormous.

Then it is the campaign of the Yser, in the partly flooded Flemish plains. Prodiges of heroism are accomplished there, and the enemy is pushed back.

Then, on parallel lines, the two campaigns of Artois and Alsace. The enemy, on the one hand, is pushed away from Arras; on the other hand, he abandons, little by little, the mountainous part of Alsace, where he was formidably intrenched and organized. He defends himself furiously, but always retreating, always exhausting himself in efforts. He invents new methods of destruction against us—asphyxiating bombs, grenades, clouds of noxious gas; nothing shakes the courage of our warriors, and nothing prevails over their energy or their confidence in France, in their Generalissimo, in their leaders and themselves. This year of war will have been the year of French heroism, as also of a strategy firm, prudent, cold, and obstinate in its purposes.

At that point we stand. At the moment in which I write there is a relative lull, a nearly stationary condition. It is probable, it is almost certain, that there is a shortage of munitions, on the one side and on the other. But we know that our workshops are working in such a way that the fight can go on, as, in fact, it does go on, and that we shall not be taken shorthanded. What this year has proved is that we are, in the last analysis, invincible, even after a

check, even after a retreat; that we have immense resources and an incalculable power of recovery. In these conditions we can view the future coolly and steadily, and with the assurance that it will give us final victory.

There is an immense power in this, that there exists between the army and the noncombatant population a "sacred union," which never slackens, and a continuous communication, so to speak, of confidence, of hope, and of will. Our children who fight sustain us by their ardor, their lightheartedness, their gayety. We sustain them by the absolute confidence which we have in them and by the ardent tenderness with which they know that we surround them. In this way it is the whole of France— young men, women, old folk—which holds on and endures the shock, opposing to it an immense force and a gigantic effort.

Thanks to this, thanks also to our valiant allies, who with us defend the independence of the world, we are conquering and accomplishing our mission of civilization. We shall re-establish peace in the universe by reducing to impotence the nation whose industry is war, and which can think of the world only as dominated by itself.

We shall re-establish peace by the union of the peoples who wish to live free, independent, self-governed, and respecting the independence of others. We shall re-establish peace in justice, instead of establishing it, as others dream, in prolonged and permanent violence.

That is the true divine task, and we can say not "God is with us," but "We are with God." If there be anything godlike, what is it but a world peopled with nations self-governed and who, working in peace, guarantee firmly, jealously—all the liberty of each, each the liberty of all.

Let us continue to labor at this task with pure heart, with serene conscience, with unconquerable hope. France will come forth from these trials, so valiantly accepted, so bravely undergone, with a moral beauty which, however grand her past, she has never possessed so full and radiant.

1789—1815—1915

By Frederic Masson

Member of the French Academy

WILL history this time serve for something? Will her lesson be understood? Exactly a hundred years ago events took place in Paris and in France which had as consequence a disastrous defeat, a foreign invasion whose march no national effort could arrest, the shameful capitulation of the capital, the dismemberment of the national territory, the disbanding of the army, the execution of the bravest citizens with a travesty of justice, and, during three years, France held in tutelage by Europe. And what was that but the closure of one cycle of that long period of civil wars and intestine dissensions which, begun in 1789, lasted until last year? * * *

An immense conspiracy is formed, the more redoubtable that it has neither formal plan nor organization. It is the unanimous revolt of affections, interests, passions, convictions. Thus, when the leader returns from the island in which he was believed to be imprisoned, an immense acclamation rings out, and, from Grenoble to the Tuileries, he is borne on the shoulders of soldiers and citizens. But now, as twenty-three years before, to form the unity once more, the loyalty of one part of the nation is not enough; it is necessary to demand obedience from all, if it is impossible to inspire enthusiasm and sacrifice in all. Traitors must feel a continuous watch kept on them, that their first attempt to communicate with the foreigners will bring a hand of iron upon them to punish them. All commerce with the Princes, who have fled again, must meet the same punishment; all enterprises against the defense of the nation—whatever they may be, from whatever source—must be immediately stopped by ruthless examples.

On the contrary, everything is prepared, everything is organized for the betrayal. Treason is at home in the General Staff of the Army, in the Min-

istries, in prefectures, in the frontier towns; all these men who were thought to be won by ribbons, decorations, posts, salaries, have been bought, but have quickly given themselves up, and impatiently await the moment when they can receive from their lawful Princes what they owe to the usurper. No one can tell to what depths intrigue extended nor what a range it had. Marshals of the empire betray, Generals of division pass over to the enemy, commanders of forts give up their fortresses! Astonishing and terrible spectacle which would make us doubt the soul of France, were it not for the people and the soldiers, the good stuff of which France is made.

And then the abyss! And, when they have surrendered their fatherland, these aristocrats of old or recent date, there comes the terror—white, this time—against all who have trusted the promises of amnesty, who have believed in the capitulations; proscriptions, executions, the guillotine, five years during which the royalists are busy rebuilding, for their own profit, by special tribunals, provosts' courts or councils of war, a sham unity, while Europe, by its four Ambassadors, imposes degradation on our nation, commands, demands the disbanding of the army, the dismantling of fortresses, the proscription of her best citizens—and holds France, our France, in servitude!

A century has passed. This shameful spectacle of France surrendering and selling herself, in giving up and selling her leader—this spectacle that one cannot recall without an angry catch in the throat, a trembling of the whole being, a sweat of agony—behold it effaced by the sublime spectacle which we are watching. Without doubt there has been weakness; there have been flights that inspire disgust; there has been attempted treason, which the masses have done justice to; there have been indi-

vidual acts of cowardice, which were aroused, protected, by those who should have checked them; there have been safe places where tender youths have taken refuge against the perils to be faced; but all this cannot count against the passion of patriotism and glory, in which are mingled all generations, all classes, all parties; there is only one party, France; there are no longer peasants, middle class, workmen, and masters—there are Frenchmen. In the best, the wisest, the bravest, all recognize the right to command and the right to die first; and over the corpse of a Sub-Lieutenant or a Captain conflicts rage in which all men seem Homeric heroes, uttering the same cries, making the same gestures. Whatever happens, whether we are crushed under certain

victory or survive for days that will be radiant, perhaps, and, perhaps, still blood-stained, we shall have for a year drunk from the chalice of the gods a wine that transforms us; we shall have lived sublime hours, hours each one of which is worth a life, in which we join in the communion of faith. There are no longer, whatever an agitator may have said, either poor or rich among those who, French to the core, know nothing of unwholesome profits and rotten speculations; there are men who, with equal heart, endure ruin, offering to the country the few pence that remain to them. What are they to live on tomorrow? They do not know, nor occupy their thoughts with that. First, we must conquer and be free.

To live in freedom or to die.

The Two Souls

By Jean Richepin

Member of the French Academy

THAT their soul and our soul constitute two souls absolutely irreducible, and even impenetrable, to each other is what is certain with a universal certitude.

The truth which we must have the courage to state, or, rather, to cry to the four corners of earth and heaven, to spread and impose its imperious evidence, is this—that not only to our soul in particular, but to the human soul in general, to the collective soul of humanity itself, remains and must remain incurably irreducible their soul, the thing without name which takes the place of the soul in them.

Let this not be taken for a lyrical exaggeration, in which breathes forth our hate! Not at all! I claim to speak simply, even coldly, in cold blood and quiet sense, in all sincerity, as in exact logic. And I shall give my arguments, submitted to the control of the strictest reason.

Two letters, extracts from which I shall quote, will serve me to measure, to

weigh, to gauge, and to judge the two souls. From them will be seen, in a dazzling light, what an abyss separates them forever, and that one soul, ours, is the very expression of the human soul, in all that is loftiest in it, while the other, theirs, shows and demonstrates itself to be, without any possible dispute, outside of humanity.

One of these letters has, nevertheless, as author one of their least debased spirits, a refined artist, a younger man of the very first rank among their writers. The other, in revenge, was written by the humblest of our little soldiers, almost illiterate. Both, moreover, are ingenuous and in good faith. And this is what makes the strength of their compared testimony.

The splendid verses in which the great Belgian poet Verhaeren branded with a hot iron the executioners of his sublime country will certainly be remembered. It is well known, too, that he has been often and enthusiastically fêted in Germany,

that he had not only admirers but disciples there. It is one of these, Julius Bab, who has addressed an open letter to him, protesting against the indignant protest of his friend and master.

The letter is respectful, saturated with the old-time affection. It makes no accusation. It pities, it even defends Verhaeren against the charge of calumniating Germany when he described the Germanic Sadism, and the cut-off feet of children found in their soldiers' bagpipes. It is willing to believe that the poet has been the victim of malicious hearsay. None the less, it insists that, if the Belgians were martyred, it was their own fault, yes, because that tenacious race rose to commit a terrible murder against the soldiers of his nation. And as for the faults of Germany, he simply denies them, like any of the ninety-three intellectuals.

Forced, however, to admit that at least some of them are known, Julius Bab does not hesitate to excuse them thus:

"You could not know that, forced into a fight for her existence, Germany was obliged to violate a neutrality, which is now known to have been violated long before by the adverse party. You could know nothing of the terrible actions committed by the Belgian people, which forced our soldiers to a desperate defense."

And he does not hesitate, this refined Julius Bab, to affirm his solidarity in the last analysis with those whom Verhaeren calls Huns and Germanic Sadists. He writes, bravely:

"It is from the common run of these men that our spirit has been expanded. It would be pitiable and vulgar in us to seek, in the opinion and fate of the world, a lot other than theirs."

And he ends, after a touching picture of her doorkeeper, a soldier of the Landwehr who comes on furlough to kiss his wife and children, with these delicate lines:

"When he was gone, I felt my brain pierced, as by flames, by those abominable verses on the cut-off feet of children, which pretend to characterize our German soldiers."

And do you know what he adds, this man of refinement? No, you cannot guess. Read!

"For a minute, I felt a burning shame for you, Poet Verhaeren."

After this, he again pities the noble poet, and, still respectful, expresses his poetical admiration for him in spite of everything, but declares that, by driving away his German brothers, Verhaeren has expelled him from his heart.

And now rid yourself from the slime of this Germanic soul by looking at a French soul, a human soul, in the letter of the little soldier Georges Belaud, a mere cook, who died a hero, and who, before his death, wrote, among other fine and tender things, these lines to his wife:

"Know well, if I die, I trust you perfectly, and ask of you to live to bring up my son to be a man, a man with a heart, and give him a good education, according to your means."

Readers, you will not look too closely at Belaud's style? Read only his soul. His style we have carefully left unchanged. Just as it is, our Society of Men of Letters has published it. Just as it is, the Hundred Club has had it printed by the pupils of the Ecole Estienne, on large paper de luxe, of folio size, to honor the memory of a cook, and also and above all to oppose with pride this letter of one of our humblest to the famous manifesto of the intellectuals. And let Julius Bab also profit by it, if he can! Let him learn on what moral plain, superior to his own, lives and dies a poor French workman, without other instruction than that of the primary school, but capable of thinking, of feeling, of leaving as his last testament such a phrase as this:

"And above all, my Yvonne, you will tell him, my son, when he grows up, that his father died for him, or, at least, for a cause which will be of service to him, to him and to all coming generations."

Oh! pitiable belated ones from beyond the Rhine, oh! heap of false supermen who are still so far from being true men, how many of these generations would be needed for you, these coming generations, in order that the soul of a Julius Bab should become merely capable of

understanding the soul of a Georges Belaud?

Try to consider it a little, and at least grow conscious of your grossness, your

baseness, oh! wretched people, and try to prove to us that, in spite of everything, you have the vague semblance of a soul, by weeping to find it so brutal and so poor.

French Foreign Policy and the War

By Victor Berard

IN March, 1905, his Majesty Wilhelm II., Emperor and King, made, with much stir, the Tangier journey and speech, to signify to France and to the world that he had found an obstacle in the way of his caprice and a refusal to obey his orders in the policy of Théophile Delcassé. In June, 1905, those of our statesmen who hoped to curry favor with the invincible Emperor by flatteries, by submissions, by unheard-of concessions, forced M. Delcassé out of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he had presided over for seven years, (1898-1905.) In 1915, after ten years of slow but irresistible advance, justice has at last come to this man, and when a Frenchman thinks today of the servants of the fatherland, who, in history, will one day incarnate the resistance of French liberty and Latin civilization, against the absolutism and barbarism of the Germans, it is to two names from the Spanish frontier, two half-Catalonian Frenchmen, that his memory goes—Joffre, the man of the war, and Delcassé, the man of the period before the war.

Their tasks were alike. It is to Joffre that the merit of our military preparation redounds. Whatever may be the shortcomings, inherent, perhaps, in our national temperament and our parliamentary government, (England has met exactly the same,) the republic presented before the enemy other arms, if not other soldiers, than the empire of 1870. Lifting the broken sword of France, the Government of the National Defense earned the fatherland's gratitude and the admiration of humanity by prolonging the war for six or seven months (September, 1870-March, 1871)

in an unequal struggle against Prussian organization.

We are now in the twelfth month of our glorious resistance to an organization yet more complete, which expected to have made an end of us within a fortnight—a mere Lent before the great festivity, before the Germanic Easter of the slaying of the lamb and the gorging of Paris.

The France of 1870 found herself alone, without the alliance of a neighbor, without the help of a friend, without sympathy in the Old or the New World. The France of 1915 rests in the most faithful and potent allies that a nation has ever had at her side; and of the Triple Alliance of the Germans, of which M. de Bülow said, only a year ago, that it was "the rock of bronze" against which would come, only to be broken, all the assaults of the enemies of Germany, what remains today? A trio, from which Italy has withdrawn, to yield her place to the valiant but moribund Turkey, beside moribund Austria. And this is the work of Théophile Delcassé.

It is he who, as soon as he reached his post, determined to take from Germany all our former friends whom the craft of Bismarck and certain imprudences of our own had robbed us of. Russia had already come back to us; since 1891 the Czar, "liberator of Europe," had conquered all his hesitations, all his prejudices, all his repugnances, to lay his sacrosanct hand in the somewhat revolutionary hand of Mariamne. But, in 1898, when Théophile Delcassé took the direction of our diplomacy, this Franco-Russian inti-

macy seemed to strengthen the understanding of all the other Western powers with the Germany of Wilhelm II.; the will of Berlin was the arbiter of Europe; the Emperor had at his disposal against us Austria and Italy, signatories of the Triple Alliance, on the Continent; he had also at his disposal, by means of Rome, another maritime triple alliance which England, Spain, and Italy had signed against us.

When in the tragic light of Fashoda (September-October, 1898) this situation of France became apparent to our statesmen, and when it was necessary to resign ourselves to the abandonment of a glorious adventure, Théophile Delcassé—I still hear him explaining his plan to me in the first days of November, 1898, a few weeks after Fashoda—swore he would remain in the Ministry only to reconcile France with all her western neighbors—England, Spain, and Italy—and to bring them all into the friendship of Russia in order to deliver Europe from the Prussian tyranny.

In 1905, after seven years of conciliatory negotiations, generous, cordial, but always firm, thanks to the two collaborators whose names will always be inseparable from his—Camille Barrère, our Ambassador at Rome, and Paul Cambon, our Ambassador at London—thanks, above all, to the sovereign intervention

of that King Edward VII. to whom France, restored, will owe a better statue than one in the courtyard of a palace-hotel, Théophile Delcassé had achieved his work. Even in 1902, he had been able to announce to the French Chamber that Italy would never allow herself to be made the instrument or the accomplice of an aggression against us; in 1904, the Franco-English and Franco-Spanish agreements announced to Europe that Bismarck's work was in ruins and that France was no longer encircled by enemies. The diplomatic preparation for the war was ending, from that time, by our triumph.

Between Joffre and Delcassé, it would be easy to show other resemblances—the same tenacity of hope, even at the least luminous hours; the same continuous effort, even at moments of half-success or of slight checks; the same confidence, silently held, in that inheritance of the oldest Latinism: Right, justice, the fatherland, the city, the nation, the people; the same capacity for pocketing the criticisms of the ignorant or the jealous, without answering otherwise than by added vigor in work and service. The French Pyrenees will have a very good right some day to raise statues to these two men, with an inscription in the Roman style: "To those who never despaired of the republic."

The Master Gunner

By Rene Bazin

Member of the French Academy

IT was in these words, or nearly, that a gunner told me the story of his mate, Vincent Archambaut, master gunner of the first gun of the first battery.

To begin with, he loved his gun, did Archambaut. You understand, a man is not only some one in a battery, he is some one on a gun, that he knows it, has the trick of its character, and that he ends by getting on with it as if it were a human being. He was a model gunner.

When his "75" was in the battery, the trail resting on the ground, the spade well in, you saw big Archambaut seated between the wheel and the breech, according to regulation, his body erect, his neck a little on one side, his head bent forward, his eyes on the air-bubble of his spirit level, and his hands ready on the handles of the pointing mechanism. At the Captain's command he turned his wheels with certainty, stopping them at

the right place, and if the gun swung a bit out after the shot he brought it back again. We had a sort of confidence in him. A master gunner has two woolen stripes on his right arm and a red grenade on his left arm. He draws seven centimes. Isn't he a ranker? They all say so. Like the trumpets, who can't make up their minds to have no more rights than the men who make no racket. The question hasn't been settled, and will never be. What matter? Archambaut had our admiration; in case of danger we would have obeyed him naturally; he was born to be a fighter.

Still, fighting was not his trade. He belonged, by his family and his character, by his visage and his whole person, to the frontier races on the Sedan side, a big, quiet-faced chap, who put force and thought into every step he took. We didn't know much about him from what he said himself, and, as there were none of his neighbors in the battery, you may say we didn't know him at all. Sheep dealers, whom he had met at the fairs, declared that he was rich, having begun early to trade in grain and fodder; that he had even bought a quarter in a fine farm in the Champagne country, where the country rises a bit, gets wooded and is called the Argonne. I forgot to tell you that he was in the reserve, like me, and that the mobilization had mixed us and a few others in with the men of the active artillery.

On Oct. 21 we were resting, the guns limbered up, the horses cropping the grass of a clearing, fifty yards from a thicket of beeches and firs, and the whole country sloped gently up toward the north. Below us, wretched cut woods rose a little beyond. In a word, we had found shelter to breakfast without catching a shell. The sun was hot; the men were smoking; the Captain was walking up and down, his hands crossed behind his back, and I expect every one was beginning to think of his home, because he was feeling good. Suddenly an auto arrives by a wood road that our guns had had trouble getting along. The Captain chats an instant with the chauffeur; then he turns.

"Well, that's pretty good," I say, "Germans not far away!"

At the same time he calls out:

"Reconnoitre!"

The guides get to their horses, the servers get to their caissons. We know it never takes long to reconnoitre, in the artillery. Already the Captain, the brigade fourrier, the farrier, and the second mechanician, with six horses dragging the observation caisson, had got out of the clearing. I saw them going up the path among the beeches on the trot. The cruppers of their horses no longer gleamed among the branches. All vanished, for the mists that had chilled us through on preceding nights had not yet brought down the leaves, and all the gold I didn't have was hanging from the branches.

I counted ten minutes; then the fourrier reappeared in the path, alone, bringing the order:

"Form in battery, right face!"

This time it was the whole battery that disappeared under the trees and climbed up the slope, bending the saplings, and marking its tracks on the trunks of the old trees, barked by the wheels. The thicket is no great size. We soon see daylight among the beeches, then the bushes on the fringe of the wood, a line of cut grass forming a crest on yonder, then nothing but the sky, with the misty aureole of the Autumn sun. As usual, we were going to fire at an invisible target. The four "75s" already know their places, which the Captain has staked out. They come up on the trot. The fourth gun turns to the left and gets into battery formation at the place where the trumpeter stands, under the fan of a huge beech; the position of the first is indicated by the brigade fourrier. The second and third get in between them.

The Captain comes down from his observation ladder and comes up to the first gun, that sets the pace. Big Archambaut is there, beside his gun, waiting for the word of command to aim. He looks white to me, though he is generally full-colored. I say to him:

"What's up with you? Are you cold?"

With the tip of his nose, which he raises, he points to the sun.

"You're surely not afraid of the Ger-

mans? They must be over there, beyond!"

Archambaut, who has always been stingy with words, shrugged his shoulders this time. The Captain was behind us, on his horse, rising a bit in his stirrups, and, pointing with his arm, he indicated the direction to the master gunner. The Captain was the only one who could see over the crest, and this is what he saw—we all had a good look at the view when the battle was over—he saw a long valley, a bit hollowed, quite bare, all tilled, which went away in front of us to about 3,000 yards, and which had at the other end woods like the woods we were in. You would have said a fish-dish, with two tufts of parsley. In the whole hollow not a house, just a bit of hedge, a little tree, two roads that crossed. But at the north end of the valley, standing out clear in the light, you could make out the houses of a village, most of them grouped around the church on a level stretch to the left, some coming down the slope but as if held back by the others and not getting far from them.

Our Captain, who remembered that Archambaut belonged to those parts, asked him in a low voice quickly:

"You know the village of X?"

"Yes, my Captain."

"How far off, in your judgment?"

"Two thousand five hundred yards!"

Immediately, drawing himself up, he gave the commands that were required, taking care to space them out, and the whole battery worked, I assure you, rapidly and silently—the master gunners, the servers, the openers, the loaders. He gave the command:

"Attention! On the first gun, reciprocal aim. Position angle O! Corrector 16, by the right, by battery, 2,500!"

When the breech of the first gun was swung to, and it did not take long, the gun commander, behind, raised his arm:

"For the first hit! Fire!"

The other gun commanders, each in his turn, gave the same command, and there were four roars of our "75s" at intervals, then a profound silence, then the racket of the bursting shells, coming back to us from 2,500 yards off!

The Captain's voice blended with them:

"Short! But they are bursting well in the direction of the houses on the level stretch. Once more, my children; we are going to smash a German Staff!"

"A Staff! Then, my Captain—"

Archambaut had turned back. Sitting on his seat, on the left of the gun, he was looking in a strange way at his officer, as happens when we have things to say that are too much for us.

"My Captain, hammer at the right of the church, on the slope, a house with a tile roof, with a little bell tower, and white wall around the garden. Do you see it?"

"Very clearly!"

"It's the biggest in the village; it has a second story, it has four fine rooms, and there is a cellar with wine in it; they're sure to be there! Hammer it!"

"You know it pretty well?"

Archambaut answered, just audibly:

"It's mine!"

Then he turned and bent over his spirit level. I do not know what went on in the Captain's mind. The men on the other guns had not heard the last words, and did not understand. It only took a moment.

"Ten points less! Explosive shells, in twos, 2,700!"

Vincent Archambaut had already made the motions. He was watching the air bubble in his spirit level. When he saw it was at the mark, he pronounced, in a clear voice, as if on parade:

"Ready!"

His mate, at the right of the gun, seized the end of the firing cord, pulled it to him, let it go quickly, and the shell started.

The Style of Our Heroes

By Alfred Capus

Member of the French Academy

THE newspapers publish some of the finest letters written by our soldiers since the beginning of the war. Letters of farewell to wives, to children, to mothers, found on our heroes slain by the enemy. Impossible to condense more emotion, more human verity, nobility, in a simpler form. Ah! It is in writings like these that one seizes style at its source—style not yet arrived, of course, at the originality and perfection which great writers give it, but already ample, sincere, and strong, and containing the finest aromas of our language.

In reading over these pages, so full, so poignant, traced in a tragic hour, with death before the eyes and with a hand that does not tremble, one has the feeling of what French literature will be after the war.

It will have at its disposal, in a society compelled to reconstruct itself, materials of a magnificent reality, from which the masters of tomorrow will be

able to draw new expression, movement, life, all the virile qualities of style.

Had our literature lost them! No. Rather, it disdained to use them, enticed, moreover, by the taste of the artificial, the vulgar, the raucous, which the triumph of cosmopolitanism was in course of establishing among us at so many points.

Another consequence was that the taste for satire, for vivacity, for lightness of heart, was beginning to leave our writers. Satire, in fact, requires that society should be looked at squarely, not sideways; directly, and not through fashion and conventions. And there is no genuine laughter apart from frankness and health.

Well, all these varied tones of the spirit of France—eloquence and depth, at the same time as lightness, the smile and grace—we find once more in the letters of our soldiers. It is in the furrow of their heroism that the coming literature will grow.

Big Boy Blue

By JESSIE POPE.

[From The London Daily Mail.]

There's the blue of the sea and the blue of the sky,
As well as the blue of a feminine eye,
But none of these kindle a thrill so acute
As the eloquent blue of a hospital suit.

It's a soul-stirring symbol of valor and pain,
It tells what it's wearer would never explain.
Yes—what has been done, and what's yet left to do
Is silently preached by the Tommies in blue.

We see them ensconced in a smooth-running car,
And good-looking, kindly faced fellows they are.
Maimed, bandaged, and scarred, but enjoying their ride—
The flotsam tossed up by war's merciless tide.

Though the praise at our heart is not tardy or faint,
We suffer from British self-conscious restraint:
Yet I know of one hand that would like to salute
Each gallant Boy Blue in his hospital suit.

The Saints of France

By Maurice Barres

Member of the French Academy

Translated by Henry James

The subjoined article is quoted from "The Book of France," edited by Miss Winifred Stephens, and just published by Macmillan, because it represents the excellent literary material in a work the proceeds from the sale of which will benefit French sufferers from the war.

DO you know the joy of seeing clear? It is one of the greatest that life gives us. O light that drives errors away! And, far from wasting, this joy increases by as much as we entertain it. They say that to see clear is to make on occasion for disabuse; but if it happens that our vision, settling on an object, rouses in us feelings of admiration, how great then the pleasure! The perfect thing is to love what shows in fullest light.

Let us, therefore, avoid giving ear to a lot of taradiddles about our soldiers in the trenches. It is just as they are, in the gravity of their reality, wrapped in all their severity of color, that they will rouse most completely our affection and our respect.

A new sort of war altogether unrolls at this time along the far lines of the front. Beyond doubt our soldiers inherit the souls of their forefathers; a *Déroulède* is a Bayard; a Joffre repeats certain features of Catinat and of Drouot; and you have only to read in our young soldiers' letters the glad, bright, dashing things said as it might be by Lasalle and the others. But none the less the actual conditions of this war are so special that our soldiers take from them a character quite new, I believe, in our history.

I suffer when I find episodes of the front wantonly distorted to drama and story. The romantic at this moment would be just in the *poilu** and his trench. Well, I have been there to see! There were our soldiers stiffened out by

their many thick garments and with the dried mud that wrapped them round in a sort of carapace. It was a day of rain. Some had on their backs their empty knapsacks of coarse cloth, and others over them the shelter of sheets of corrugated iron resting on the pair of earthen sides. The struggle of their life made their eyes shine in their bewhiskered faces, and yet left in all their being a vague expression of sleep. They listened to me with the charming natural politeness of our peasants and with their good smile. They quite understood my friendliness, and I met with emotion something in them that I catch myself calling their saintship. The *poilu* in his trench is a peasant disguised as a warrior, thinking of his people and things at home, not in the least wanting to eat the Boche heart and liver raw, holding on with his feet frozen and his hands numb, and quite sure "we shall get them in the end."

These admirable survivors of the first hecatombs that hold out with such splendid endurance in the mud of the trenches, under the ceaseless rain of bullets and shells, have learned to practice the virtue of patience with a stoutness not quite expected of our army and that seems to advert to the peasant qualities of our race. They know or they feel that this war is a war of wearing out, such as will be at the end to the profit of whichever of the two adversaries has best hoarded and stored his powers. They know that the one who attacks recklessly and without sufficient preparation the "invulnerable front" breaks himself against a murderous resistance, bristling with obstacles scarce to be overcome. They have mastered this to their cost, and,

*The translator has rejoiced to seek no equivalent for this image of the French soldier, unshaved, unshorn, and during the Winter months shaggy, whenever possible, with the skins of beasts.

thank God, to the coast of the German masses dashed and smashed against our defenses. They reckon that time works for the cause of the Allies. This waiting upon time has enabled us already to repair our insufficiencies of material preparation, and has given us in addition opportunity and leisure to gain over the German a huge moral superiority.

This superiority was born of the battle of the Marne, when, in a manoeuvring fight, that is to say in the conditions most opposed to fighting in the trenches, we bent their masses under the weight of our shock and our effort, possessed though they were of the advantage of number. And then we have not ceased slowly to assert and enlarge this superiority in artillery fighting and minor actions, thanks to our 105s and our high explosive shells for our 120s. The *poilu* knows all this; he knows it by the best learning, by his daily experience; he makes sure of it in the horizon that he embraces from his trench and by the succession of facts that compose his perilous life. Hence his catch that "we shall get them in the end."

We shall get them, above all, if our civilians hold on.

And how may we best hold on? What does the patience asked of us come to?

It is asked of us not to know impatience. It is asked of us, commercial, industrial as we are, political as we are, not to weigh upon events by tears, by complaints, by carplings. These soldiers amazing in endurance, these leaders every one of whom has made his sacrifice, have only one thing in fear, which is that the impatience of their friends and their families may press them to proceed to a premature offensive by attacks ill-prepared.

But that will do for us—we understand. We shall take pattern from your patience, a pale enough merit on our part, but on yours as shining as the purple of your spilled blood. To the end we shall remain what we have been these six months—a nation gathered up behind its General of Generals and all alive with the spirit which but yesterday broke out in a speech repeated to me by a friend. "I have been with Mme. X. and her

daughter," he writes me; "her son has just fallen on the field of honor. On the terrible news the mother said to the daughter: 'We'll say nothing about it. We'll hide our pain as much as possible, so as not to add to the sadness—there will be so many more deaths.'"

Think how fine! Even the word "sadness," by its belonging to the order of feeling and its giving thus the measure of the speaker's, is deeply moving in its sparseness. Sainly women, it isn't only sadness that you instinctively wish to avoid spreading around you, but the public reason itself that you seek to protect, to forearm against the justest sensibility. You discern that if we should turn to softness our France, bodies and souls, would be flung to earth, martyred, annihilated, and the blood of our heroes have been shed for nothing. We should betray our dead. We must win. And already complete victory is to be seen at the end of our patience.

Pain becomes present in creatures so that all the moral beauty their nation is capable of shall thereby appear. This is what the Prussians are unable to learn. Envious ever of the chivalrous nation, they have wished to overthrow to earth our houses of certitude and of faith and to give us up to the anxieties of the spirit. They believe the treasure of our soul squandered in our vain disputes and our ancient serenity forever dead. But in the very instant of their uttering this cry of death, this cry of happy hatred of the old world of feeling, their insults themselves were our revulsion and the spirit of sacrifice transfigured our nation. They have piled up ruins at the heart of Rheims and of our villages of Lorraine and of the north and of the Ile de France, and, lo, the whole of France becomes a national cathedral! All Frenchmen are united, and even the contradictors of beliefs have suddenly felt themselves again sons of those who, through the long centuries, have prayed in the old houses of prayer. We take up again the feeling of our unity. All men's shoulders touch in the trenches, and all the hearts of women are together.

The heart of the women of France is not that instinct, that ingenuous state

of the first hours of the world, still akin to animal innocence; it is a condition of thought that has burned itself pure, working out of the most informed civilization, the material parts of which it casts off to become all love and reason. It was formed, from generation to generation, in the deep chapels of our churches and round about the sepulchre; it draws comfort and revival today from the van of the train of the wounded, from the bed of the ambulance, and, borne by the pair of wings of patriotism and charity, it moaningly hovers over our soldiers on the field of battle. The hearts of Frenchwomen flock to the army like a flight of birds, to admire and help with their love the saviors of the land.

We have not perhaps emphatically enough noted the true character of the trench warfare in which the German army took refuge when it recrossed the Aisne under our pursuit. Such a decision confessed to a want of power, or, rather, to a state of weakening. For the trenches, you see, allow an army to hold a given front with certainty by an effective force equal but to a third of the one necessary in occupation without trenches. It takes an average of a man every two yards to hold trenches, whereas a line of battle requires an average density of three men

to two yards, (which of course doesn't mean that the men are aligned by any such simplified scheme.)

The trenches are an expedient of genius enabling the Germans to stand up to the allied Russians, English, and French from the North Sea to Switzerland and from Königsberg to the edge of Rumania. But expedients are by their essence precarious.

We shall break through the enemy's line when the victor of the Marne shall decide to. And I shall come back to this, I shall share with you a few of the ideas that are now familiar to our soldiers and that comfort their patience. I have only wished today to repeat to you what we are surely but of one mind about—the truth that any impatience would be on our part the worst of faults. It would be of such service to the Germans. It would have as a consequence to put the lives of our soldiers in peril by unwise operations and to compromise final success by attempting to gather it too fast.

This let all those of us behind say to ourselves and to each other: Any betrayal, and even any inward consent to impatience, goes straight against the purpose of the patient *poilus*, who mean to wait, and know how, that they may become masters of the hour.

“La Marseillaise”

By RAYMOND POINCARÉ, PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

With impressive ceremony the remains of Captain Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, composer of “La Marseillaise,” were placed, on July 24 last, in the Hotel des Invalides. Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, said on that occasion:

Wherever it resounds, “La Marseillaise” evokes the idea of a sovereign nation that has a passion for independence and whose sons, all of them, prefer deliberate death to servitude. Its striking notes speak the universal language understood today throughout the world. A hymn like that was needed to interpret in a war like this the generous thought of France.

Once more the spirit of domination menaces the liberty of the people. Our laborious democracy for many long years contented itself with works of peace, and it would have considered criminal or insane any man who dared nourish warlike projects, notwithstanding repeated provocations, and, regardless of surprises at Tangier and Agadir, France remained willingly silent and impassive.

A Letter to the Young Soldier Who Receives None

By Eugene Brieux

Member of the French Academy

Translated by Pamela Glenconner

The subjoined article from "The Book of France," edited by Miss Winifred Stephens, and published by Macmillan, represents the good literary material in a work the proceeds from the sale of which will be used in behalf of French sufferers from the war.

ARE there any soldiers, I wonder, who never receive any letters? to whom no one writes because there is no one to write to them, no one who cares? Surely there must be very few. But if there should be even one in such a case my thoughts turn toward him now. May my words reach him!

How clearly I see him, this brother whom I have never seen! I see the expression deepen on his young face as the postman appears laden with letters. He looks serious, not sad, just a little awkward, perhaps, as he stands there looking on at something in which he takes no part. He knows there will be nothing for him; his impulse is to turn away when the post arrives and his comrades throng around that figure whose lot it is, in merely doing his duty, to be the dispenser of so much joy. The letters are distributed. He notices how eagerly his comrades seize each his own. He sees the letters opened and watches the faces around him. Some are reading, others listening, all are intent. All save he. What are these letters that are not for him? They are fragments of paper that bear folded within them love and good-will.

After the first few glances, rather than stand watching, the boy moves away. He knows it is no good waiting. However bulky the postman's bag there is nothing, he knows, for him. He prefers that it should not be noticed that there is never a letter for him, nothing at all for him, day after day. This is no new experience, mind you. He makes

no grievance of it; he is used to being alone. Other men have fathers and mothers. He has never belonged to any one. He is alone.

None the less, how well he fights; just as well as his comrades; and so long as he acquits himself as well as they, he acquits himself better. He does not know this, but it is true.

When his comrades fight it is to defend their homesteads, to be worthy of the past. They recall those who have gone before. They fight for the protection of their hearths.

But when he fights, this boy who has no one to write to him, what does he fight for?

He has no home, no forebears, no worldly goods.

It is the future that is in his charge. He defends those who yet shall be. He, above all, may be said to fight for an ideal. If this can be said of any one, it may pre-eminently be said of him, for he fights for compatriots who are yet unborn; he offers his life that these may never be subjected to the shame of living under the domination of savages; men who, committing unspeakable offenses against the innocent, the wounded, and the aged, gratify their insatiable cruelty yet further by maliciously ruining the noblest of man's handiwork, and dishonoring the sacred stones.

And if he is killed, this lonely boy of whom I speak, it may be no one will mourn him. But he will not die. I see him on his return radiant with victory. His comrades will return to their homes. Their steps will ring across thresholds



GENERAL PORRO

Who Arranged Italy's Joint Military Action with the Allies in the Dardanelles
(Photo from Bain News Service)



HIS HIGHNESS THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA
India, Who Has Made Princely Gifts to the Cause of the Allies
(Photo from "The New York Times")

that have waited for them, who shall say how longingly? They will be met with glowing kisses, kisses softened by tears. The mothers will not speak—how should they when they tremble so? and the younger brothers, how their eyes will shine! They will be half afraid, hardly know what to do or say. * * * What loving arms will be opened to these comrades! * * * Homes. * * *

But the boy who had no one to write to him, there will be no special place for him. His reception will be the acclamation of the streets.

Let me speak to him, this brother whom I have never seen. May my words reach him!

My son, you have done well. Do you hear me? I have good news for you. One whom above all others you would honor and serve, she will love you, because you have been brave.

But never think of dying; you must not die. And if you are in the thick of

the fight, as you always will be if I know you, the best way to avoid being killed is to kill the enemy who faces you. You know well enough that to turn back is unworthy. Shot and shell overtake the swiftest runners.

Then let me tell him something.

Let your confidence be your strength. If life has been unjust to you there will be full compensation for you one day. Never despair, my son, hold fast to the knowledge that all will be well. Why should you care if there be no letter for you? It is great to stand alone. Your comrades each were born into his family to find established homes. It will be your most excellent pride to found your home. Others have received; you have given. Your lot is the best.

And now, once again, God bless you, my comrade, my brother whom I have never seen! May this letter reach you, written by one who has no son, to you who have no father! I clasp your hand.

Gift Sword for King Albert of Belgium

In correspondence of The Associated Press dated July 30, 1915, the following appeared:

The sword of honor to be presented by the people of Paris to King Albert has been completed by the Sculptor Fetu. It will first be submitted to General Florentin, Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honor, then to President Poincaré, after which it will be placed on view for a time at the exhibition of Belgian art.

"No Thoroughfare," is the inscription upon the guard at the foot of the hilt in the form of a statuette in massive gold, representing a young athlete upon the defensive, brandishing a club. The statuette represents the Flemish type, a Belgian having posed for the figure. The guard is also of massive gold, bearing the arms of the City of Paris in blue and red enamel, with the cross of the Legion of Honor and the device, "*Fluctuat nec mergitur*," and the date 1914 in diamonds upon an oak branch in green enamel. On the other side of the guard, in golden letters upon blue enamel, is the inscription: "The People of Paris to His Majesty Albert I., King of the Belgians." The inscription on this side is surmounted by a laurel wreath set with emeralds and rubies.

The blade of the sword is in steel of Saint-Etienne, ornamented with panoplies of steel upon gold, with these lines by Jean Richepin:

Droite, sans tache, sans effroi,

J'ai pour ame ton ame, O Roi.

(Straight, spotless, and fearless,

I have for my soul thy soul, O King.)

The sheath is of fish skin, tanned by a process revived from the eighteenth century. The chape bears the arms of the thirteen Belgian provinces, on a field of flowers and vegetation of the country—flax, hops, and colza. It is surmounted by a mural crown.

The Region of Battle

By Pierre Loti

The subjoined article by Pierre Loti, (Captain Viaud,) recording his impressions of the French battle front, appeared originally in *L'illustration*, and is here translated by Charles Johnston.

WHERE was it that this happened? . . . One of the peculiarities of this war is that, in spite of my habit of maps, and in spite of the minute excellence of the maps I carry with me in traveling, I never know where I am. . . . However, this certainly happened somewhere or other. I am sure, alas! that it happened in France, since it was quite close to and under the enemy's fire.

I had been motoring since the morning, passing through I know not how many towns, large or small. I recall this scene, in a village where I stopped, and which had surely never seen so many auto buses, so many soldiers, so many horses. They brought in fifty German prisoners, unshaven, unshorn, dirty; I will not say they looked like savages; that would be flattery, for most of the savages, the savages of the great jungle, lack neither distinction nor grace; no, they looked like camp followers, their ugliness was heavy, stupid, hopeless. A handsome young woman of doubtful character, with plumes on her head, who had posted herself to see them pass, watched them with ill-concealed disappointment. "So these are the fellows," she said, "their ugly Emperor offers us, to improve the race? . . . You don't say! . . ." And, to give more force to her unfinished phrase, she spat on the ground.

Thereafter, for an hour or two, deserted countrysides, great yellow woods, leafless forests which, under the melancholy sun, extended endlessly. It was cold, one of those bitter, penetrating chills which are hardly known in my French southwest, and which gave the impression of the lands of the far north. After a long interval, a village through which the barbarians had passed showed

us its charred ruins; but no one lived there any longer. Here and there along the road lay little burial mounds, solitary or in groups, the earth quite freshly turned, with leaves strewn on them and a cross made of two sticks; soldiers, whose names would never be known, had fallen there exhausted, to await death in solitude. . . . We hardly saw them in our rapid course, which we quickened more and more because of approaching night, already drawing in at the end of October. In measure, as the day wore on, an almost winterlike fog grew thick as a mortuary veil. A silence gloomier than elsewhere fell over all that region, from which the barbarians had been driven, but which still carried the memory of so many slaughters, furies, cries, rifle shots. . . .

In the heart of a forest, near a hamlet, of which nothing was left but charred spaces of wall, there were two of these graves side by side, near which I stopped. It was because a little girl, a child of 12, all alone there, was arranging damp bouquets of flowers, a few poor chrysanthemums from her wasted garden, and then some field flowers, late scabiosas gathered in the mournful meadows, upon the graves.

"You knew them, little one—they who are lying here?"

"Oh, no, Sir! But I know that they were Frenchmen. . . . I saw when they buried them . . . Sir, they were very young; their mustaches were not quite grown yet!"

Nothing written on the crosses which the Winter will lay low on the earth and which will soon crumble in the grass. Who are they? Sons of peasants, or townsfolk, or land owners? Who weeps for them? A mother in ample veils of elegant crêpe, or a mother in the modest mourning of a peasant woman? In

any case, those who love them will end their lives without ever knowing that they are rotting there, at the side of a lonely road in the extreme north—nor that this dear child, whose home is destroyed, has come to offer them a few poor flowers on an Autumn evening, while a great cold comes down with the night out of the enveloping forest. . . . Further on, in a certain village where the commander of an army has established himself, an officer rides with me, to guide toward a determined point of the great battle front.

Yet another hour's journey at high speed through solitudes. Then we pass one of those long convoys of auto buses, formerly Parisian, which since the war have become butchers' shops on wheels. In the seats where townsfolk and their wives used to sit half oxen are swinging, all bloody, hanging from hooks. If we did not know that there were hundreds of thousands of men to feed there in the fields we should ask ourselves why all this meat was carted into the middle of this desert which we are passing through at full speed.

The day drags to a close, and we begin to hear the continuous growling of a storm, which seems to be bursting close to the ground. But that thunder has been growling for weeks now; it growls uninterruptedly along the whole serpent-like line that runs from the east to the west of France and which every day, alas! gathers up its heaps of dead.

"Here we are at our destination," says the officer who is guiding me. If I did not already know the new face which the Germans have given to the line of battle I should think, in spite of the cannonade, that he was mistaken; for at first sight you see neither army nor soldiers; we are in a sinister place, on a vast plateau, where the grayish earth is peeled, slashed, with here and there trees more or less broken, as though by some cataclysm of lightning or hailstones; no trace of human beings, not even the ruins of a village; nothing to mark one or another epoch of history, or even of geology. And, as one sees in the distance, immense horizons of forest, which stretch out on all sides, to lose

themselves in the almost black mists of twilight, it would be easy to think that we have gone back to the primal ages of the world.

"Here we are!"—that means that it is time to hide our auto under the trees, in order not to draw down on it a sprinkling of shells and risk having our chauffeurs killed—for there are, in the mist-veiled forest over against us, many cruel eyes on the watch, with wonderful binoculars that make their vision as piercing as that of the great birds of prey. So, to reach the firing line, we must continue on foot.

What strange soil! It is riddled with the holes made by shells that look like great funnels, and it is scratched, pierced, strewn with pointed cannon shot, copper shell cases, pieces of spiked helmets, and other barbarian refuse. But this region, which seemed deserted, is, on the contrary, densely populated!—only it is without doubt by cave dwellers, for the dwellings, scattered through the wood and invisible at first, are a kind of cavern, or molehills, half covered with branches or leaves; many years ago, at Easter Island, I had seen such architecture. . . . And in this vast setting of ageless forest these human dwellings complete the impression we had already received of a return to the dark abyss of time.

In truth, it rightly belonged to the Prussians to make us go backward thus. War, which was formerly a graceful thing, where one paraded in the sun with fine uniforms and bands, they have made sly and ugly; they wage it like ground wasps. And, of course, we have had to imitate them. . . .

But heads appear here and there, coming out of the burrows, to see who has arrived, and there is nothing prehistoric about them, any more than about the military caps that cover them—faces of our soldiers, healthy looking, good humored, apparently amused at living there like rabbits. A Sergeant advances, as earthy as a mole that has not had time to make its toilet, but he has a charming expression of youth and gayety. "Take two or three men with you," I say to him, "to clear out my auto, which is

there behind the trees; you will find in it a thousand packets of cigarettes and illustrated papers which the men and women of Paris send you to help you to pass the time in the trenches." What a pity that I cannot bring back, to thank the kind donors, all the smiles of pleasure with which their presents were received!

A kilometer or two more on foot to

reach the firing line. An icy wind breathes from the forests in front of us, more and more drowned in black mists, hostile forests in which growls this seeming storm. It is mournful at dusk on this plateau of poor molehills, and I wonder that they can be so gay, our dear soldiers, in the midst of these desolate wastes.

A Changed English University

A letter to a Cambridge man in New York from another graduate of the same university, who recently returned to England, gives some details of the changes that the war has made on the aspect of the ancient courts and colleges. The writer says:

The war has left its mark on Cambridge. You will remember Whewell's Court stands apart from Trinity as a separate entity. Since last Summer it has been taken over by the Government, and they have had all sorts of soldiers quartered there. There are none now, but in one of the courts there still stands the soldiers' wash arrangements, a long zinc-lined trough, with a few taps running into it under a rough penthouse. The staircases still have the names of the undergraduates painted at their bottom, but only two or three dons are in evidence, and scrawled in chalk are such queer words as "Comp'y C," "Medical Room," or "Canteen."

In another court you may see the remains of the camp kitchens, little piles of brick, and an empty washtub. Even the porter has deserted his lodge. They are expecting a couple of hundred Canadian nurses next, but they won't do the damage the Welsh territorials did, who tore out about \$6,000 worth of gas and electric light fixtures for pure lightness of heart.

Pembroke and Peterhouse are given up to the officers' training corps. I saw them come in from drill today, four companies strong. They were marching down Trumpington Street—men of all sizes, widths, and years. Nearly all, of course, were in khaki, but a few were still in civilian rig. Tonight as I write I hear the tramp, tramp of a regiment and saw making Girtonward a corps of active men.

At Jesus some of the officers are quartered, and beside the porter's lodge stands a most wonderful collection of pickaxes and shovels. At Caius is the headquarters staff of an army.

Jesus, Clare, and the Hall are said to have suffered most from the war on account of the number of their men who have gone to the front. It's a pretty serious matter for the dons, and still more for the coaches. Men have seen a perfectly secure income cut in half or disappear altogether almost overnight. One of the Jesus dons was telling me how the man who "kept" below him and the man above him had both been killed, and how another man from the same staircase had been seriously wounded. He also warned me that when I dined in Hall tomorrow night I should get only meat and sweets, although there might possibly be soup, because that didn't cost much. When I told him Trinity was still supplying at the High Table soup, fish, roast, sweets, and cheese, he almost rose in revolt at such shameless extravagance.

The Epic of France

By G. H. Perris

The subjoined article by the author of "The Campaign of 1914 in France and Flanders" appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle.

IN grim silence and watch unfaltering, along their 400 miles of earth-works, or strained to the paroxysm of some deadly thrust, the men of France withstand, as alone they could, and as they only could, the consummation of an inexpiable crime. All are there, in equal, ungrudging sacrifice, rich and poor, teacher and artisan, squire, priest, farmer, Deputy; the simple minds that think only of defending their own homes, and those no less conscious of an ideal to save and enthroned anew. One against three, in the first months when father and son leaped to the devilish challenge; one against two, through the floods and frosts of the slow Winter; and, now that the struggle is more equal, and hope has become certainty of the just end, there is no place for laughter or any levity. For every day France bleeds.

Blood enough to have sated long since any less monstrous foe. Rivers of blood, the best in Europe—the old rich Gallic blood that mingled Roman experience and Mediterranean fire with the rough peasant vigor of the North, tempered through centuries of labor and exaltation. This was the black heart of the crime of crimes, that France, the standard-bearer of Western civilization, must be crushed. For if any nation in the world can claim a primacy in the spirit of progress, is it not this? The historic guardian of ancient treasures, no liberty has been wide enough for her need of growth, no experiment too daring, no thought refined enough to satisfy her passion for harmony and grace. To those who knew her best minds, there was ever something of worship in their love, as in our regard for the fullest type of womanhood; and now how much more when this woman has been stricken with a blow as cowardly as brutal?

France suffers in chief for the feeblenesses of all Europe. Let those who have the ill-will recall now her own weaknesses.

The scale of the virtues is easily misread by academic observers, even the nearest lacking imagination and sympathy. There was a clean, neat surface over the slavish mass of German life which deceived even the elect, and deceives some yet when its inner corruption is plainly displayed. There were, not so long ago, some ugly spots—last signs, perhaps, of the wounds of 1870—upon the sound body of the family life of France which caused too much alarm even to good men at home. "Take care!" cried the younger Dumas; "you will have to pay dear; you have not yet paid all the price of earlier faults. We have enough and too much of vagrom intelligence, libertinism, and skepticism; what we want, or we shall die, is more of the deeper things—God, nature, labor, love, the family." And how Bourget, in "Le Disciple," scourged the sensual nihilism, "for which nothing is true or false, nothing moral or immoral," then eating, as he thought, like a cancer into the life of the republic. Panamism, Boulangism, a crop of scandals, seemed for a time to justify the gloomiest prognostications.

Better years have passed; and then came the sudden call to the test of battle. In the twinkling of an eye limbs and minds were girded up; in the flame of faith every gross element disappeared. We British still do not know the weight of that typhoon; and so we do not know the sublime unanimity of courage which has lived it down. Only a faint outline of the story has been told; but some day soon men from all the world over will go in pilgrimage to the heroic fields of Meaux and Sézanne and Montmirail,

tion between internal political freedom and external political order of peace, and must create a European-American community against the dangers of the East. In this ideal there meet democrats, socialists, pacifists. In spite of all Darwinian, historical-evolutionist and sociological foundations, that, too, is certainly a genuine and very idealistic dream, a wonderland beyond the fearful chaotic prose in which we live and fight, especially beyond the unscrupulous imperialistic self-interest of the English policy, which must not be confused with its mask of democratic freedom.

Still others hope for a new reconstruction of Europe, emanating from the centre, a Continental alliance against Russia and England, of preponderating Germanic germ and with German culture. This is to be an insurance of Germany, and at the same time a rejuvenation of Europe, concluded economically, politically, and intellectually, a successor of the mediaeval empire, a new assembling of its horizon and its forces. In this camp are found the race philosophers, the Continental political economists, the friends of economic self-government, the advocates of an Oriental policy, the *Grossdeutschen*, (Greater Germanists,) the romantic Catholics, and the friends of the Middle Ages.

Related to these "imperials" is Alphonse Paquet, the able geographer and world traveler, the delicate-spirited poet beloved by many, the meditative observer of human affairs in the chamber of the great world conflicts and of their basic cultural causes. In a small volume which he calls "The Kaiser Idea," (published in Frankfurt by Rütten and Löning,) he has developed his idea of the war, a mixture of world-geographical realism, German imperialism, and religious yearning for love and purity in the relations of men as well as of races.

Germany has gotten into an uneven relationship toward the hitherto great powers, which "this war must dissolve through the shattering or the advancement of Germany with a new, a different look in the face of the world." It must step, as a representative or media-

tor of Europe, at the head of a European league of States beside the powers of the future, America and East Asia, and must seek intellectual community and agreement with both. That must be the work of a great prince, who, standing above the races, is not bound down by their prejudices and mass instincts and nevertheless understands their deepest yearnings. Such an Emperor, recalling Charles the Great, Otto III., Henry VI., Frederick II., Charles V., must be born to us out of storm and stress of the time, together with the complete radically rejuvenated and united Germany. This European empire is a timeless idea, which will dissolve the era of narrow nationalism and must dissolve it, and which by a general law has its parallel in America's coalescence, and in the empire of China and Japan, as once in the Roman Empire. The imperium must rise again out of the present conflict of races, and it is the destiny of the Germans to prepare the way for it through this great war. The new European Emperor will in a near or remote future be a German Emperor.

The decentralization hitherto of imperialism was caused by the monopolization of the imperial idea by the Papacy. The new empire must be exclusively temporal and must be clear of all conflicts between Church and State. But it is just this worldly imperium which then will the more need its religious complement, even as monarchism always fitly expressed and still expresses the imperium. Thus the idea of the European empire becomes associated with the idea of the European religion. It will, irrespective of monism and energetics, be a strong mystic theism and thereby closely connected with the historic religion of Europe, Christianity. Yes, it must not even dissolve connection with the historic churches, but must value these as its most important and popular organizers. A free and mutually moderating association side by side of various confessions and a complete inner religion of the spiritually free must bring about a spiritual syncretism, the expression of the European religion as the idea of an active living redemption to the Empire of

God. Therein the European religion will encounter related developments of other religious realms, and will be able to reach a settlement with them in a world community. Just as the empire has its appointed bearer in the Germans, so, too, will German Christianity, manifold and worked out in all forms and nevertheless ever developed toward spiritual freedom, and perhaps assisted by a neoidealistic Judaism serving as intermediary between Orient and Occident, have to form the point of departure of this European religion. That, then, is no imperialism of might and self-interest, but rather an imperialism of the spirit and the idea.

These visions of the future naturally lead the prophet at last to the question of the Christian mission which gained a powerful impetus in the nineteenth century and which has made use of new methods of communication almost more quickly than commerce. It is of highest importance for the future of the world. To be sure, in the Near Orient the religion of Islam there prevalent, and itself missionary from that region as a centre, must not be disturbed by attempts at conversion. There the custodians of the future and of mediation are the Christian churches which have been there for a long time and which frequently serve political purposes. They must receive a new inner life and must draw nearer to one another, must especially learn more of German theology, and by that very fact evoke countereffects from Islam itself, through which Islam will again become a cultural power as once before.

Catholic, Protestant, free-religious forces must create the religious universalism of the future and find the contact with the noble old wisdom of the East. Germany, as the motherland of the religious movements of modern times, as the homeland of the religious-idealistic philosophy and of a philosophic theology, will be called upon above all to participate in this. A German empire as the head of the European league, and the religious universalism emanating from Europe, will then give the world a new order, a relationship compared to which the present relations are merely the

chaos with all the joys and pains of procreation. Everywhere is growing "the effort to clear the chaos that has developed out of common general increase in population and the rise of elements devoid of traditions out of this chaos." Our war is the beginning of this clarification, and back of it stands the idea of the European empire and of the religious Empire of God through which Europe is to find a new relationship to America and Asia.

Remarkable imaginations! Much that is profoundly thought out and much that is dilettante, much that is possible and much that is improbable, much that is keen sight and much poetry! Truly, the Germans are still today the race of the poets and thinkers. One of the few keen-sighted English opponents has brought that out carefully, too—one should not permit one's self to be deceived by all militarism and all technical skill, he says, the Germans are incurably poets and thinkers. To be sure, he added, that is precisely their weak point, in that they are unable to see the incongruity between their miserable Continental basis and their dreams; thus, he said, they plunge into misfortune through their dreaming.

Nevertheless, we must not delude ourselves by failing to realize that such romancing is in fact not altogether without danger, and that it needs continual supplementing through the sobriety of fact. The soaring sweep of such great ideas carries one lightly over the obscurity and difficulty of the actual situation and thereby clears away from the immediate duties and problems growing out of that situation. The internal rejuvenation has its very definite and concrete meaning which must be formulated; greater equalization in the German body politic, greater freedom of the people and more responsibility in the State mind, (*mehr verantwortliche Staatsgesinnung.*) The external constitution of the future is confronted by very practical problems; the greatest possible safeguarding of the empire, resumption of a definite political attitude toward England, safeguarding of the way to the Orient, restriction of the English tyranny on the sea, all of them

very concrete and difficult problems which demand the most objective seriousness and the most exact figuring out of the possible. In these sober, practical things is included, in the first place, certainly, the idea of the war; and, in so far as we need internal motive powers, there suffices in every way the moral sense of duty to the fatherland and the confidence in the power of truth and of

the good. Of the last named forces we cannot have enough, and the severe analysis of the external and internal political situation cannot possibly be deliberated upon too earnestly.

But of dreams and theories there may easily be too many, even if they are as intellectual and well informed as this apocalypse of the noble poet and geographer.

A Song of the Lusitania

The Amsterdam Telegraaf publishes a German song about the Lusitania, sent by a correspondent to whom it was given in a German variety theatre. The song, it is stated, is very well known in Germany, and is sung by the public in variety theatres and cafés.

In the translation of The London Times published below an attempt is made to reproduce the peculiar quality of German humor which distinguishes the original doggerel:

The Destruction of the Lusitania

A Marching Song. (Tune: Upidee, Upida.)

By RUDOLF KUHN.

I.

Carrying shameful contraband,
From New York to the English land,
Bearing thousands, on she came:
But the U-boat sniffed its game.

II.

Sailed the Lusitania gay
Further on her felon way;
Off Ireland's coast the U-boat peers,
See the course her quarry steers!

III.

Passengers from every shore—
English, Greek, and Dutch galore,
Americans and sons of France
Sail along to death's fell dance.

IV.

Ah! The U-boat's aim was good;
Who doesn't choke, drowns in the flood.
Vanderbilt was there that day,
The only one we missed was Grey.

V.

Each one gives his nose a wrench
At the gases' awful stench.
"They're our shells, our very own,"
Cries the Yankee Mr. Kohn.

VI.

The old water-nymphs below
Straight begin to curse and blow;
"What chuck ye then so carelessly
On the bottom of the sea?"

VII.

There lay the dead in Neptune's jaws,
Most of them with scalded paws—
Sons of England with their wives;
Ne'er so still in all their lives!

VIII.

Chant we now the funeral chant,
More U-boats is what we want.
To a chill grave with the enemy!
Till he stop bothering Germany.

The Freedom of the Seas

By Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz

Pro-Rector and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Freiburg.

Dr. Gaevernitz, who is also a member of the Reichstag, traces in the following article what he conceives to be the interest of Germany and the United States in overthrowing Britain's supremacy of the seas. The article is part of an essay which Dr. Gaevernitz handed to the Berlin correspondent of The New York Evening Mail in response to the question: "What do the educated Germans really believe about England?"

THE "freedom of the seas," which has been formally incorporated in the law of the nations, is valid for England only if it is based upon a tacit acceptance of British naval supremacy. Even Manchester men and laissez-faire politicians have helped to build up the British Navy. Mr. Stead, the pacifist, had been agitating in Germany in the cause of peace. When he returned to England from his peace propaganda in Germany he advocated the construction of two British men-of-war for each German keel.

This apostle of universal peace was, at the same time, an apostle of British naval supremacy. To the same end England blocked the development of the right of private property on the sea, and upheld the right to capture, in order to kill the trade of her enemies. In this direction she has gone still further in the present conflict by extending the scope of the meaning of contraband to an extent which has paralyzed the commerce even of neutrals.

In the London Declaration of 1909 the rules of international maritime law as established by custom were formulated. Under that declaration ore, raw cotton, agricultural and mining machinery were included in the "free list," that is, among the articles which, under all circumstances, could be dealt in freely with neutral countries. Grain is defined as "relative contraband," which is not subject to seizure if it is discharged at neutral ports and then conveyed to the enemy's territory. At present, however, England is seizing both conditional contraband and non-contraband as she pleases. British inspectors supervise

Dutch trade in Holland. England forbids neutral countries to export to Germany under the threat of cutting off all supplies.

On account of the growing interdependence of nations British naval dominion now weighs on mankind far more heavily than a hundred years ago. In 1880 only the coast lines of overseas continents were opened up. Islands like the West Indies were the basis of the then existing colonial system. Oversea trade was made up of the more valuable articles of luxury, such as tobacco, coffee, sugar, and spices, which could be dispensed with. In case of need every European country could become a self-sustained State without serious inconvenience.

Since then the overseas countries have been thoroughly settled and opened up. A division of functions has taken place among the nations, and their economic life has become thoroughly interwoven by the vast increase in the volume of international trade.

The commerce of the world now consists, not of the luxuries for the rich, but of the necessities of life for the masses. Today the weal and woe of every nation, as of every individual, depends to a large extent on the international trade, which is mostly ocean-borne. Hence mankind has been delivered to the good-will or ill-will of Great Britain, the mistress of the seas.

By cutting off overseas communications, including the cables, Britain can bring the delicate machinery of the world's industry to a complete stop. By closing the seaways to industrial Europe England condemns the million-headed armies of workmen to unemployment and

cracks her whip of hunger in the huts of the poor.

European agriculture is also dependent upon exportation of farming products and the importation of necessary supplies. By cutting cottonseed meal and fodder, England stops the supply of milk in cities and treads upon the bodies of infants.

In oversea countries which export raw material the producer is on principle the credit taker, and in the end pays off his interest with goods. An epidemic of bankruptcies threatens these new countries. The storm of a commercial crisis sweeps over South America and the economic existence of thousands of debtors and creditors alike has been ruined. The exportation of goods, the investment of new capital stops when British political interest demands that the world's industrial machinery be stopped, and yet British political interests have nothing in common with South America.

The British sea blockade of 1914 shook the industrial structure of the United States "hardly less than if the States themselves had been participants in the war." Evidence of this is the closing of the Stock Exchange, the decrease of the exportation of goods, and the levy of "war taxes."

Last of all, all real coast countries whose cities and economic centres lie within range of the British guns are unconditional vassals of the ruling sea power. If the Briton bids them, the Portuguese must risk their lives for a matter that does not concern them at all. Even Italy is unable to take part in any political combination which is not acceptable to England.

Today, in a much larger measure than in the age of Napoleon, the "freedom of the seas" must be the political goal of all non-Britons.

But only two States are independent enough to profess openly that they want to reach that goal of humanity. They alone possess the economic means to oppose the Briton as equals on the sea. These countries are the United States and Germany.

The United States has definitely outstripped the British mother country be-

cause of the enormous natural resources and vast geographical extent, a gigantic production of raw materials, and the population twice that of England. Today the United States is the world's largest producer of gold and silver, mineral oil, cotton, steel, and coal. Possessed of the most efficient industrial machinery, it could, if it wished, easily match or surpass British sea power. But the sentiment of the United States is against "militarism" and "navalism." The United States is a colonial country abounding in strong individuals, but with a decentralized Government.

Flattered and deftly lulled to sleep by British influence, public opinion in the United States will not wake up until the "yellow New England" of the Orient, nurtured and deflected from Australia by England herself, knocks at the gates of the New World. Not a patient and meek China but a warlike and conquest-bound Japan will be the aggressor when that day comes. Then America will be forced to fight under unfavorable conditions. In the meantime, England's suicidal policy has sacrificed the foremost advance-post of the white race and culture, German Tsing-tao.

Hereby Britain has laid the north of China open to attack, while Japan, with a cold logic, has assailed Germany, the strongest white power in the Orient, has encircled the Philippines, reaches out for island bases and sea control of the Pacific, and bids fair to emerge from the war as the only sure "winner."

Thus the work of the liberation of mankind is left to Germany, and to Germany alone. On Nov. 11, 1870, Carlyle wrote to *The London Times*: "Patient, pious, and plodding Germany has coalesced into a nation, and has taken over the hegemony of the European Continent. That seems to me the most hopeful international fact which has happened in my lifetime."

Germany, the late-comer! While the Briton was conquering the world, Germany has been pushed out since the Thirty Years' war to the outer line of the world's affairs. The customary ballast of ships that were returning from Ger-

many was sand—the “produce of Germany,” (“le produit de l’Allemagne,”) as the French sarcastically put it.

The Hansa merchants were like so many roosters that picked a few grains in the stable of a noble steed and were kicked out when they became a nuisance. But in that quiescent life old Germany gathered a new youth—that mysterious strength which Carlyle foreshadows in depicting Frederick William I. and his surroundings. Then, toward the end of the eighteenth century, under the protection of Prussian neutrality in the revolutionary wars, that classical age arose when Germany was crowned with the wreath of intellectual achievement. Kant is the mighty figure that marks the boundary. How much philosophical thought is pre-Kantian even today and even with us. Oswald in Germany and English “pragmatism” are cases in point.

As long as the Germans were content to live in the clouds the Briton ceded to them the legion of intellectual empire, “the cuckoo house” and fools’ paradise of philosophic speculation. He feared neither Fichte’s virile “Talks to the German Nation,” nor Hegel’s world-embracing system of thought. But wrongly so, because that culture which seemed so remote from the world was in reality intensely practical. The German culture was a new spring of inexhaustible strength which was to inspire the German idealist to a reshaping of the visible world.

With the alliance between historic Prussia and the “ideal nation”—“the German Nation”—as Fichte had visualized it—a great power arose in Europe on a thorough national foundation. This new German Empire, in the opinion of Bismarck, its founder, appeared to be “satiated in Europe,” so lacking in tendencies of expansion that Great Britain ceded to it the rock island of Heligoland in 1892 without a shadow of misgiving. But the finger of economic necessities—a yearly increase of 800,000 in population on a small area—pointed beyond Europe.

By the merger of the historic Prussian customs union, principally with the West

German ideas of Fr. List, Germany raised herself to the position of an economic world power, which by the restriction imposed upon a smaller Germany prepared the way for a greater Germany. List’s final goal was also a political one; wealth was but the means, the end was the liberation of humanity from the mountain of British pressure. To this end List accepted Napoleon’s Continental system as well as “Fichte’s national idea.”

“But do you,” he appealed to his countrymen, “who are struggling to prevent the restoration of Gallic supremacy, find it more endurable and honorable to yield your rivers and harbors, your shores and your seas, to the sway of the British from now on?”

Step by step Germany caught up with the British model economic state, and overtook Britain first in iron and steel production, and then in chemical and electrical industries. Germany now became the seat of modern high finance; her aggregations of capital, accompanied by an even distribution of national wealth, outgrew all British proportions and began to approach American dimensions; with this difference, that the German system is more systematic and more closely co-ordinated with the State than the somewhat accidental, and still half colonial, capitalism of the United States.

Just as Karl Marx once studied in England, foreigners now come to Germany to study the latest tendencies of modern economic development. The Briton’s philosophy of competition impresses them as small in its scope and antiquated in its method.

A fabulous transformation! About the middle of the nineteenth century Disraeli in his “Endymion” depicted the pitiful plight of the German diplomat, who, in leaving the metropolis of the world, (London,) exiles himself from the circle of brilliant women and world ruling statesmen, to return to banishment in his native land.

Germany, in the view of Disraeli, is the product of peace conferences and protocols. It plays at being a great power. Its people are poor in everything but forests. And today? Germany, like

King Midas, touches raw materials of seemingly insignificant value and turns them into ingots of gold.

It would have seemed like madness to our forefathers if any one had prophesied that Germany would tower to Great Britain's heights as an industrial State. And yet our entire military and economic power of resistance is based upon this fundamental fact.

To this new German industry, which exports goods instead of men, we are particularly indebted for the millions in our army. In comparison with the one-sided export industrialism of England, the new German economic system rests firmly upon a proportionately broader agricultural basis than that of England. Great Britain's small and still dwindling agricultural population of 5,000,000 contrasts strikingly with Germany's farming population of 18,000,000, which could be increased still further by a policy of settlement and internal colonization, and in addition to the brawny farmers the millions of men who have been trained to industrial occupations, such as metal workers and machinists, furnish the very best material for the army and the navy.

Of the many industrial establishments of the empire, one concern alone, the A. E. G. Electrical Company, sent 14,000 men into the field in the present war. No less than 800,000 members of trade unions are serving with the colors. What power of solidarity and strength of discipline are represented by these intelligent workers!

The new German activity impinged with painful effect upon some of the old and firmly established British industries. Witness the single example of coal-tar dyes, which completely superseded the British dyestuff industry, especially indigo, which Great Britain previously produced from vegetable sources in India for the supply of the entire world. All this became the more

acutely felt when German economic life, turning like that of England toward the seas, reached out mightily for the oceans of the world.

Our Kaiser's word that Germany's future lies on the sea is more than true; for our present is on the water. In all zones German wares, ships, banks, and enterprises of all sorts came into contact with those of England. But, more important still, the challenge to British industrial dominion seemed to bring into question also the political supremacy of Britain.

Battleships are machines, the most expensive of all machines, and a nation can support them independently of any long coastline in the degree in which it succeeds in bringing the capitalistic centre of the world to its own territory. The Englishman began to fear that in peaceable industrial development the sceptre of sea dominion would slip from his hands through the shifting of the balance of economic power.

From this source came the ominous clouds which darkened our political sky for so many years. The question was forced upon us, Would not the Briton attempt at the eleventh hour to destroy by political means the rival who had outstripped him in the economic race? Didn't all the traditions of British history point to such a probability? Would Great Britain's supremacy, built up by war, be maintained by any other means than war?

Influential writers, and Mr. Garvin with especial brilliance, made it their life's work to impress upon their countrymen this doctrine: "What the Spain of Philip II., the France of Louis XIV. and Napoleon once were to England, Germany is today—the enemy. Tomorrow an invincible Germany will cast its shadow over Europe. Today we must see to it that the lesser Germany is crushed. If Germany were annihilated today every Englishman would be richer tomorrow."

The Monroe Doctrine as Germans See It

By Herbert Kraus

Herbert Kraus is an eminent German scholar whose book, "Die Monroe doktrin," is the German authority on the political relations of the Americas. During the war Dr. Kraus has been occupied as Zivilkommissar of Hasselt, Belgium. This article is part of a paper written at the request of The Atlantic Monthly, translated from Professor Kraus's manuscript by John Heard, Jr., and published by The Atlantic Monthly in August, 1915. It is here reproduced by permission.

ONE may unhesitatingly state that the Monroe Doctrine, at this moment, is passing through a stage of acute transition and evolution.

I. The Monroe Doctrine in the immediate present is engrossed by the idea of absorbing, controlling, and commercially restricting non-American States. The inception of this theory dates back to the Administration of President Grant. The episode of Magdalena Bay, when Japan for the first time came in contact with the Monroe Doctrine, demonstrated the fact that, under certain conditions, this doctrine could be made to apply to, and to restrict, private business relations with America. The well-known Lodge resolution clearly formulated this theory; and under President Wilson's Administration it has been widely extended. Judging from first appearances, President Wilson, in his departure from the Taft-Knox dollar-diplomacy, which incorporated this standard, was disposed to oppose the natural development of the Monroe Doctrine. In his speech delivered in Mobile on Oct. 28, 1913, and in his first annual message, in which he spoke of his oil-concession policy, he has proved the contrary. President Wilson contended that the grant of oil concessions to foreign promoters, through the agency of the weaker American States, was a menace to the Monroe Doctrine and upheld a principle antagonistic thereto. He thereby added weight and scope to various still questionable conceptions dealing with restrictions of foreign trade in America.

It becomes self-evident, without further discussion, that the "Wilson Doctrine"

contains the power and the initiative to restrict without discrimination all trade between foreign nations and America. Basing her arguments on the same assumption of right—namely, the Monroe Doctrine—by which she opposes and denies the grants of oil concessions, through Mexico, Colombia, Nicaragua, or Ecuador, the United States can raise the same objections to beneficial contracts entered into between Americans and citizens of foreign countries. She can—to use another example—veto any or all Asiatic or European immigration into Central or South America. And here we are brought face to face with another contingency—the only one, indeed, which might eventually cause the Monroe Doctrine to militate against German interests. Germany has never yet made a serious attempt to establish colonies in America. The agitation of 1870, when it was claimed that she intended to acquire Porto Rico from Spain, was newspaper talk pure and simple; and the representations against such action which Mr. Cushing made in Madrid at that time were as unnecessary as they were groundless. Sticklers might call attention to the only other exception: in the year 1901 Germany made overtures for the purchase from Venezuela of the island of Marguerita in market-overt—if the term is applicable—but abandoned the plan immediately upon the expressed opposition of the United States. On closer examination it will be found that this was hardly a colonization project. It was an enterprise actuated solely by the desire not to see a naval supremacy established without, to a

moderate degree, following in the course arbitrarily imposed upon us. By her policy of naval supremacy, England continued to establish a cordon of naval bases around the whole world.* The heroic fate of the German cruisers on the high seas in the present war has demonstrated to every unprejudiced observer the justice of Germany's attempt.

In view of what has been said, the expectation should by no means be expressed that the commercial element of the Monroe Doctrine will cause friction between the United States and Germany. Such a contingency can arise only in the course of relations with England, whose every transaction has been actuated by underlying motives, and who, up to the present, has always made use of her political supremacy to advance her commercial influence.

Just so long as this undertone is absent—and it is entirely foreign to the relations between Germany and the United States—it would clearly contravene the principles of the United States to impose restrictions upon, or to seek to control, international commerce. This is especially true since she prides herself on being the parent and protector of the "Policy of the Open Door," even though, at this moment, she boasts but a precarious title to this honorable pretension.

II. Looked at under still another aspect, it must be admitted that the Monroe Doctrine is at present passing through a stage of transition and is undergoing a fundamental change. It is struggling to establish the United States as "international policeman of America." It is under this heading that the question arises whether, as a supplement to the other pretensions embodied in the Monroe Doctrine, the United States is bound to supervise, assist, and guarantee the good behavior of the other American republics in their relations with the other powers.

This conception of the scope of the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated for the

first time—carefully, to be sure, yet quite distinctly—by Theodore Roosevelt. His message to the United States Senate on Feb. 15, 1905, afforded him the opportunity; in it he urged the acceptance of the contract already drawn up between the United States and the Dominican Republic, dealing with the Government debts of the latter State.

Since that time this idea has continued to influence and agitate American thought, although its fusion with the Monroe Doctrine has not yet taken place; there still exists some opposition; its justification and amalgamation with the Monroe Doctrine are still matters of debate, and the American Government has by no means adopted it. The attitude of that country toward the Mexican complications is proof positive; for in this respect she has shown more patience than she ever has, or ever would, in dealing with any of her powerful European neighbors, should they find themselves in the throes of acute anarchy.

The question naturally obtrudes itself, whether this idea will ever become incorporated in the Monroe Doctrine; and at the present time this question remains unanswered. To accomplish such a purpose, it will first be necessary for the Monroe Doctrine to emerge victorious from the conflict against the Pan-American agitation in which it is now engaged.

It is not in the opposition of Europe, it is not in the antagonism at present existing in the other American States, that the perpetuation of the Monroe Doctrine finds its most serious menace. It is rather in this Pan-American movement that the greatest danger lurks.

Fundamentally, the Monroe Doctrine and the idea of Pan-Americanism are based on diametrically opposed conceptions. On its own statement, the object of the Monroe Doctrine is to be a doctrine primarily for the benefit of the United States and incidentally for the protection of the weaker by the stronger States. It is a theory depending on a status of superiority and inferiority as a condition precedent. Opposed to this is the uncompromising hypothesis of the brotherly equality of the American republics

*It seems appropriate here to point out that the following islands, and groups of islands, are at the present moment in English possession: The Bay Islands, Galapagos Islands, Falkland Islands, Corn Islands, Tortuga, Trinidad, and Tiger Island.—The Author.

on which the Pan-American contention rests.

One can readily grasp that through the historical evolution of time Monroe's Monroe Doctrine has been metamorphosed from a doctrine for the protection of the United States only to one embracing the welfare of the whole of America. Today, unfortunately, the theory of brotherly equality is untenable when the pretension of an existing duty on the part of the United States to supervise the affairs of the other American republics oversteps the Monroe Doctrine proper. Such a pretension effectively abolishes the theory of equality between supervisor and supervised.

The outcome of this conflict between the Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism cannot now be predicted. It is possible that the Monroe Doctrine will succumb to Pan-Americanism. It is possible that this newer agitation will continue to exist for some time, as it does today, hampered by the natural sterility of its conception, and will eventually die a slow and natural death. It is possible, and in fact probable, that the result will be a middle course by which the Monroe Doctrine will develop into a doctrine common to a number of the larger American States—one acceptable to the United States and to the A B C States—and will incorporate in itself the idea of guardianship over the smaller American republics. This could mean but one thing—the establishment of a concert of States. Such a concert, in the face of the total failure of a similar experiment in Europe, would arrogate to itself a supremacy over the lesser American States.

It is possible also that the ultimate result will be a modification of this arrangement, and that the United States will follow the old interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in its bearing on Central America, including Venezuela and the West Indies, and will make that region a sphere of her special political influence. It is noteworthy that so far it is especially these States that have come under the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, which has, in fact, been but rarely applied to the other American nations. This is at most but a political pipe dream.

III. There is, however, a third question which is thrown into sharp relief by the interest of the immediate present—will the Monroe Doctrine ever be recognized by the other world powers? Repeatedly it has been pointed out that this has already been answered, especially by the attitude of the members of the two Hague Conventions toward the stipulations made by representatives of the United States. Actually no recognition of the Monroe Doctrine is to be deduced from this attitude, in the sense in which alone it would have any material value, namely, as implying that in the future the United States shall have the authority to enforce the pretensions of the Monroe Doctrine under all contingencies, even, if necessary, by the use of force. The silence of the members of The Hague Conventions as to the exposition of the demands of the United States Government should be interpreted as nothing more than giving a hearing to a declaration which the other participants in the convention did not care to discuss.

Had some of the nations whose interests were imperiled during the recent Mexican disturbances intrusted those interests to the United States—as, in fact, has been reported, more especially from England, in connection with which rumor one must bear in mind the Benton episode—such action would add weight and importance to the above assertion. Or had England, in the course of the present war, requested the United States to take steps against Venezuela and Ecuador for alleged breaches of neutrality tending to assist Germany, it would be exceedingly difficult not to interpret such a request as a complete recognition by England of the Monroe Doctrine.

Whether an implicate acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine by any or all of the world powers will ever be brought about depends entirely on the attitude of the United States toward the present war. Confidence and might must be co-existent, since together they form a *sine qua non*. The world must be convinced that it can safely rely upon the attitude of the United States in regard to international relations.

I will express no opinion as to whether the countenancing by the American Gov-

ernment of the exportation of war munitions should, or should not, be deemed a breach of neutrality. It is none the less as contrary to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine as the present tone of the American press. All of this will make itself felt in the subsequent relations between the United States and Germany, and it will doubtless play a part unfavorable to the Union in the general accounting, when her attitude toward Germany's opponents is considered. Partiality in international crises has always brought its own reward.

Still more significant, when viewed in this light, is the passive position assumed by the United States in regard to the attack made by Japan (her natural enemy) upon defenseless China, in spite of her decisive and frequently enunciated policy of the "Open Door" in the Far East. Most important of all is her inaction in the face of Japan's latest efforts to gain a foothold on the Mexican coast.

How can the United States expect that in the future the world will place any weight upon her assurances, when in the critical hour she is not willing to bear

the results of her policy; to insist upon her rights, or to perform the duties which she has undertaken? With this depreciation of the prestige of the United States, the chances of a general and international recognition of the Monroe Doctrine are necessarily lessened.

Side by side with this moral factor, a second stands in natural sequence—that of power. So far in this war the United States has stood aloof, posing as a disinterested spectator, wrapped in a garment of power. This is particularly true of her behavior in connection with Japan's attitude toward Mexico and China.

How can the United States expect that in future the world will respect, fear, or even heed her protests and demands, when she has demonstrated that she is not prepared to act when the gravest international interests are at stake?

The destinies even of the United States may be affected by this war. Let us hope that she may find what, just now, every nation of the world needs more than anything else—wise and far-sighted statesmen.

Russian Amazons

The Vilna correspondent of the *Outro Rossii* of Moscow gives the latest list of Russian women soldiers awarded the St. George's Cross of the Fourth Degree for conspicuous gallantry at the front. No official statistics as to the number of women volunteers in the Russian Army are available, but, according to the frequent newspaper reports recounting only cases of exceptional bravery, their number seems to be considerable. They represent all classes of the Russian community, and invariably assume male names and attire.

Thus, Maria Selivanova, aged 17, wore the uniform of a pupil of a Tula Gymnasia (high school) for girls as recently as December last, when she ran away and joined the army at the front under the assumed name of Stepan. She owes her distinction to carrying the wounded from front trenches.

Ekaterina Linevska, aged 23, was working at a Vologda cotton mill until January last, when she donned a soldier's greatcoat and cap, and under the name of Ivan Solovieff attached herself as a volunteer to a rifle regiment. She received her St. George's Cross for a daring reconnoissance of enemy advance posts, during which she was severely wounded.

Nina Rumiantseva, aged only 16, distinguished herself by saving an officer's life under conditions of extreme danger.

Another woman warrior, who had so sunk her femininity as to be known only by her male name of Matvey Koloboff, is a real veteran. She entered the army immediately on the declaration of war, and recently crowned a long chapter of daring adventures by capturing single-handed two Austrian scouts.

Germany's Peace Terms

Manifesto of the German Professors

A remarkable program adopted by a number of German professors and other intellectuals, at a meeting held on June 20, in the Berlin Künstlerhaus, for the purpose of its being presented in petition form to the German Imperial Chancellor, was published in Berne, Switzerland, on Aug. 10. It is called by the Berne correspondent of The London Morning Post "but one more link in the now long chain of German pro-annexation and pro-aggrandizement demonstrations, beginning with a speech of the King of Bavaria, and followed by a speech by the President of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, by demonstrations of the National Liberal and Conservative Parties in the Reichstag, and also by a petition of the six leading German commercial associations, including the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the Farmers' Association." The document is printed off in characters to resemble manuscript. Among the signatories are Friedrich Meinecke, Professor of History, Berlin; Hermann Oncken, Professor of History, Heidelberg; Herr von Reichenau, retired diplomat; Herr von Schwerin, Regierungs-president, of Frankfurt-am-Main, and Dietrich Schäfer, Professor of History, Berlin. A translation of the text appears below.

THE German people and their Emperor have preserved peace for forty-four years, preserved it until its further maintenance was incompatible with national honor and our continued existence. Despite her increase in strength and population, never has Germany thought of transgressing the narrow bounds of her possessions on the European Continent with a view to conquest. Upon the world's markets alone was she forced to make an entry, so as to insure her economic existence by peacefully competing with other nations.

To our enemies, however, even these narrow limits and a share of the world's trade necessary to our existence seemed too much, and they formed plans which aimed at the very annihilation of the German Empire. Then we Germans rose as one man, from the highest to the meanest, realizing that we must defend not only our external life but also our inner, spiritual, and moral life—in short, defend German and European civilization (Kultur) against barbarian hordes from the east and desire for vengeance and domination from the west. With God's help, hand in hand with our trusty ally, we have been able victoriously to assert ourselves against half a world of enemies.

Now, however, another foe has arisen, in Italy. It is no longer sufficient for us merely to defend ourselves. Sword in hand, our foes have compelled us to make enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure. Now we want to defend ourselves

with all our might against a repetition of such an attack from every side, against a whole succession of wars, and against the possibility of our enemies again becoming strong. Moreover, we are determined to establish ourselves so firmly on such a broad expanse of securely won homeland that our independent existence is guaranteed for generations to come.

As to these main objects the nation is unanimous in its determination. The plain truth, for which there is the most absolute foundation, is this. Only one fear exists in all classes of our people, and especially is there a deep-seated fear prevailing among the most simple-minded sections that mistaken ideas of atonement (Versöhnungssillusionen) or even nervous impatience might lead to the conclusion of a premature and consequently patched-up peace, which could never be lasting; and that, as happened a hundred years ago, the pen of the diplomats might ruin what the sword has successfully conquered, and this perhaps in the most fateful hour of German history, when popular feeling has attained an intensity and unanimity which was never known in the past and which will not so easily recur in the future.

Let there be no mistake. We do not wish to dominate the world, but to have a standing in it fully corresponding to the greatness of our position as a civilized power and our economic and military strength. It may be that owing to the numerical superiority of our enemies

we cannot obtain everything we wish in order to insure our position as a nation; but the military results of this war, obtained by such great sacrifices, must be utilized to the very utmost possible extent. This, we repeat, is the firm determination of the German people.

To give clear expression to this fixed popular determination, and to convey such expression to the Government, to afford it strong support in its difficult task of enforcing Germany's necessary claims against a few faint-hearted individuals at home as well as bitter enemies abroad, is the duty and right of those whose education and position raise them to the level of intellectual leaders and protagonists of public opinion; and we make appeal to them to fulfill this duty.

Being well aware that a distinction must be drawn between the objects of the war and the final conditions of peace, that everything of necessity depends on the final success of our arms, and that it cannot be our business to discuss Austria-Hungary's and Turkey's military objects, we have drawn up the following brief statement of what, according to our conviction, constitutes for Germany the guarantees of a lasting peace and the goals to which the blood-stained roads of this war must lead.

1.—FRANCE.

After being threatened by France for centuries, and after hearing the cry of vengeance from 1815 till 1870 and from 1871 till 1915, we wish to have done with the French menace once for all. All classes of our people are imbued with this desire. There must, however, be no misplaced attempts at expiation, (*Versöhnungsbemühungen*), which have always been opposed by France with the utmost fanaticism; and as regards this we would utter a most urgent warning to Germans not to deceive themselves. Even after the terrible lesson of this unsuccessful war of vengeance France will still thirst for revenge, in so far as her strength permits. For the sake of our own existence we must ruthlessly weaken her both politically and economically, and must improve our military and stra-

tegical position with regard to her. For this purpose in our opinion it is necessary radically to improve our whole western front from Belfort to the coast. Part of the North French Channel coast we must acquire, if possible, in order to be strategically safer as regards England and to secure better access to the ocean.

Special measures must be taken to avoid the German Empire in any way suffering internally owing to this enlargement of its frontier and addition to its territory. In order not to have conditions such as those in Alsace-Lorraine the most important business undertakings and estates must be transferred from anti-German ownership to German hands, France taking over and compensating the former owners. Such portion of the population as is taken over by us must be allowed absolutely no influence in the empire.

Furthermore, it is necessary to impose a mercilessly high war indemnity (of which more hereafter) upon France, and probably on her rather than on any other of our enemies, however terrible the financial losses she may have already suffered owing to her own folly and British self-seeking. We must also not forget that she has comparatively large colonial possessions, and that, should circumstances arise, England could hold on to these with impunity if we do not help ourselves to them.

2.—BELGIUM.

On Belgium, on the acquisition of which so much of the best German blood has been shed, we must keep firm hold, from the political, military, and economic standpoints, despite any arguments which may be urged to the contrary. On no point are the masses more united, for without the slightest possible doubt they consider it a matter of honor to hold on to Belgium.

From the political and military standpoints it is obvious that, were this not done, Belgium would be neither more nor less than a basis from which England could attack and most dangerously menace Germany, in short, a shield behind which our foes would again assemble against us. Economically, Bel-

gium means a prodigious increase of power to us.

In time also she may entail a considerable addition to our nation, if in course of time the Flemish element, which is so closely allied to us, becomes emancipated from the artificial grip of French culture and remembers its Teutonic affinities.

As to the problems which we shall have to solve once we possess Belgium, we would lay special stress on the inhabitants being allowed no political influence in the empire, and on the necessity for transferring from anti-German to German hands the leading business enterprises and properties in the districts to be ceded by France.

The manifesto speaks of the growing Russian peril, and says that the occupied part of Russia should become a rich agricultural country, where the surplus German population and the refugees who have found an asylum in Germany will be settled. It proceeds:

Russia is so rich in territory that she will be able to pay an indemnity in kind by giving lands, but lands without landlords. Peace with Russia, which would not diminish Russian power and increase German territory, would surely lead to a renewal of the war. Once the Russians are driven back beyond their new frontier we shall not forget the war which England has made on the maritime and colonial commerce of Germany. That must be the guide of our action. We must supplant the world trade of Great Britain. By her blockade of Germany, England has instructed us in the art of being a European power militarily and industrially independent of others. We must immediately seek to create for ourselves, apart from the empire of the seas, a Continental commercial encephalon as extensive as possible. Our friends Austria-Hungary and Turkey will open to us the Balkans and Asia Minor, and thus we shall assure ourselves of the Persian Gulf against the pretensions of Russia and Great Britain. We must also sign as speedily as possible commercial treaties with our close political friends. Then we shall devote our attention to recovering our overseas commerce. Our old

commercial and maritime treaties must be renewed, and everywhere we must obtain the same treatment as Great Britain. In Africa we must reconstitute our colonial empire. Central Africa is only a huge desert, which does not offer enough colonial wealth. We therefore require other productive lands, and herein is to be found the importance of our alliance with Islam and the utility of our maritime outlet. Those who want to exchange Belgium for our colonies forget that not only are colonies the foundation of all European power, but that colonies without an opening to the sea would always be the slaves of the good or ill will of England. We need liberty of the seas, which was the real cause of war between England and Germany. To obtain it we must have Egypt, the connecting link between British Africa and British Asia, Egypt which with Australia makes the Indian Ocean an English sea, which joins up all the British colonies with the mother country, which, as Bismarck said, is the neck of the British Empire. That is where England must be shaken. The Suez Canal route will then be free, and Turkey will regain her ancient right.

THE PRESS.

But England also invades the universal press; we must take this monopoly away. Our best arm against English permeation is the liberty which, as leaders of Europe, we shall bring to the whole world. With regard to war indemnities, we shall demand an indemnity which as much as possible shall cover war expenditure, the repair of damage, and pensions for disabled men, widows, and orphans. We know that the question has been examined by the Government according to the financial capacities of our enemies. From England, which has been so niggardly in men, we can never demand enough money, because England raised the world against us with gold. It is our duty to crush the insatiable cupidity of this nation. However, we shall probably have to apply for a war indemnity to France in the first place, if not exclusively. We ought not to hesitate to impose upon France as much as possible out of false sentimentalism. As mitigation she might be offered

one of the sides of the Suez Canal, while we occupy the other. Should France refuse that, as well as the financial obligation that we should ask her, we should have to impose on her a policy which would satisfy us. We do not want a policy of culture without a policy of action. Germany must insure her political and commercial life before trying to

propagate her spirit. Let us at first give a healthy body to our German soul.

The manifesto concludes with this saying of Bismarck:

Whenever, in any sphere of politics or elsewhere, one thinks one has touched an obstacle with one's finger, courage and victory no longer stand in the relation of cause to effect, but are identical.—*Reuter.*

How to Educate the Public

A Tragedy in One Act

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Scene—The office of The Daily Depresser. Enter proprietor.

Prop.—Well, what news?

Editor—Rather good this morning; the British have taken a mile of trenches; and the French, in a most gallant counterattack, have repulsed two army corps, with enormous losses to the Germans.

Prop.—And the Dardanelles?

Ed.—There's no news at all today.

Prop.—And from Germany?

Ed.—Oh, the usual stuff.

Prop. (coldly)—Read it.

Ed.—The Crown Prince, in a conversation with a lady friend, is reported to have said if the Germans take Calais the capture of London will be easy.

Prop.—Most important. Put in largest letters, top of chief page: "Calais First, London Afterward." Go on.

Ed.—Count von Munchausen has told a journalist that there are two million fresh troops in Belgium waiting to attack the British lines.

Prop.—Head paragraph in big letters, "2,000,000 fresh Germans to attack British in Flanders."

Ed.—Good, and the Dardanelles?

Prop.—Large type, "No News From the Dardanelles," and you can go on, "The absence of news from the Dardanelles causes some reasonable anxiety," &c.

Ed.—And how about the reports from the Allies? There's French's victory—

Prop.—In smallest type, "Slight Advance of the British Troops."

Ed.—And the French great repulse?

Prop.—Same type, "The French Maintain Their Positions." You see, my dear fellow, the English public must know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Germany's Economic Joke on Europe

By the War Committee of German Industries

AMONG Germany's enemies in the present war the English have without doubt assumed the intellectual leadership. They have developed the methods of business warfare always peculiar to them in a degree which would previously have been considered scarcely possible, in that they made it a point to break up completely Germany's economic organization and destroy the German capital invested abroad. In countless instances they have resorted to an annulment of the honestly acquired claims of Germans and to a breach of private rights and international law, and have placed the trade of the neutral nations in a condition of uncertainty and lawlessness the effects of which will be experienced long after the treaty of peace is concluded.

But the English have also succeeded in converting their allies to the same means of warfare. As shrewd teachers they have caused the French, Russians, and Italians to resort to methods which do not at all correspond to the past history of these people and do not conform to their natural dispositions.

The English have often enough publicly declared that for England the goal and methods of warfare are entirely commercial. Grey in the speech made in the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, confessed himself to this view. He wished to make clear to his countrymen that England must take part in the approaching war because her heavy burdens would not be increased thereby. With this in view he said:

We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it or whether we stand aside. Foreign trade is going to stop, not because the trade routes are closed, but because there is no trade at the other end. Continental nations engaged in war—all their populations, all their energies, all their wealth, engaged in a desperate struggle—they cannot carry on the trade with us that they are carrying on in times of peace, whether we are parties to the war or whether we are not.

Grey, therefore, at that time justified England's participation in the war by the prophecy that English business would not suffer more by such participation than it would if England maintained, at least outwardly, a passive attitude. Only the commercial harm to England was a factor in his eyes. He gave not a thought to the enormous sacrifice of human lives that a nation must bring in war. Meanwhile the cold, hard facts will have reminded him fearfully of these sacrifices so entirely overlooked and forgotten by him.

But also the commercial prophecies which Grey in incomprehensible shortsightedness permitted himself to make on Aug. 3, 1914, have in the sequence been proved to be completely false. No one has shown that better than Lloyd George in the speech he made before the House of Lords on May 4, 1915. His starting point was the fact that Germany and England, in times of peace, have an enormous export trade that invariably shows an excess of imports over exports at the end of the year. Comparing the economic conditions of the two nations in war, he said:

We have both got to maintain ourselves, feed our population, and feed our manufacturers, and that has got to be done either out of the produce of our own country or out of accumulated reserves of material or by means of imports from abroad. Germany cannot import from abroad. So she has to depend entirely on what she can produce at home or on accumulated reserves. Let the committee (the House of Lords had constituted itself a Committee of the Whole) observe the difference between the two problems. From the point of view of a War Minister, Britain is better off. From the point of view of a Finance Minister, our difficulties are greater for the time being. In a protracted war the British War Minister has great and increasing advantages over his German rival; but the German Finance Minister has not the same difficulty in financing purchases from abroad. I am now putting the financial position which is in front of us. The margin of imports over exports in an ordinary year is £130,000,000. The margin of imports

over exports this year will be £448,000,000. That does not include Government purchases abroad or the purchases of our allies abroad. We have got practically to finance the purchases of most of our allies abroad. That means that, instead of having to finance a difference of £130,000,000, we have to finance a difference between £700,000,000 and £800,000,000. Lloyd George continued with the query as to how England might be of the most use to her allies. She could maintain control of the seas. This she has done. She might keep a large army in the field and assume the financial burdens for the Allies and see to it that their armies are kept supplied with munitions of war. Of these three duties England could fulfill the first and third completely. But the number of English soldiers sent to the front would necessarily be limited by the fulfillment of these duties. In regard to this matter Lloyd George said: "I say, speaking now purely from the point of view of finance, that the time has come when there should be discrimination, so that recruiting should not interfere with the output of munitions of war and that it should interfere as little as possible with the output of those commodities which we export and which enable us to purchase munitions for ourselves and for our allies."

The heavy burdens which Lloyd George thinks the German War Minister has to bear we may fittingly leave him to carry alone. It has appeared that not the Germans but the English lack a sufficient quantity of good ammunition. And the Cabinet of which Lloyd George is a member has finally stumbled over the question of high explosive grenades. More important is what Lloyd George says about economic conditions in a field in which he is an expert. According to him, not only have the burdens of the war attained undreamed-of proportions for England, but England can fulfill her military duties toward her allies only at a further expense of her economic organization. And now the moment is clearly approaching when England will resort to compulsory military service, that invention of the branded and passionately combated militarism. But thereafter, according to Lloyd George's incontestable and competent judgment, Great Britain will not be in a position to carry the economic burdens of the war as hitherto. She will have learned that this war, for the out-

break of which she is not entirely irresponsible, not only demands enormous sacrifices of human life on the battlefield, but, considered merely as a business transaction, it is very poor business.

Germany stands second among the nations in the magnitude of her foreign trade. If, now, a country with an export and import trade amounting to \$5,000,000,000 annually is suddenly cut off from the world market, the consequences will, of necessity, be keenly felt not only by the country in question, but also by all the countries standing in economic relations to it. This is in no small degree the case with the nations now at war with Germany, who assumed that Germany's economic dependence would force Germany comparatively quickly and easily to make peace.

What a rôle the trade with Germany played in the economic life of her present enemies the following table shows:

GERMANY AS PURCHASER.

There was taken of the entire exports of—	By Germany. %	By England. %	By France. %	By Russia. %	By Belgium. %
England ..	10.0	...	6.3	3.7	3.3
France	13.1	19.6	...	0.9	16.4
Russia	30.9	21.6	5.6	...	3.7
Belgium ..	26.0	16.0	19.0	2.0	...

GERMANY AS SELLER.

There was furnished of the total imports of—	By Germany. %	By England. %	By France. %	By Russia. %	By Belgium. %
England ..	9.9	...	6.1	5.5	3.2
France	12.2	12.4	...	5.5	6.8
Russia	40.8	12.9	5.0	...	0.6
Belgium ..	15.0	10.0	13.0	3.8	...

These figures prove what an important part Germany played in the economic life of her present-day enemies, especially of Russia and Belgium.

England concluded from this that Germany was hereby made dependent upon the world market and that she could easily and quickly be brought to her knees through the economic pressure brought to bear. This hope has not materialized. On the other hand, it has appeared that the other now hostile nations were in great measure dependent upon the purchasing and export power of Germany.

The Neutrals In This War

By Count E. Reventlow

[From the *Illustrierte Zeitung*]

THERE has seldom been a war throughout the duration of which, from the very beginning and without interruption, politics and its instrument, diplomacy, have played so great and extensive a rôle as in this world war. The well-known saying of General von Clausewitz, that war is nothing but a continuation of politics with different means, has only showed itself partly true in this war, only so far as political and diplomatic relations with the States with which we are waging war have ceased. Elsewhere, politics is more strenuously active than ever, and, indeed, it is active with regard to our enemies also, in so far as the work of German arms, frequently in accordance with purely political aims, is applied now on the one side, now on the other, more or less vigorously, as a principal or subordinate operation, that is, in accordance with what politics shows to be advantageous. Naturally, these possibilities of war politics are only present when purely military possibilities allow it. For example, the Anglo-French Dardanelles adventure was in reality subordinated to the political aim of blasting the Orient and the Balkans away from Germany and Austria-Hungary, and then directing them against us. After the war many such military operations and undertakings will get their true names, their aim being less the overthrow of the principal enemy than the winning at least of a change of sentiment from neutral powers.

Neutral powers in a war cannot often be carded with the same comb, for the reason that their neutrality has quite a different meaning for themselves and for the belligerents. The neutrality of the United States means something essentially different, for example, from the neutrality of Holland or Denmark, and the neutrality of Sweden depends on quite other considerations than that of Rumania, in the past, or now, while these lines are being written.

Unique in the present war is the fact that all the great powers except the United States of America are taking part in the conflict as belligerents; here we do not count China a great power. The United States of America is the most powerful of all the neutrals, and is therefore of high significance for both belligerent parties. But even this situation ought not to be possible, for according to the conception of neutrality a power is neutral when it favors or injures neither the one party nor the other. Normally a neutral power ought to show the same face and practice the same conduct, in a certain sense, toward both belligerent parties. This would have been extremely easy for the United States, because of the large independence of its commercial and geographical position. The United States has not once needed to have its land and sea forces ready, or to keep them ready, as all the neutral powers in Europe have done for the last twelve months. The United States is commercially independent; it produces, or at any rate could produce, everything that it requires.

The war hits it only in its exports and its commerce with Europe. At the beginning of the war, ill-humor asserted itself in the United States, because it was foreseen that the war would disturb commerce in many ways. Then came the all-inundating import of the most infamous lies by our European foes into the United States. We could not parry them, because our means of communication were cut off by the war, as is well known. So things took their course, and chiefly for this reason a general feeling arose in the United States which swung wide from the spirit of neutrality, to the prejudice of Germany. Strong English sympathies and kinships, commercial relations, the possession of a common speech, ignorance of German life and aversion to it, did the rest. So matters stood, while the ever increasing supply of

munitions of war from the United States to our enemies aroused indignation in Germany. From America came the dry answer: We would sell war materials to you Germans also, but you have not sufficient command of the sea to be able to take delivery of the goods. We cannot undertake to deliver them "free at your house." This view at Washington was unneutral, for it gave support to one party at the expense of the other, it delivered to our enemies direct the means of carrying on the war, because they were short of these. It would have been really neutral on the side of the United States to forbid the supply of munitions or by pressure to compel our adversary to let through to Germany exactly the same supplies that it received itself. Then during the past Winter the German submarine war against British commerce got under way, and when the English *Lusitania* was annihilated, America raised the well-known complaint which the German Government answered a week and a half ago. We hope that the answer of the United States will show more equity and more understanding than its previous expressions of view to this capital.

The United States has put up with all England's violations of sea rights and all maltreatment of neutral commerce, although these were quite unprecedented. On the other side, the United States has ignored the fact that the German Government, at the beginning of the war, expressly declared that it would be ready to ratify all hitherto unratified agreements concerning maritime rights, in order to secure the rights of neutrals and neutral commerce in this war. But when Germany, through just necessity to defend herself against England's starvation war, launched her U-boat war against English commerce, after giving loyal notice of the fact, the United States assumed an attitude of bitterness against us. As already said, it is to be hoped that the spirit of equity and impartiality will gain the upper hand in Washington. Germany knows that she is defending her rights, and from the beginning of the war has been sincerely ready to care for and safeguard the rights of neutrals.

From the beginning of the war the United States was in a position to unite with the maritime neutral States and to enter into an agreement with them to defend neutral shipping and neutral rights trampled under foot by England. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland would have been grateful to America for this, and together they would have formed a powerful group which even Great Britain would have had to respect. For Great Britain is commercially dependent on the United States. But nothing whatever came of this, because of America's leaning toward our enemies, so that the minor maritime States of Europe have had to put up with severe treatment at England's hands. The English Government said to them: We regret if you suffer, but it is better that you should suffer than that Great Britain should suffer.

While the United States further reaps great advantages from the war, and will have wrested from Great Britain her commercial and financial supremacy to a great degree after the war, while North America will stand free and unexhausted after the war, with a mightily swollen check-book, the maritime neutrals of Europe have seen leaner days than ever before. Add to this, that Great Britain presses more hardly on each of them, to induce it to surrender its neutrality. Holland and Denmark would be the most useful to the Britons, and therefore the firm stand of these States up to the present is the more worthy of recognition. Quite true that neither in Denmark nor in Holland is this attitude the result of a leaning toward Germany; there is no question of that. But these small States have self-respect, and they comprehend that to join Great Britain would mean in fact the loss forever of their independence. Less important is Norway, which has always been strongly under English influence. The situation in Sweden shows itself very different from that in these three powers. Here we find outspoken sympathy for Germany and outspoken aversion and fear of Russia. Russia's purpose, prepared far ahead by the building of railroads, to inundate Sweden at a favorable opportu-

nity, to reduce her to a second Finland, and to win an Atlantic harbor on the west coast of Norway, has for a long time aroused growing anxiety in Sweden. The Swedish Government has, notwithstanding, preferred to remain conscientiously neutral, and we Germans esteem this decision, just as we recognize unreservedly the loyalty of Swedish neutrality. How here in these northern lands relations may be modified as the war progresses remains to be seen.

As soon as one of the belligerent parties has undoubtedly gained the upper hand, as soon as the other is irrevocably crushed, or when both belligerent parties have been brought to a certain degree of exhaustion, it will become impossible for many neutrals to maintain their present position, whether voluntarily or by constraint. In one extreme case the neutral seizes his arms in order to defend his independence; in the other, he joins the victor, under constraint, because the counterpoise on the other side is lacking, and resistance could only make his position worse. There is one neutral power in Europe which, in all human probability, cannot be threatened by such crises and dangers—Switzerland. Lying in the centre of the European Continent, without connection with the sea, in an almost unassailable position, always defensible, independent on all sides, Switzerland has always known how to incarnate the ideal of neutrality without detriment to herself. It is so also in this war. Yet Switzerland is suffering a great deal commercially because of the Anglo-Franco-Italian blockade of the coasts of Europe. Besides this, in the Swiss Confederation the sympathies and antipathies of the different nationalities toward the belligerent parties make themselves felt; but up to the present this is a phenomenon of minor importance, and we must take it for granted that hereafter, as heretofore, Switzerland will remain impartial in the full sense of the word, and will vigorously combat by force of arms every assault upon her neutrality by the belligerent parties. The neutrality of Switzerland is in every sense a thoroughly disinterested neutrality.

The very opposite of this disinterestedness is found in the Balkan peninsula. Here, almost since the beginning of the war, are visibly concentrated political questions of the highest moment. In the Balkan peninsula, the mutual and internal relations of the States, their complicated relations of race and nationality, their relations with the European great powers, and their efforts toward expansion, result in extraordinarily complicated relations. Within the frame of an essay we can only indicate these, and only from the point of view of the interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

In the Balkan peninsula we find two States openly hostile to us and our allies—Serbia and Montenegro. Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece are neutral. So long as Serbia is not crushed Rumania and Bulgaria form the land bridge, the general connection between Austria-Hungary and our third ally, Turkey. At the beginning of the war Rumania had been for decades a secret member of the old Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Rumania has fulfilled her treaty obligation as little as has Italy; nay, she has not even maintained a benevolent neutrality. This was shown by the fact that, at the command of her neighbor Russia, the Rumanian Government prohibited exports to Austria-Hungary, and likewise forbade the transport of munitions and other war material from the Hungarian frontier through Rumania, and then through Bulgaria. In Rumania, thanks to the efforts of our adversaries, the feeling against Germany and Austria-Hungary has been so strong for years that the King and the Germanophile statesmen have been able to do nothing against it.

This was aided by Russia's mighty halo of unconquerable and irresistible power. No one dared to act counter to a Russian prohibition, because every one believed that Russia would issue from the conflict victorious. To this was added the old Rumanian ill-feeling against Hungary, and the effort to absorb that part of Hungary which is predominantly peopled by Rumanians. It is true that there were and are also thoughtful Rumanians who know that Russia's victory would in-

evitably reduce Rumania to the position of a vassal State of Russia, and that therefore a union with the two central empires is the desirable thing, for the reason that these desire a strong and independent Rumania. Up to the present hour Rumania has not decided, and it is impossible to foresee what her decision will be. I should probably be right in saying that here also the question of superior force, in the one or the other sense, with this or the other means, will bring the decision.

With Bulgaria things are somewhat different. This State had, at the beginning of the war, intimate relations particularly with Austria-Hungary, had been crushed in the second Balkan war by her united adversaries in the Balkans, had been deprived of a large territory and was full of bitterness toward Russia. After the war had begun, our enemies tried to bring Bulgaria once more close to themselves, making great promises to her at the expense of Turkey and at the expense of Greece, if Bulgaria would draw the sword and would fight on the side of our adversaries, and particularly if she attacked Turkey. But Bulgaria's efforts are rather directed toward regions which Serbia in part deprived her of, and in part has long been in possession of. But in Bulgaria also the halo of Russian and British might is still living and active.

There are Bulgarians who still hope that Austria-Hungary may be beaten, and then the great powers would divide Bulgaria's territory among the Balkan States. So here also we see how only uncertainty and partisanship have hitherto maintained neutrality. Neither Rumania's nor Bulgaria's neutrality is disinterested. They cannot be so, but up to the present, however, Bulgaria's neutrality has been more loyal than Rumania's.

In the breast of Greece also there are

two souls. The one is personified in the steadfast King Constantine, the other in the statesman Venizelos, so ready to serve the interests of France and England. The latter wished last Winter to push Greece into the war, particularly against Turkey. Islands and coast territory belonging to Turkey have been promised to Greece. On this pretext, France and Great Britain wished to send Greek troops against Constantinople and to Gallipoli as cannon fodder, and in return for this, promised to Greece things which had yet to be conquered. But the King intervened, Premier Venizelos was upset, and the neutrality of Greece was preserved. So the matter stands today, and so it will remain if the King remains in good health. This policy is without doubt the more far-seeing, since by it Greece risks nothing and makes sure of the active gratitude of the central empires after a victorious issue of the war.

From these brief indications it appears that the neutrality of the now neutral Balkan powers is in a condition of unstable equilibrium. On their decision very much depends for the progress of the war, while on the other hand it should be said that this very decision will be greatly influenced by the course of military events. There is a mutual interaction here which it is impossible to foresee. Our adversaries wish and demand that the three Balkan powers shall draw the swords for them. The German Empire demands only neutrality. The German Empire and its allies demand first of all a free connection between Hungary and Turkey. From this the rest will follow of itself.

Therefore the neutrals and their neutrality in this war are an important and complicated problem, because of their own efforts, feelings, and aversions, and because of the interests and efforts of the belligerents.

The Strange Child Heart of Germany

By J. George Frederick

New York, Aug. 7, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

MAY I ask we pause for a few minutes to peer into the inner chambers of the German heart, so that we may perhaps have light on what seems incomprehensible?

Yesterday a German of the highest representative type—with whom for months I have debated the issues of the war—despondently refused my week-end invitation and said with tears in his eyes that his dearest friend in Germany had recently fallen in battle, and his father was losing his mind over the war. He produced a letter written in Germany maintaining with almost fanatical insistence that Germany was an instrument in the hands of God, a "child of the infinite" for the salvation of the world. Like a deep religion, he devoutly believed it with the trusting faith of a child.

For the first time since the start of the war there flashed upon me a vision of the inner chambers of the German heart, the true composition of that world marvel of temperament which has confused us with a contradictory mixture of value and inhuman menace. I saw that its ideas came from those to whose authority it was obedient. I saw that the German heart was essentially a child heart; was stormed in soul with the swift and vindictive passions of childhood; now bubbling with friendliness, now rent with hatred. I divined in this German child heart an utter innocence of understanding of aught save the passions that racked him; whose argument was invective, not logic, yet who, for all that, was yearning behind that bitter mask to be enfolded in the comforting arms of a friendly, forgiving world. High-strung and proud beyond words, he was like a child who, half in innocence, has committed an atrocity; unable to bring himself to see or admit it or ask pardon for it, but cruelly torn in heart that he is made to

suffer punishment and isolation for deeds whose significance he does not realize.

The German heart, it seems to me, in one sense, is being subjected to an unnatural and unfair strain, as of a child being compelled to meet the stern standards and judgments devised for adults—and this time adults not its own parents and masters in Germany, but strange new adults of the whole world. Precocious, imperious, self-conscious, and self-centred as any child inevitably is, it is spiritually a crime that Germany in these, her own hours of spiritual childhood, scars her body so badly because her juvenile incorrigibility must at last force upon her the elder parental discipline of the world's adult standards.

But, oh, that there had been some magic of pedagogy which might have kept her from the last resource of the international ferrule! Oh, that there had been more parental wisdom for the bending of the young nation to a gentler humanity! Germany, I protest, is naught but a child in every aspect of her history and character.

I beg that the German actions and words be henceforth viewed in this light (at worst) of willful childhood; that her folklore, her naïveté, her delightful holiday customs, and domesticity be remembered as signs of her innately juvenile heart, and that we understand even that her militarism is at worst a crude boyish strutting in armor, without the deeply sinister adult responsibility which similar actions on the part of older nations might imply. It is the grave—but do not let us say the vengeful—duty of the adult civilized world to teach and hold the child to high standards. But may we also remember the greater responsibilities of adulthood, and not forget to love in the midst of our mutual pain.

J. GEORGE FREDERICK.

"J'Accuse!"—A German to Germans

By William Archer

This review by the famous English author and critic of a book written by an anonymous German appeared originally in *The London Daily News*. The book attacking Germany was published in April, 1915, in Lausanne, Switzerland. An issue of the *Journal de Genève* which reached the United States in August announces that the Swiss Commander in Chief, acting under martial law, has suppressed the book, seized all copies for sale on the railway news stands, and has forbidden its transmission through the Post Office. Another Swiss newspaper reports that a widespread protest has been made against this suppression on the ground that it is a political and not a military act, and that, therefore, the military branch of the Government has exceeded its authority. At all events an appeal has been taken to the Federal Council, the national body in which supreme executive power lies.

J'ACCUSE! von Einem Deutschen" (Lausanne: Payot et Cie.) is a book which will certainly take its place in history. It is the work not only of an able but of a brave man. That such a book should exist in the German language is a great reassurance for all who cling to the hope that good may yet spring from evil and that the war demon may be hurled once for all into the abyss by the very triumph of his own infernal machinery. To that end it is indispensable that the German people should as soon as possible learn the truth as to the way they have been hoodwinked into the fatal adventure; and here is a man who not only tells them the truth with vigor and conviction, but proves his case by an extremely able marshaling of evidence. Published in Switzerland, the book is no doubt contraband in Germany, and will continue so for many a day. But it is the sort of contraband which Custom Houses cannot keep out. As soon as the paroxysm of the war is over Germans will insist on knowing what this eloquent and courageous German has to say to them.

When I went to procure the book I had almost followed the line of least resistance and bought the French translation. But I bethought me that in such a case, where doubts as to the genuineness of the author's alleged nationality are always possible, it is best to go to the original document. So I chose the German edition, and I did wisely. Not only is there no possible doubt that the writer is a German, but he is, if a foreigner may judge, a master of his native tongue. He

writes clearly, vigorously, attractively. The clearness, by itself, might seem a suspicious circumstance; but it is evident that the author thinks in German and that his culture is that of the Fatherland. Therefore we may accept without hesitation the opening words of his "Epilogue":

A German has written this book.

No Frenchman, no Russian, no Englishman.

A German who is unbribed and unbribeable, not bought and not for sale.

A German who loves his Fatherland as much as any man; but just because he loves it, he has written this book.

He might have added that he is no paradoxist, who is never happy unless he is in a minority of one, and no fanatic whose ruling principle is "My country, always in the wrong!" He is a man of the world, a man of sound, unparadoxical sense. His mind is robust rather than subtle, and he writes with a passionate sincerity.

The book falls into two main sections, headed respectively: "The Preliminaries of the Crime" and "The Crime." The propositions which the author sets forth to prove in the first part are:

That the war had long been planned and prepared by Germany and Austria, not only from the military but from the political point of view.

That it had long been determined to represent this aggressive war to the German people as a war of liberation, since it was known that only thus could the needful enthusiasm be aroused.

That the object of this war is the establishment of German hegemony on the Continent, and in due course the conquest of England's position as a world

power on the principle "Ote-toi de là que je m'y mette."

The demonstration is largely founded on our old friend Bernhardi, whom the writer turns outside-in with great effect. This, indeed, is not difficult, since Bernhardi is a master in the art of giving himself and his country away. "Neither France, nor Russia, nor England," writes the General, "needs to attack us in order to enforce their interests." Yet here is Germany being driven to the sacrifice of millions of her sons (to say nothing of other people's sons) because she is assured, first that Russia, and then that England, had diabolically planned a murderous attack upon her!

As to the celebrated "place in the sun," our author enumerates the amazing triumphs of Germany's commerce and industry, shows how she has been rapidly out distancing all European rivals, how emigration has fallen to a very low figure while immigration is rising—and then asks what place in the sun she can possibly require that she does not already possess. He shows that it is not the commercial classes which make play with this catchword, but the Junker class, "for whom the economic prosperity of a country only exists in so far as it provides the means for military enterprises." "What we are really claiming," he concludes, "is not a place in the sun for ourselves, but a place in the shade for every one else."

With admirable fairness he reviews the political relations of Germany and England, and shows that England, far from having pursued an aggressive policy toward Germany, has made constant efforts to win her friendship, only stopping short of the sacrifice of her insular security and of her position as a power in the world. The neutrality convention proposed by Germany would have meant nothing less than the renunciation of England's rights as a free moral agent. The whole difficulty, as our author clearly explains, arose from the ill-starred ambition of the first military power in the world to be also the first naval power. "What would Germany and all Europe have said," he asks, "if England, being the first sea power, had suddenly set to

work to make herself as strong as Germany by land as well?" A question which our English Junkers may well take to heart.

Germany is told that she is fighting for safety, freedom, the right to exist.

The word "freedom" is now constantly on the lips of people who formerly would have crossed themselves three times if they had heard the tabooed term in the mouths of others. We have all suddenly, and without exception, turned into freedom lovers—especially those who were of old enthusiasts for "divinely appointed subjection." We have become so devoted to freedom that we want to confer it not only on our own people, but on all the other peoples of the earth (see the Chancellor's manifesto to America) * * * Social Democrats, clericals, progressists, Poles, Danes, Alsations—all the former enemies of the empire are now pressed by the Prussian Junker to his sympathetic heart, on condition, of course, that they keep the truce, which means, as is well known, that they think, write, and speak as the Junkers do.

The people who make Russia the arch-enemy of Germany are as far from the truth as those who reserve that distinction for England:

Where, then, is the truth? What do we really want? Against whom and for what are we fighting? These are questions which every one answers differently. We are plunged in a gigantic spiritual confusion, an ocean of lies and misrepresentations, which is, alas! of blood-red hue, and threatens to sweep away German happiness and German prosperity.

The confusion arises from the fact that there is a tacit conspiracy among those who know not to tell the truth, while they have forgotten to come to an understanding as to what they are to substitute for it. So each lies as the spirit moves him, and the lies hurtle against each other in space like the wireless messages of different stations not tuned to each other. Jonathan Swift was right when he said: "As universal a practice as lying is and as easy a one as it seems, it is astonishing that it has been brought to so little perfection, even by those who are most celebrated in that faculty."

This part of the book contains a good many blank spaces, showing where passages have been cut out by the censorship—the Swiss censorship, of course. It would be interesting to know just where the censor drew the line; for the author speaks with very considerable freedom, even of such exalted personages as the

Kaiser, the Crown Prince, and (more particularly) the Imperial Chancellor.

By far the longest section of "J'Accuse!" is that devoted to "The Crime." It consists of a very acute and searching analysis of the evidence contained in the diplomatic documents published by the belligerent nations, and a crushing exposure of the falsehoods, concealments, evasions, misrepresentations, hypocrisies, and insolences whereby Germany has sought to throw upon Russia and England the responsibility for the outbreak of war. He tears to shreds the German White Book and the muddle-headed fallacies of the Chancellor's speeches. He perhaps attributes to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg too much conscious villainy. I rather read in him a man of very mediocre ability, to whom clearness of thought is unknown and who is probably the first dupe of his own sophistries. To Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, our author does neither more nor less than justice when he says: "The English Secretary of State had, from the outbreak of the crisis, the whole direction of the work for peace, and did all that any human being could have done to avert the calamity." He quotes, and makes his own, the eulogy which Mr. Asquith pronounced on his colleague in the House of Commons on Aug. 6.

On the question of Belgium our author's position is that of every man who does not hold that the moral code of the supreme State is, and ought to be, that of the wild beast in the jungle. The book was finished in February, so that the writer does not know how thoroughly the atrocity accusations have been proved. He accepts the very doubtful story that the Louvain outrage arose from shots fired by civilians from the houses. All the more telling is his denunciation of the theory that such incidents justify unlimited and indiscriminating incendiarism and massacre.

He tells of a visit to a "kino"—a picture theatre—in Berlin in the early days of the war, where the program illustrated the German perversion of ideas on this subject:

Two war films were exhibited. The first showed the rising in Tyrol in 1809, under Andreas Hofer, the second a

series of franc-tireur scenes in 1870. In the first the whole people is in arms against the French invaders; Andreas Hofer himself, the leader and hero, is no General, but an innkeeper, and the rest are peasants, handicraftsmen, and laborers, with their women and children, all armed and taking part in the fight. The sympathies of the author are, of course, on the Tyrolese side. The French are shot down from every sort of ambush, from behind houses, rocks, and trees. In due time it all ends in the victory and liberation of the people. Then comes the franc-tireur drama of 1870, and all is changed. Now the French defenders of their country have become scoundrels and criminals. Even their features show their evil instincts. They, too, shoot from ambush like the Tyrolese of 1809; but what was there a fight for freedom is here treachery and outrage. The punishment is not long delayed. German reinforcements storm into the village, the houses go up in flames, and, amid the shrieks of women and children, a dozen men and boys are ranged against the churchyard wall and "subjected to martial law." The distinction is obvious. Against the French, a people in arms! Against the Germans, criminals worthy of death. The same confusion of ideas everywhere, from the summits of German intelligence down to the lowest "kino" playwright!

Though the author is not in possession of the full evidence as to the deeds of his countrymen, he quotes from a German newspaper a letter from an officer headed, "A Day of Honor for Our Regiment," describing with hellish gusto a massacre of French wounded, and rightly calls it "a bestial document."

It cannot be said that the author has entirely avoided the dangers that beset the eager dialectician. He now and then loses his sense of proportion and runs an argument into the ground. Though never disingenuous, he is now and then (I think) not quite fair. But the flaws in his work are as nothing to the merits. It is a tremendous demonstration of the insanity of the whole world convulsion, addressed primarily to Germany as the nation which has made an idol of war, but well deserving to be taken to heart by all nations, belligerent or neutral. It leads up to the ideal of "a Peace League of Free Peoples," and one feels on laying it down that, if only this convulsion were once past, such an ideal need not be so very distant.

Poland's Gift to Civilization

By Kazimir de Proszynski

New York, Aug. 12, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

POLAND, where is your sympathy?" That is the question everybody puts to my fellow-countrymen during these days.

I am not authorized to speak on behalf of my country—no one has such a right when the national representation does not exist—yet I am sure that every thinking Pole, be he rich or poor, Prince or peasant, German, Russian, or Austrian subject, has only one indignant cry: "Go away, all! Go away from our home, barbarians that you are!" If I am mistaken let any one protest, but I am convinced that this is the sentiment of all Poles who are not of foreign origin.

Personally, I am not inclined to hate any living individual for political reasons; hatred is a feeling strange to a Pole, in spite of all the wrongs he suffers. Rather, we esteem those qualities of our enemies which deserve esteem. But imagine, if you will, the invasion of your home, your sanctuary, on three sides by three quarreling brutes who use it as the place of their quarrel in order to save their own homes; who destroy the products of your labor and your civilization, use your children as a shield against the enemy, and, when compelled to withdraw, burn and wreck everything or else carry it away with them! And on top of this to rob you of your name and your good reputation by falsifying your history and spreading over Europe false statements about your character, past and present!

Listen, all "free" nations. For 150 years you entirely forgot the debt you owe to your elder brother, to your unique ancestor of collective liberties and personal freedom. Your children grow up without the slightest knowledge of the existence of a people who cleared up the way to your freedom; who first, after the fall of Roman civilization, realized that all thinking men are equal in the

sight of the nation; who through the centuries recognized the absolute freedom of speech, of conscience and religion. You forgot the nation that should be remembered by you as the unique example of peaceful evolution, the people that grew, progressed rapidly and reached individual rights not by revolutionary destruction, not through an outburst of the lowest instincts, but as the natural result of the free play of the human spirit. You forgot that this ancient civilization was continually defending you in your future civilization from the destruction and invasion of Eastern barbarians. Even lately, after Poland was conquered by three absolute rulers who were frightened at the ideas of popular liberty which were spreading from this country, the heirs of this spirit led the constitutional movements in every part of the world, personified by such individuals as General Kosciusko in America, General Mieroslawski in Germany, General Bem in Hungary, &c.

You have allowed yourselves to bury so deeply your gratitude that you are unconsciously helping in the movement to disgrace Poland's past and to obliterate the best efforts of Poland's present. In our sight this is an appalling thing to do; you are the destroyers of your own moral progress.

Shall I recall some of the fictions invented to excuse the conquest of Poland? There was the story of Poles oppressing peasants, and yet the real facts are that in an epoch of general oppression the lower classes of Poland enjoyed for those times the highest possible liberties; frequently whole villages of peasants, for the slight proof of their intelligence and loyalty, were rewarded with the highest freedom, i. e., with citizenship or "nobility," as it is called in Poland; these inhabitants obtaining even higher political rights than those enjoyed by citizens in the United States. You have assumed without question that

Poland was the focus of anarchy, of massacres—"pogroms"—while in reality Poland's history is not stained with a single attempt on the ruler's life; Poland was the single country which admitted all immigrants—such as Jews, Hussites, Huguenots, Presbyterians—expelled from the rest of Europe, and tolerated their religions, and this, too, at a time of inquisition and general persecution. You condemn the noblest Polish institutions such as the "Veto" without knowing that the highest material and spiritual development of Poland began with the introduction of the "Veto" and led through 150 years to the Golden Age of Poland, (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;) this highest expression of the personal control of the government of every citizen was never abused nor corrupted until the intervention of intruders,

who succeeded in conquering Poland by force and destroying her freedom. The statement that the "Veto" was the cause of the downfall of Poland is similar to the position of a burglar who might point out the inferiority of the house since it lacked anti-burglar devices.

This is our answer to the question, "Poland, where is your sympathy?" In the light of our history can we make any other answer? To a person we believe that it is necessary to shake off the old despotism and to inaugurate a new era in our civilization. All the highest spirits of Poland, like Mickiewicz, Kraski, and others, have firmly believed that the old Polish political ideals may be made to form the basis of future politics which will revive and spread over all the world from our once forgotten country.

Saving in War Time

[From The London Daily News.]

Millions of Britons who are eager to be making silver bullets for the destruction of Kaiserdom are doubtful how to begin.

They want to put by every penny possible, and hand it over to the Government in the form of war loan. But they are not certain where to start this great business of saving. "I am never extravagant," such a man or woman will say, "and I really don't see how it is possible for me to cut down expenses."

Here are some practical hints which will show that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred saving in order to buy five-shilling "silver bullets" at the Post Office is not only possible but easy. It is merely a matter of system. Finally it becomes one of habit. Some sources of saving may be roughly grouped under the following heads:

MEN.
"Drinks."
Tobacco.
Traveling.

WOMEN.
Cookery.
Coal and Lighting.
Clothes.

BOTH SEXES.
Amusements.
Week-ends.

Of course, the list could be indefinitely varied and extended. It cannot be too clearly understood that the cost of every "drink" saved and handed over to the nation helps to shorten the war. Less labor and more foodstuffs are consumed proportionately in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors than in any other trade. Again, under the head "Traveling" a surprisingly substantial sum can be saved by many men on bus and tram fares.

In regard to women's expenditures, one of the first rules to observe is "Learn to cook." Shillings a week can be saved in any middle-class and many working-class households by more economical cookery. Some broad principles to follow are:

Cut down the meat bill.
Raise the vegetable bill.

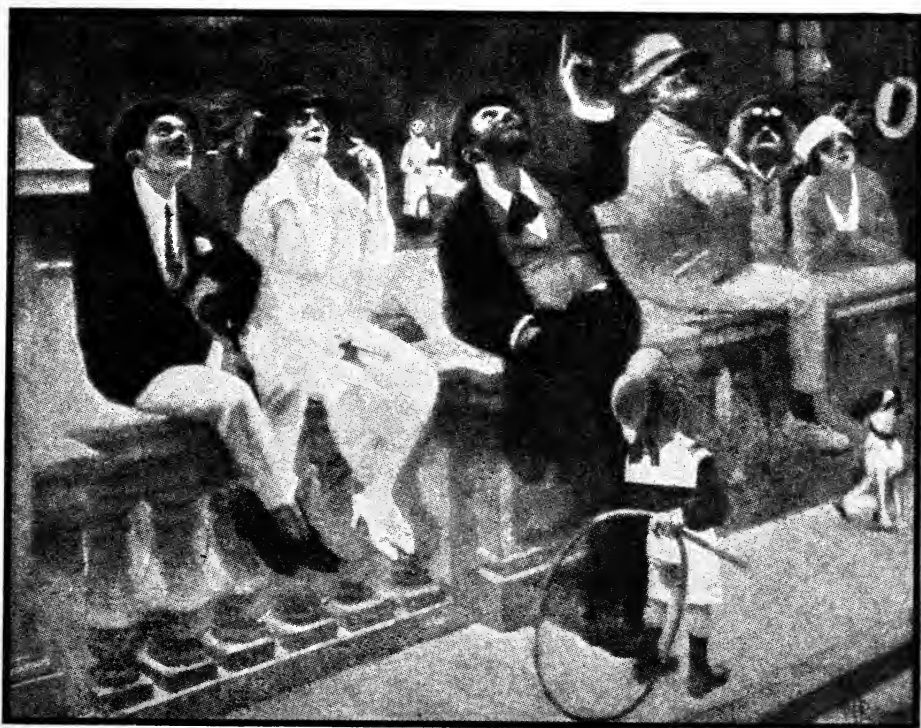
Save every bit of bread.
Don't forget the soup.

Vegetables are cheap and good in spite of the war, and make excellent soup with or without the help of bones. If 30 per cent. more cooked vegetables (varied in kind and well cooked) and 30 per cent. less meat are served up, hardly any one will notice the difference—except the housekeeper when she makes up her accounts.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[French Cartoon]

The Hour of the Taube



—Drawn by Albert Guillaume, *The Bystander*, London.

How the French Show Their Contempt for the German Air Attacks: Awaiting the Coming of the Taube Aeroplane.

[American Cartoon]

Easy Marks



FROM THE EVENING SUN
FEBRUARY 13, 1915

This Is No Target!



—From The New York Evening Sun.

Austria Follows Germany's Example in Making a Target of the American Eagle.

Showing His Samples



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

Wilson, the salesman, to the French Generals: "You understand, of course, that the more frightful the agony produced by my shells the higher the price of them."

[Dutch Cartoon]

German Satisfaction

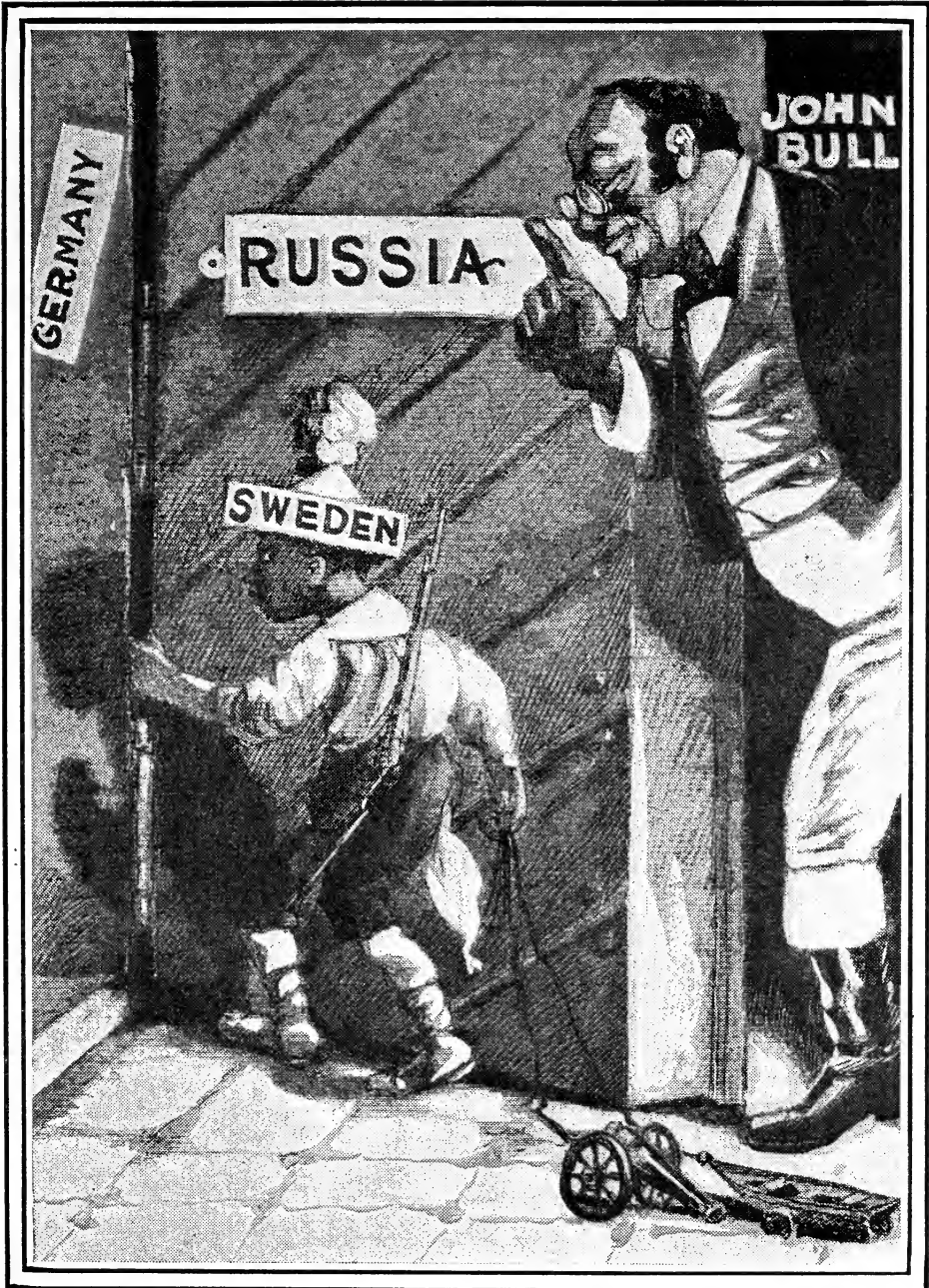


—From a Dutch Post Card.

“Peace Reigns at Dinant!”

[Polish Cartoon]

A Word to Sweden



—From Mucha, Warsaw.

APROPOS OF GERMANY'S THREAT TO INVADE FINLAND THROUGH SWEDEN. John Bull (to Sweden): "Don't get your toys in the way, little boy, so that I can't close this door."

[German Cartoon]

John Bull Weeps

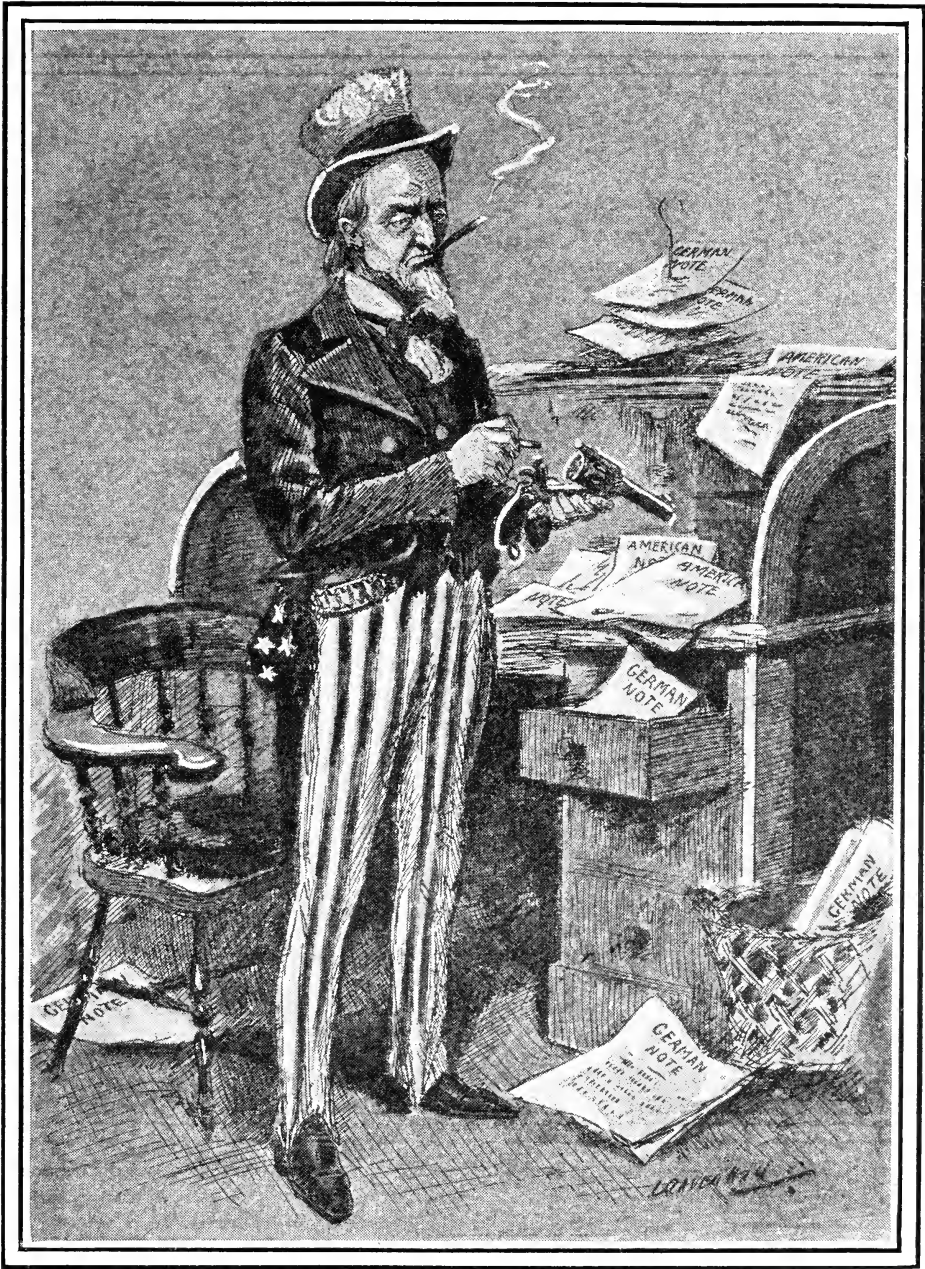


—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

In the hour of darkness and storm John Bull stands weeping over the buried hopes of the Entente Powers.

[English Cartoon]

By Way of a Change



—From *Punch*, London.

Uncle Sam: "I guess I'm about through with letter-writing!"

[German Cartoon]

John Bull's Tattoo



—From *Jugend*, Munich.

Fall in line, fall in line!
Each hour you serve a shilling!
For every corpse a dollar is paid!
Let every one help who's willing!

Another Scrap of Paper?



—From *The New York World*.

And the Hesperians Are Still Torpedoed!

The Exalted Overlord



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

The Grand Duke Nicholas, as the chief victim, is dubbed by the Allied Powers "Generalissimissimus" ("Chiefest Commander in Chief.")

[American Cartoon]

Cutting Another Cable

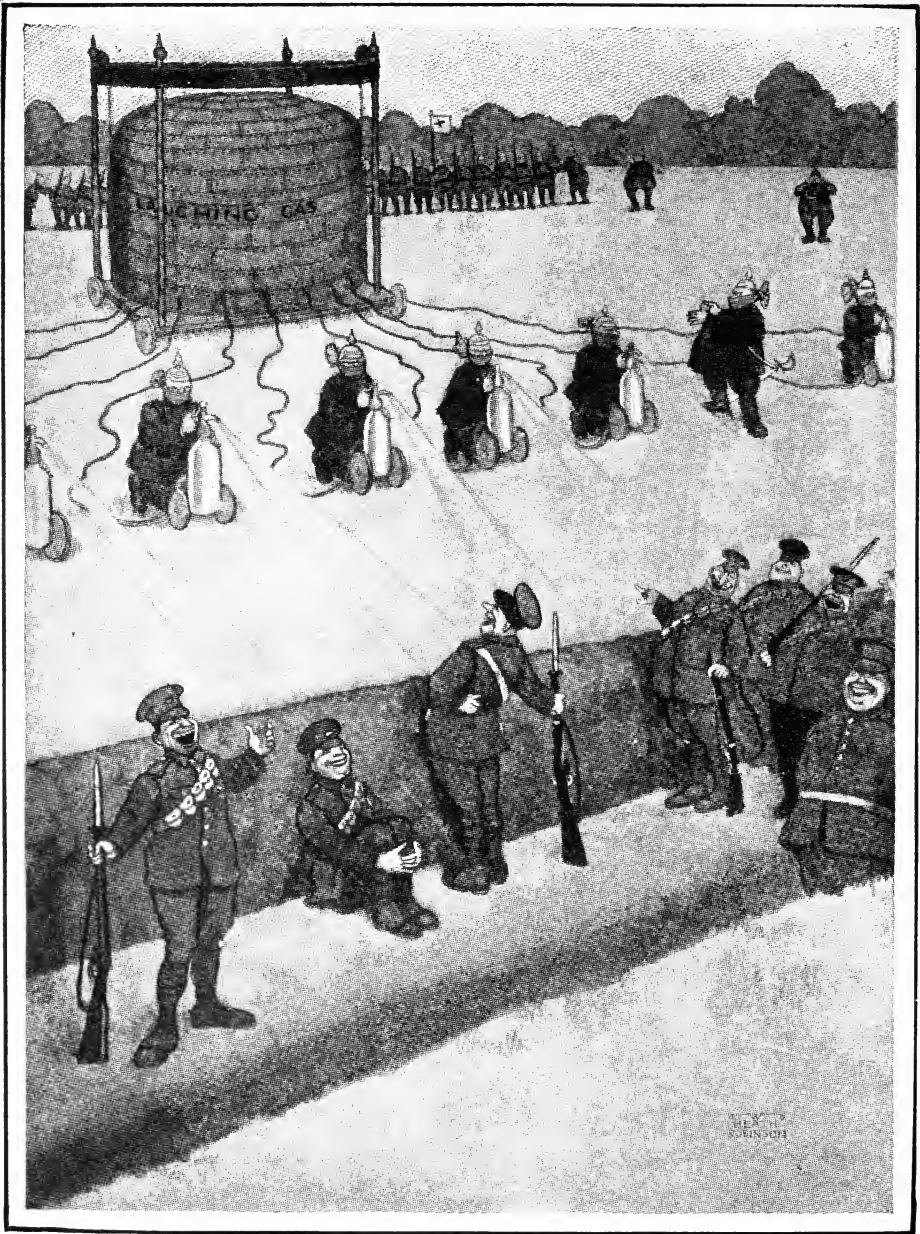


—From The New York Times.

"If you say the word, Wilhelm."

[English Cartoon]

A German Breach of The Hague Convention



—From *The Sketch*, London.

Laughing-gassing the British Before an Advance in Close Formation.

[Dutch Cartoon]

“Hoch Kultur”



—From a Dutch Post Card.

Stricken from the Sky by a German Flier.

[English Cartoon]

The Answer



—From *Punch*, London.

“When duty whispers low, ‘Thou Must,’
They all reply, ‘I Can.’”

—EMERSON (adapted).

[American Cartoon]

After the War!



—From The Kansas City Post.

The German Nation's "Place in the Sun."

[English Cartoon]
Malvolio Wilhelm



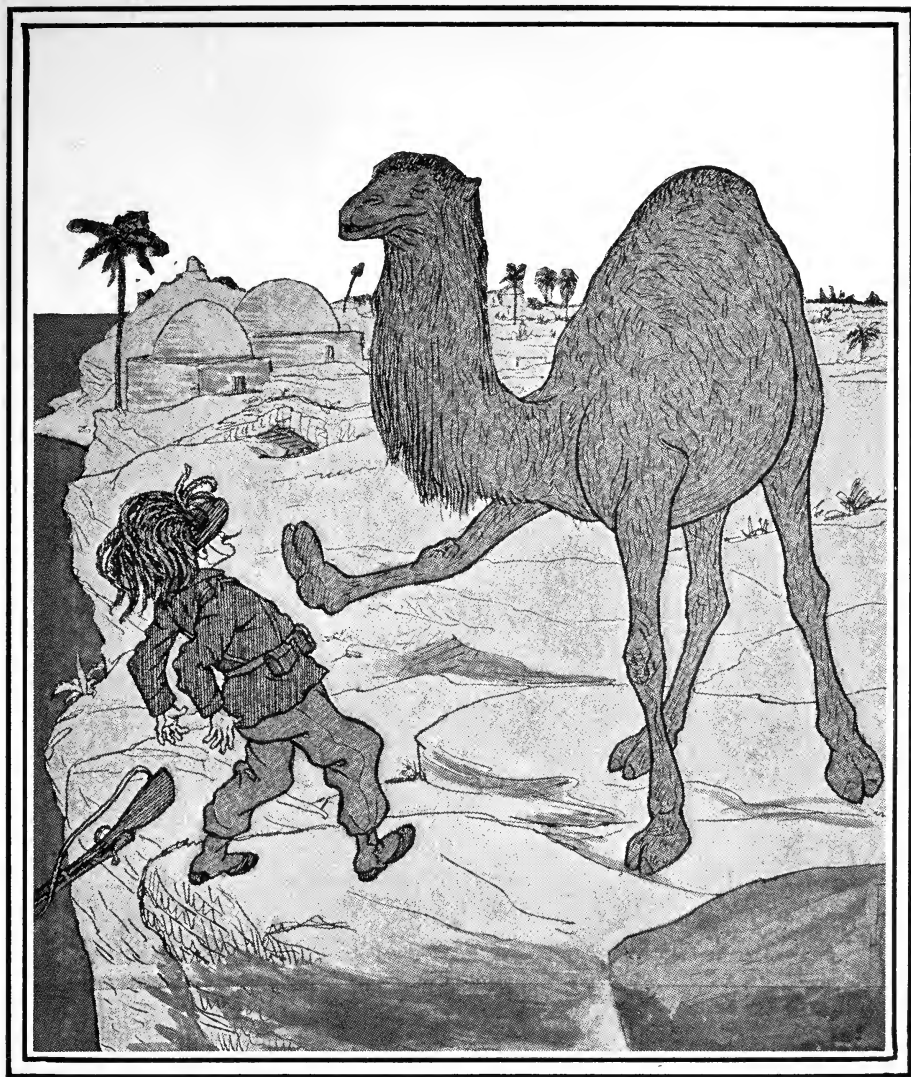
—From *The Bystander*, London.

“So crammed as he thinks with excellences, that it is his ground of faith that all that look on him, love him.”
“O Peace! Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him: how he jets under his advanced plumes!”
“Very midsummer madness!”

(Acts 2-3 “TWELFTH NIGHT; or WIE SIE WOLLEN.”)

[German Cartoon]

The Camel's Kick



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

Tripoli (to Italy): "Adieu, Signor!" (Apropos of the reported condition of revolt in Italy's African colonies.)

[Spanish Cartoon]

As It Really Happened

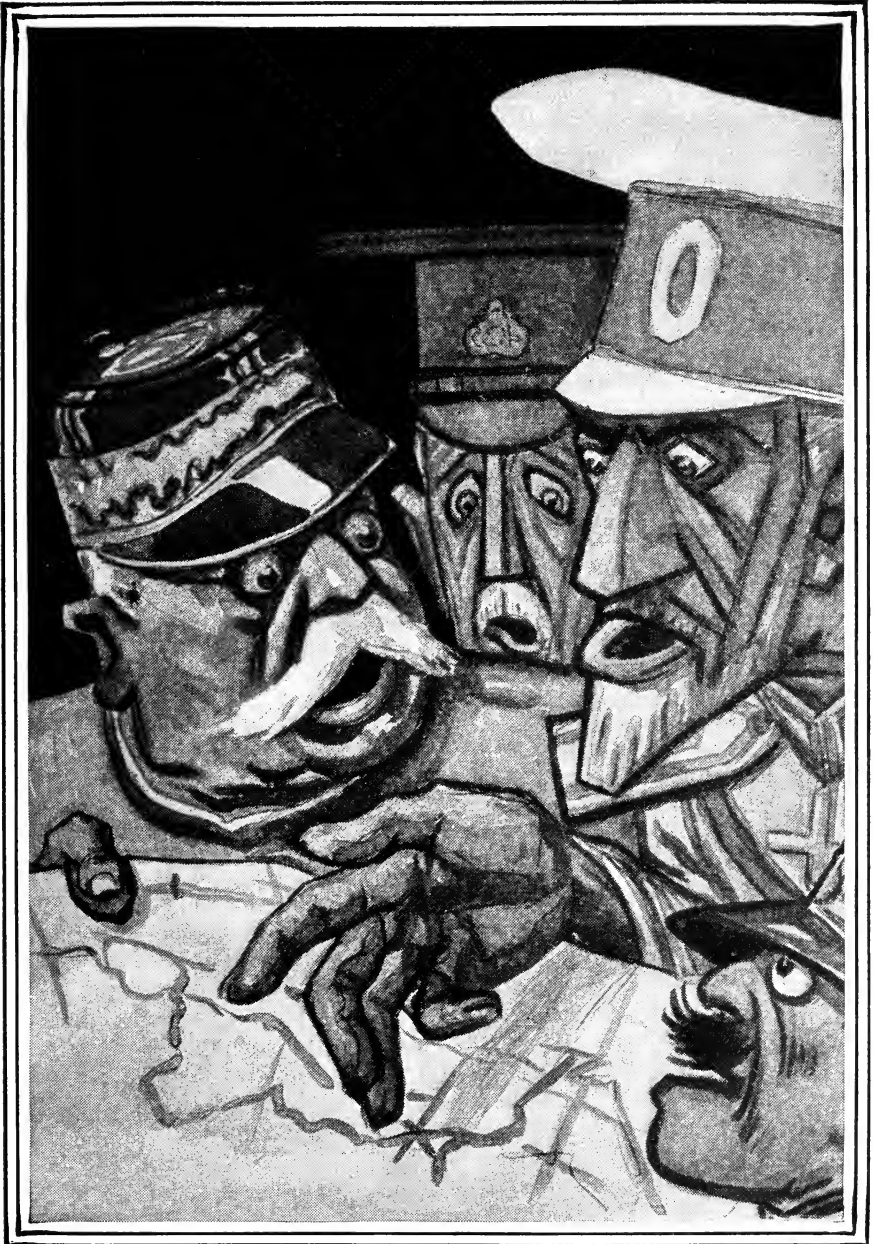


—From *Hojas Selectos*, Barcelona.

Emperor William and King George go courting Miss Italy; and the Englishman walks off with the prize.

[German Cartoon]

An Excuse in Chorus



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

The Allies' Generals: "Yes, I could do it—if you would support me!"

A Little Difficulty



—From *The Westminster Gazette*, London.

Hindenburg: "I've crushed him!"

The Kaiser: "Then bring him in!"

Hindenburg: "I can't! He won't let me!"

[Australian Cartoon]

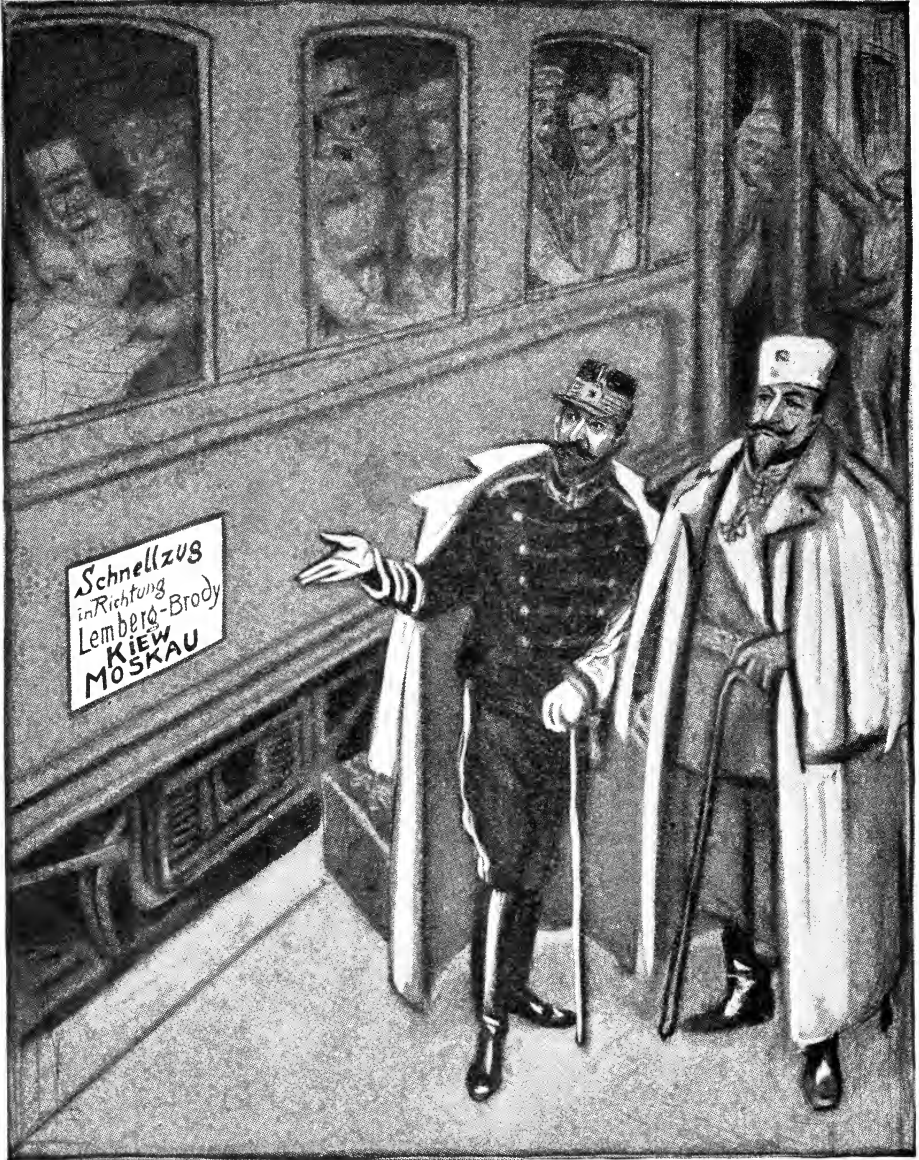
Ave Imperator!



—From *The Bulletin*, Sydney, Australia.

Disease: "Hail, master! I have slain my tens, but you have slain your thousands!"

“Through Express!”

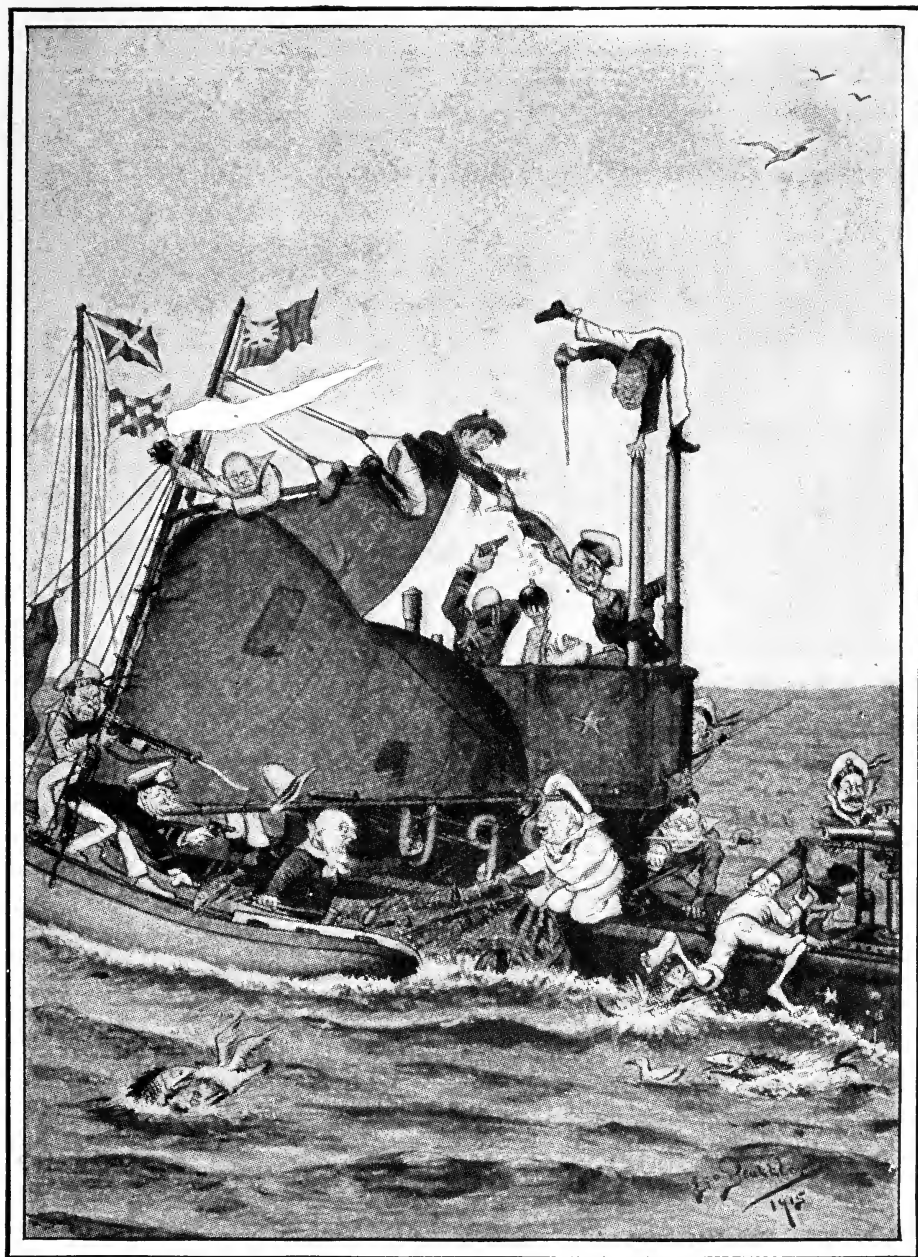


—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

Rumanian (to Bulgarian): “I think we’d better board this train, or we’ll miss connections.”

[English Cartoon]

Great German Naval Victory

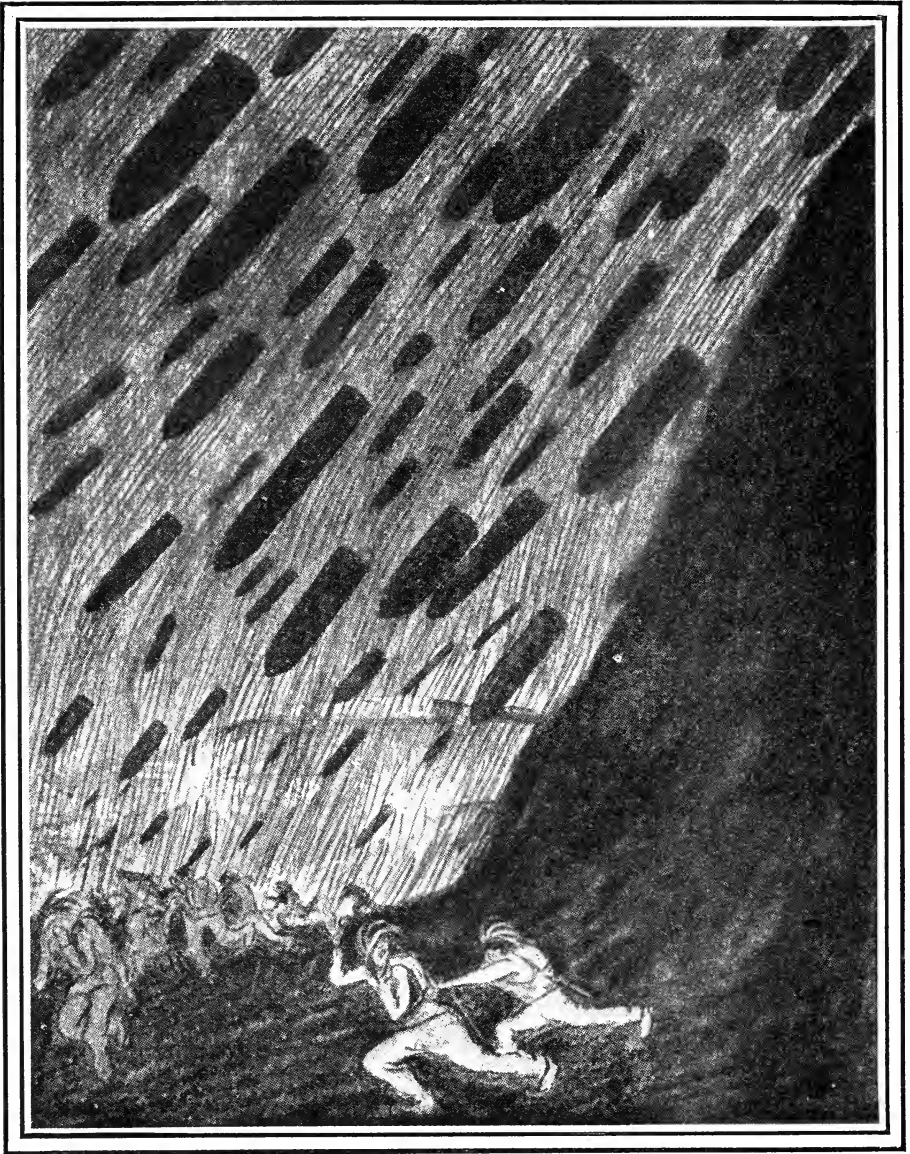


—From *The Bystander*, London.

How the Commander of U-99 Won His Iron Cross.

By Lieutenant E. G. O. Buettler, R. N. V. R.

Weather Report from the Isonzo



—From *Jugend*, Munich.

Cadorna telegraphs: "In spite of the severe rains and terrible thunder showers we hope soon to reach dry land."

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From August 12, 1915, Up to and Including September 12, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 13—Germans advance toward Brest-Litovsk.
Aug. 15—Germans are approaching Kovno; Germans defeat Russians near Kubisko; Austrians advance along the Bug River; Austrians resume bombardment of Belgrade.
Aug. 17—Germans capture southwest front of Kovno, with 4,500 men and 240 guns.
Aug. 18—Germans take Kovno and 400 cannon; Vilna is being evacuated; two more forts of Novo Georgievsk fall; Mackensen's forces cross the Bug for the attack on Brest-Litovsk.
Aug. 19—Germans take two more Novo Georgievsk forts; Austro-German forces penetrate the outer defenses of Brest-Litovsk.
Aug. 20—Germans capture Novo Georgievsk, with 700 cannon and a huge store of supplies.
Aug. 23—Germans capture Ossowetz.
Aug. 26—Austro-Germans take Brest-Litovsk, the Russians evacuating it; Germans take Bialystok, also evacuated by the Russians.
Aug. 28—Austrians take offensive in South-eastern Galicia and pierce the Russian line at two points.
Aug. 30—Mackensen starts a turning movement in the far south, while Hindenburg pushes for Riga.
Aug. 31—Russians check Teutonic allies in Galicia.
Sept. 1—Austrians capture the Russian fortress of Lutsk; official German statement puts Russian losses since May 2 at 300,000 killed and wounded and 1,100,000 prisoners.
Sept. 2—Russians evacuate the fortress of Grodno and retire to the right bank of the Niemen River.
Sept. 8—Russian Grand Duke Nicholas shifted to the Caucasus; Russians recapture old positions in Galicia near Tarnopol.
Sept. 9—Russians win another victory southwest of Trembowla; Austrians take Dubno.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

- Aug. 13—French take new offensive in Arras region.
Aug. 16—French win artillery fight near Soissons.
Aug. 18—Violent artillery duels are in progress along almost the whole front.

- Aug. 22—Severe artillery fighting in the Arras region.
Aug. 26—Germans are again shelling Rheims.
Aug. 28—French artillery silences German guns at four points in the Argonne.
Sept. 8—Germans begin new offensive on western approaches to Verdun.
Sept. 9—German Crown Prince's army gains in Argonne district.
Sept. 10—Germans win trench at Schratzennele with asphyxiating shells.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

- Aug. 18—Italians take many Austrian trenches in the Tolmino and Carso regions with the bayonet.
Aug. 22—Italians gain ground on the Carso front.
Aug. 23—Italians evacuate the heights of Monfalcone; Austrians repulse Italians east of Polazzo.
Aug. 28—Italians are developing great movements against Trent and Trieste.
Sept. 3—Italians repulsed at Tolmino.
Sept. 7—Italians repulse Monte Nero attack.
Sept. 10—Italians are again repulsed at Tolmino.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

- Aug. 15—Russians advance in the Caucasus.
Aug. 16—Turks recapture the town of Van on the Caucasian front from the Russians.
Aug. 17—Russians again take Van and make other gains.
Aug. 25—Allies advance on the Gallipoli Peninsula along a twelve-mile front.
Aug. 31—German reports state that the British have lost 50,000 men at the Dardanelles since Aug. 6.
Sept. 1—Allies now command the Buvuk-Anafarta Valley on the Gallipoli Peninsula.
Sept. 11—Russians repulse Turks on several positions on Caucasus front.
Sept. 12—Turks are defeated near Olti.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

- Aug. 17—Austrian fleet of twenty-one vessels bombards the island of Pelagosa, in the Adriatic; four Italian soldiers killed.
Aug. 21—Russian fleet defeats a German fleet which enters the Gulf of Riga.
Aug. 22—Two French torpedo boats sink a German torpedo boat destroyer off Ostend

- Aug. 23—British fleet of thirty ships shells Zeebrugge.
 Aug. 25—German cruisers bombard signal stations near Riga.
 Sept. 7—British squadron bombards German batteries on the Belgian coast.
 Sept. 11—Italian, British, and French warships attack points close to Smyrna.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES.

- Aug. 13—German submarine torpedoes and sinks British transport Royal Edward in the Aegean Sea, 1,000 men being lost.
 Aug. 19—German submarine torpedoes and sinks, without warning, the White Star liner Arabic southeast of Fastnet; among the fifty-four persons lost are two American passengers.
 Aug. 21—British Admiralty states that the submarine F-13 went aground on the Danish island of Saltholm and was attacked by a German torpedo boat, which killed fourteen of the crew.
 Sept. 2—British submarines torpedo four Turkish transports in the Dardanelles.
 Sept. 3—Authoritative Paris reports state that the Germans have lost fifty-four submarines; German submarines sink British steamers Roumanie and Churston.
 Sept. 4—German submarine torpedoes without warning the westbound Allan liner Hesperian off the Irish coast: ten passengers and sixteen members of crew, one of whom was an American, dead or missing.
 Sept. 7—Germans report loss of submarine U-27; German submarines sink French steamship Bordeaux, British steamship Dictator, and Norwegian bark Storesand.

AERIAL RECORD.

- Aug. 17—Zeppelins raid the outskirts of London; ten persons are killed and thirty-six wounded.
 Aug. 25—Austrian aeroplane bombards Brescia, killing six civilians; sixty-two French aviators bombard Dillingen, in Rhenish Prussia; sixty French, British, and Belgian aeroplanes bombard the Mont Huest Forest in Belgium.
 Aug. 26—British Aerial Squadron Commander Bigsworth, single-handed, sinks a German submarine off the Belgian coast by dropping a bomb upon it, according to British announcement; Germans deny the submarine is sunk.
 Aug. 28—French aviators repel six German aeroplanes which attempt to bombard Paris, destroying one of the machines; allied aeroplanes shell German positions in Belgian towns near the coast.
 Sept. 6—Forty French aeroplanes bombard Saarbrücken.
 Sept. 7—German airships raid eastern coast of England; ten persons are killed and forty-three wounded; French aviators attack Freiburg.

- Sept. 8—Zeppelins again raid eastern coast of England and London district; twenty persons are killed and eighty-six injured.
 Sept. 12—Zeppelins raid eastern coast of England; no casualties or damages.

GERMANY.

- Aug. 15—German Embassy at Washington makes public a memorandum charging that British merchantmen in sixty-two instances have improperly flown American and other neutral flags.

GREAT BRITAIN.

- Aug. 15—National registration day throughout the United Kingdom, every person between 15 and 65 having to fill out blanks giving personal facts to enable Government to gauge labor resources and the number of men available for military service.
 Aug. 21—Great Britain issues a declaration, in which France joins, making cotton absolute contraband.
 Sept. 7—Government is ready to release American-owned cargoes of German and Austrian goods.

HOLLAND.

- Sept. 8—Sentries fire at Zeppelin flying over Dutch territory.

ITALY.

- Aug. 17—Italy demands that Turkey immediately release reservists and other Italian subjects at Turkish ports.
 Aug. 21—Italy declares war on Turkey.

RUSSIA.

- Sept. 7—Czar Nicholas takes command of the army.

UNITED STATES.

- Aug. 15—Text is made public of a note from the United States to Austria, in reply to an Austrian note of June 29, stating that the United States will not stop the shipment of munitions to Europe.
 Aug. 16—United States sends note to Germany accepting plan for fixing damages for the William P. Frye and asking about future conduct toward American ships.
 Sept. 1—Germany gives a written promise to the United States, in a letter from Ambassador von Bernstorff to Secretary Lansing, that she will sink no more liners without warning.
 Sept. 9—United States sends note to Austria-Hungary asking that Ambassador Dumbauld be recalled for attempt to cripple American industries; Germany sends note to the United States defending sinking of the Arabic and suggesting arbitration of indemnity.



TSAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

A Recent Portrait. He Has Ranged His Kingdom in the War on the Side
of the Central Powers

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF CONSTANTINE
King of the Hellenes and Brother-in-Law of Kaiser Wilhelm II.
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

NOVEMBER, 1915

WORLD AFFAIRS OF THE MONTH

BRITISH CABINET'S DISSENSIONS.

Simultaneously with the recall of General Sir Ian Hamilton from his command at the Dardanelles, announced on Oct. 19, came the news that Sir Edward Carson, British Attorney General, had relinquished his seat in the British Cabinet. The resignation of Sir Edward, the first open manifestation of the divergence of views known to exist among the Ministers, was the result, according to an authoritative statement, not of the controversy over conscription, but of the condition of affairs in the Near East. Sir Edward himself had made no statement, but it had been feared that he disapproved both the Administration's Balkan policy and its method of confiding the whole conduct of national affairs to a small "Inner Cabinet." On the day of his resignation John E. Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, declared that the position of the coalition Government was precarious; that a conspiracy existed among men ready to sacrifice national unity in the face of the enemies of Great Britain to further their own predilections and theories, and that a general election was possible. At the same time the leading London newspapers displayed marked signs of uneasiness over the Cabinet situation, declaring that before many days there might be "sensational developments" unless wiser counsels prevail. Other Ministerial resignations were freely talked about, and the very

existence of the Administration seemed threatened. While the question of conscription seemed acute, the failure of the Dardanelles expedition and of British diplomacy with respect to Bulgaria, enabling Germany to begin a great campaign in the Balkans, seemed to be at the bottom of the British Cabinet dissension.

* * *

SIR EDWARD CARSON AND ULSTER.

Sir Edward Carson entered the Asquith coalition Cabinet on May 26, 1915, when the Liberal Cabinet of twenty members was superseded by twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Labor Party nominee, (without portfolio,) and one (Lord Kitchener) without any party associations; in addition, the Ministry of Munitions was created and placed in the hands of David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the former Cabinet. Sir Edward was made Attorney General. Although he had served as Solicitor General for Ireland in 1892 and as British Solicitor General from 1900 to 1906, as Queen's Counsel at the English and Irish bars, and had been a Bencher of King's Inns, Dublin, and of the Middle Temple, London, he was little known outside of British legal and political circles until the home rule movement assumed its acute sensational stage more than two years ago. After the general election of 1906 Sir Edward, beginning to be known as "Balfour II." for his oppo-

tion to the Home Rule bill on behalf of the Conservative Protestant communities of Ireland, adopted Ulster as his protégé with a selfless passion that evoked the affectionate and unquestioning loyalty of the population of that province. Cable dispatches could hardly mention one of the many phases through which the Home Rule bill was passing without describing his work—the legal obstructions he placed in the way of the bill and finally his preparations for armed resistance to its promulgation as a law. His untiring energy and his enthusiasm enabled him to overcome physical weakness; his sombre eloquence inspired and his counsels curbed the passions of the most determined and perhaps the most pugnacious section of the population of the United Kingdom. When the war began his voice was at once raised and his influence exerted to turn the magnificent force of Ulster volunteers, whose potential strength had been his creation, into soldiers for the prosecution of the combat provoked by Germany. For ten months he labored with them, as did John Redmond, his sometime enemy, among the Catholic Nationalists, until he finally entered the Ministry. The most notable cases with which Sir Edward had to deal as Attorney General were the Board of Trade's inquiry into the sinking of the Lusitania and the proceedings before the prize court for the condemnation of American meat cargoes which had been seized by the British Government on the ground that they were destined for Germany.

* * *

IN DARKEST LONDON.

Describing "Zeppelins over London," a correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* says:

At other times when a guest was awaited the doors were opened wide and out of all the windows flashed the bright rays of festal lights. Now London prepares every evening to receive a guest, but the town is still, the houses are close shut, and the light is extinguished.

Beginning Oct. 1 "no more than a subdued light" might be cast from London's windows, roofs, or doors, and in trams and omnibuses the lighting must

be "no more than is sufficient to enable fares to be collected," while front and rear lights are extinguished in crossing bridges. The lights on the waterfront are kept screened. All illumination for advertising purposes is done away with. Night traffic has as a consequence been reduced, and the theatres have special problems to draw the public. But the severe raids of October seem to warrant the nightly obscuration of the world's greatest city as well as the appointment of Sir Percy Scott as Director of London's air defenses.

* * *

"FROM HAMBURG TO BAGDAD."

An Arabian Night's dream which the German General Staff is bent upon bringing to practical realization is described in Berlin correspondence of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, headed "When the Final Fight Begins" and written when the German offensive began through Serbia toward Bulgaria, Constantinople, Arabia, Persia, and India began, with its implied menace to the Suez Canal and the trade of Britain's world empire. The map of Europe shows a continuous line of rails from Hamburg to Bagdad. With that secured and with the Balkan States included in a German Customs Union, assuring rich supplies to Germany's industries without danger of a blockade by sea, the Teutons would consider the war won. Count Reventlow has counseled that the Balkan powers would accept the German proposals "only if the central powers prove by their acts that their power and their prestige in all parts of the world are mighty and great enough to remove all doubt." Germany is now intent upon an exhibition of power in the Balkans.

* * *

WAR IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

A British success in Mesopotamia, with 1,650 Turkish prisoners taken and strong positions stormed, was conveyed in the report issued on Sept. 30 by the Secretary of State for India, giving an account of the operations on the Tigris. Kut-el-Amara, a hundred miles below Bagdad, was taken. A Turk-

ish army of 7,000 or 8,000 was put to flight. Through tribes of hostile plainmen the British troops under General Delamain and General Hoghton have pushed their way toward Bagdad since their departure from Bombay a year ago. They proceeded up the Euphrates to Basra, fifty miles from its mouth; thence in April last to Shaiba and Kurna, forty-five miles further, when they put to rout an army of 10,000 Turks and 12,000 Arabs and Kurds, with losses of 6,000. Kut-el-Amara is two hundred miles above Shaiba and less than 100 miles from Bagdad, the British objective. At Kurna, the reputed seat of the Garden of Eden, two actions were fought, one of them during a time of flood, in which ships of the British Navy participated.

* * *

TURKISH REVOLUTION UNLIKELY.

A Paris dispatch to The London Morning Post has allayed the rumors that Turkey is on the eve of a revolution and that there is famine in Constantinople. Talat Bey, Turkish Minister of the Interior, and Enver Pasha, as head of the military power, have frequent meetings with Prince Hohenlohe, the German Ambassador, and the triumvirate rules the people with unquestioned power. The testimony is that of a Frenchman who was enabled to reside in Constantinople until September of this year. He says:

We must firmly set aside all hope of seeing a new Government take the place of the one now in power, even in the event of the heir to the throne, Yussuf Izzeddin, favorable as he is toward the Allies, succeeding to the Crown.

* * *

PERSIAN DISORDERS.

German reports that all is not well with British rule in Persia received confirmation in the House of Commons on Sept. 28 last when Lord Cecil, replying to some remarks by Colonel Yate, reported incidents of revolt in Persian cities. At Ispahan an attack made on the British Consul General had resulted in the withdrawal of the British and Russian colonies there. At Shiraz the British Consul General had been wounded and had died. At Bushire, then

occupied by British troops, two officers had been killed. Lord Cecil hinted at German and Austrian intrigues and the use of German money as the cause of Persian disaffection and suggested as a means of allaying it that the British authorities had "evinced our willingness to ease the financial position of Persia," with "very considerable concessions of that kind, provided the effect was impartial administration."

* * *

THE THIRD GERMAN WAR LOAN.

"Millions for fresh blows" is the characterization of the twelve billions of marks (\$3,000,000,000) in the total of subscriptions for the third German war loan made by Dr. Karl Helfferich, Secretary of the German Imperial Treasury and otherwise known as the "Hindenburg of German finance." The German people have by this loan, equaling or exceeding the great second war loan of Great Britain, contributed a total of six and a quarter billions of dollars to their war. When its success was assured Emperor William on Sept. 24 sent a congratulatory telegram to Dr. Helfferich, as follows:

I thank you for this great success of the financial warfare with which you have been intrusted. The German Nation, full of confidence in its own strength, has shown its enemies and the whole world that in the future it is unanimously united as one man, is unshakable, and will continue to a glorious end this war, obtruded upon us by criminal surprise, and make every necessary offer of blood for the security and liberty of the Fatherland.

* * *

THE ANGLO-FRENCH CREDIT.

A credit loan of \$500,000,000 for five years, issued at a net yield to the American investor of 5½ per cent. and at the popular denominations of \$100 up, will give a net return to England and France of \$480,000,000 in American trade. The money is to remain in the United States, to be paid in installments; its purpose is to stabilize exchange in pounds sterling and francs, with the result of maintaining adequate prices for American exports to the allied powers. The syndicate in charge of the half-billion loan is composed of groups

of bankers and financiers in the most populous sections of the country, with headquarters in New York City, where the local group consists of over forty banking institutions. After the contracts were signed in New York on Oct. 15 Lord Reading, on behalf of the foreign commissioners who negotiated the credit, announced that within a month or two additional credits would be established in this country for the British and French Governments. The first credit was heavily oversubscribed. Never before in modern history has Britain sought a foreign loan.

* * *

WHEN DOES A HAT BECOME A HAT?

Neither the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor the Customs House, nor yet the London Chamber of Commerce can define either hat or headgear. Discussing the proposed tax on imports of hats in Parliament on Sept. 30, Mr. Dennis asked Chancellor McKenna for "a clearly ascertained definition as to what was a hat." The statistical definition in the customs rules referred to "straw hats, felt hats, and hats of other material," while, as a matter of fact, in the straw hats were included pieces of straw made up in the shape of a bath mat. Pieces of felt, more or less circular, sometimes concave and sometimes convex, were classified as hats. Mr. Taylor protested that few of the honorable members would venture to say how many kinds of material were used in the making of ladies' hats, and as the Chancellor had included in the tax "all kinds of headgear," did that mean wigs and nightcaps? After some floundering about, Mr. McKenna decided to withdraw the proposal for a tax which might be easily evaded.

* * *

THE MASSACRES IN ARMENIA.

"There is only one power that can stop the Armenian atrocities, and that is Germany," is the English opinion expressed by Lord Bryce at a meeting in London on Oct. 15. Lord Bryce, who declared that the horrors of the massacre exceeded anything in the

history of persecutions, is supported by the testimony of the eminent American Committee on Armenian Atrocities after its investigation in Turkish Armenia, published on Oct. 4. The deliberate extermination of an entire people is reported as the object of the Turkish Government. Secretary of State Lansing on Oct. 4 sent to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople a message informing the Ottoman Government that the atrocities visited upon the Armenians would, if continued, tend to jeopardize the good feeling of the American people toward the people of Turkey. The State Department had already asked Ambassador von Bernstorff to bring the matter to the attention of the German Foreign Office.

* * *

GERMAN PEACE AND ANNEXATION.

Dr. Umfrid of Stuttgart has contributed an article to the *Friedenswarte* entitled "Peace Guarantees," protesting against annexation by Germany of any foreign territory if she emerges victorious from the war. Dr. Umfrid says:

The acquisition of territory is no guarantee of peace. The occupation of Alsace-Lorraine is proof enough of this. He who has really the best interests of his people at heart, he who for the future would spare his sons and brothers the fearful misfortunes of the present war must join with us in rejecting every attempt at exercising this violence (annexation) on any European population. Victory shall bring for us the fame of invincibility. After victory we shall stand as a united nation capable of defending its frontiers against a world of enemies, but also as a nation which sees its most enduring protection, not in the employment of iron force but in the irrefragable law of righteousness. Unscrupulous statesmen may act on the principle, "Apres moi le deluge"; we prefer to think that after us will come an empire of peace and justice.

This is doubtless in reply to the famous petition of German professors to Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg (printed in the October number of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*) favoring annexation of conquered territory. A second manifesto, signed by professors and prominent men of Germany, has since been issued confessing this belief: "That the incorpora-

tion or annexation of politically independent races and races that have been accustomed to independence should be rejected."

* * *

BRITISH SUBMARINES IN THE BALTIC.

While a semi-official report from Berlin replies to statements made in London and New York that the losses of German submarines had reached an aggregate of sixty with the assertion that it "is less than a quarter of the above number," the news of German submarine warfare on floating British merchantry is notably less. A Washington dispatch of Oct. 1 last reported that the American Government was informed of the development by the British of a submarine telephone enabling them to detect hostile submarines from observation stations afloat and ashore connected with points on the mainland. Huge steel nets were employed in their capture. But the British have now carried the submarine war into the Baltic. Reports from Stockholm tell of seventeen German ore steamers missing, and the Swedish Government on Oct. 13 instructed its Minister at London to protest against the violation of Swedish neutrality by British submarines alleged to have sunk two German steamers in Swedish waters.

* * *

A GERMAN OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST?

By the time this page is before our readers it may be known definitely whether the German counteroffensive on the western front was destined to become a gigantic German offensive, with the intent to destroy the Allies' defensive system and break up and annihilate their field armies. The Rotterdam correspondent of The London Daily Telegraph announced two days after the onset of the Entente's great offensive, beginning Sept. 25, that evidence had accumulated pointing "unmistakably" in this direction. German men and guns were concentrating in tremendous numbers in Belgium. For ten days on end civilian traffic ceased on the Belgian railways, and the vast movements suggested nothing

less, quite apart from the Germanic offensive in the Balkans, than a supreme effort to break through the iron barrier between the sea and the Alps. A grand rush, not a slow operation, in attempting which "armies of millions must bleed to death hopelessly," the Frankfurter Zeitung declares is the only means of reaching a western decision.

* * *

A CALDRON OF MINGLED BLOODS.

Gypsies, the Kutzo-Vlachs of Rumania, Albanians, Greeks, Serbs, and Turks, abetted by the Greek and Serbian Governments, have aided in evoking among the Bulgars of Macedonia the old Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us!" It does not help matters that the people of Bulgaria persecute the great numbers of Serbs, Greeks, and Turks within their borders with the same ferocity visited upon their congeners in Macedonia. Everywhere in the seething Balkans is bitter war against churches, schools, speech, customs of each among many alien races whose political and racial boundaries are far apart. The Treaty of Bucharest of Aug. 10, 1913, which fixed these artificial limits with the consent of Europe's powers, heated the caldron anew, which is now boiling over with ideas of "Big Bulgaria," "Greater Greece," and a "Serbian Empire"—which all seem pathetically fantastic.

* * *

THE SUFFRAGETTE IS NOW BRITANNIA.

"Britannia will, when the next issue appears, become the name of this paper," Miss Christabel Pankhurst announces with succinctness in The Suffragette of Oct. 1. Why? The house of British liberty is on fire and in danger of being burned to ashes "before women's dream of entering into it has been fulfilled." Every house in Great Britain is a British man's castle of liberty, and the suffragettes had something to do in the way of burning them before the war. But let that pass. Perhaps with the name of their militant organ the Amazons are anxious to have militancy forgotten. Britannia claims the

right to the support of her sons and daughters against her foreign foe.

* * *

GREECE'S VIOLATED NEUTRALITY.

Although the landing of the Anglo-French Balkan Expeditionary Force at Saloniki had not received official announcement on Oct. 3 and Premier Venizelos had uttered a formal protest against the landing as violative of Greek neutrality, the Greek press assumed that it was in process of becoming an accomplished fact. The Patris, the chief Government organ at Athens, declared that any attempt on the part of the authorities to resist the debarkation of the Anglo-French forces would not be approved by the Greek people. Greece is a maritime State. It depends on the Entente Powers, who control the Mediterranean and Grecian destinies. Moreover, Patris says that Greece's passive protest is consonant with the advice given by Germany to King Albert before the invasion of Belgium, when the Belgian King was blamed for not tolerating the contemplated violation of a neutrality expressly guaranteed by Prussia.

* * *

PLANS FOR AMERICAN DEFENSE.

That the United States Navy is to lead the world in the speed of its war cruisers, which will carry the guns of a dreadnought and rival express trains; that the Naval Consulting Board on Inventions created by Secretary Daniels, with Thomas A. Edison at its head, has approved the plan of a big research laboratory for the navy which will cost \$5,000,000 and \$2,500,000 annually, and that \$400,000,000 should be appropriated by the Congress this year for the combined army and navy budget, were announcements made by the President's advisers when the estimates were made up on Oct. 15. That is an increase of \$140,000,000 over the last yearly budget. The plan includes a substantial increase in the American Army recommended by Secretary Garrison, probably from 87,000 to 120,000 men, and the creation of a reserve of about 400,000 men through short-

term enlistment of citizens interested in military training.

* * *

NOW FOR THE LUSITANIA CASE.

After the Arabic was torpedoed without warning President Wilson made it clear to Germany that there should be no further discussion of the Lusitania, Cushing, Gulfight, and Nebraskan cases until that incident was disavowed and indemnity promised. We print in this issue the text of the very full and frank German disavowal of the act of the submarine commander who sank the Arabic. Germany has already expressed regret and promised to pay damages in the cases of the Nebraskan and Gulfight. The settlement of the Cushing case awaits the American submission of evidence that the airmen who attacked the vessel were Germans. The American naval experts at Washington have decided, on examining pieces of metal found aboard the Hesperian, that she struck a mine instead of a submarine torpedo. In the case of the Lusitania the State Department at Washington urges that Germany's naval code, issued when the war broke out, guaranteed safety for civilian passengers and crews of merchant vessels subject to attack.

* * *

"BEEF FOR GERMANY."

The conference on Oct. 4 of counsel for the Chicago packers with State Department officials in Washington resulted in a decision by the packers to appeal from the ruling of the British prize court in London, which condemns the cargoes of the Kim and three other Scandinavian vessels because, in the prize court's opinion, they were destined for a German port and to feed the German armed forces. Millions of dollars are at stake in the case. Although the cargoes were bound for Copenhagen, the English authorities point to abnormal imports into Denmark; to intercepted correspondence tending to show that Denmark was not the country to which the cargoes were ultimately consigned, and to the withholding of original documents by the packers necessary to prove a con-

trary destination. But the British decision that the beef was for the armed forces of Germany rests chiefly upon the fact that Germany is a "nation in arms"—a highly novel extension of the theory of conditional contraband.

* * *

LLOYD GEORGE'S PREFACE.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* seizes upon the preface written by the British Minister of Munitions for his book of speeches on the war, to say:

His preface—if one disregards the first sentences, which are merely the confession of a typical Englishman, who judges the outer world only by hearsay and allows no sort of facts to disturb his prejudices—is the most brilliant recognition which one can imagine of the military and economic achievements of Germany and her allies. Or can anything be more shameful for our enemies than that the English Minister has to declare that, although the resources of England, France, Russia, and the whole industrial world are at the disposal of the Allies, the central powers possess, nevertheless, an overwhelming superiority in war material and equipment? This sentence contains nothing less than the confession that in its adaptability German industry has far surpassed the industries of all the countries wholly and partly allied against us.

Lloyd George's preface appears elsewhere in this number of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

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CONSCRIPTION IN ENGLAND.

As with you in the civil war, we shall, in my judgment, be obliged to adopt compulsory service and that before the end of the year.—Lord Northcliffe in a London cable dispatch to *The Sun*.

Possibly Lord Northcliffe, whose agitation for conscription in his newspapers, *The London Times* and *The Daily Mail*, has roused conflicting passions in Great Britain, was thinking of the full-bodied description of the experience of President Lincoln in the experience of President Lincoln in the American civil war that has appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* and *After* by Mr. J. Ellis Barker and which is largely reproduced elsewhere in this issue. The Union went through the same throes over

conscription that are agitating Britain, and when adopted the method resulted in raising the huge Northern armies that won the war. Great Britain may eventually adopt it. Meanwhile conferences between Prime Minister Asquith, Earl Kitchener, and the chief labor leaders of Britain have been followed by extraordinary efforts during October to raise the recruits needed by voluntary methods.

* * *

PSYCHOLOGY OF "SLACKERS."

In view of the appeal of Lloyd George to trade unionists in Great Britain urging them to work long hours in the production of munitions it is remarkable to find that the scientists of the British Association attribute the unrest and "slackness" of British workers to sheer fatigue. Professor J. H. Muirhead presented at the Association's meeting in Manchester the report of a committee dealing with the question of fatigue from an economic standpoint. It is summarized as follows:

1. The importance of the rôle played by fatigue and other inner states of the individual worker. It is not a monopoly of mental work to be influenced in quantity and quality by the human disposition. For the efficient management and organization of factory and office, account must be taken of the human element just as much as of the material and the machine.

2. The importance of the rest-pause. A break in the work would seem to shed its influence all around; it causes a bracing excitement that avoids accidents beforehand and brings on after it a new lease of working capacity. More important than the length of working day seems the length of spell: the splitting up, the breaking up, of continuous periods of work.

3. The importance of the nature of the work in modifying the onset of fatigue. In uniform repetition work causing "subjective" feelings of monotony "objective" fatigue seems far less effective than in the nerve-taxing work of attending to a loom or of labeling and soldering accurately in place.

4. The importance of taking account of and studying fatigue and of adapting accordingly the hours of labor in each kind of work.

Professor Muirhead thought it quite right, he said, that Lloyd George should appeal to the unions to put aside restrictions which, on the whole, were in

the interests of a class. But that seemed all the more reason why he should keep the teaching of science before him and realize that it might be possible to combine the health of the industrial classes, on whom Britain's salvation depended, with the meeting of present demands. Secretary Florence of the committee suggested that it would be important to find out the scientific limit of work, otherwise in two months' time the whole working population might be crippled.

* * *

A DEED FOR HUMANITY.

While millions may fall in battle, humanity's salvation is wrought by a few. Jenner and a handful of other pioneers in the treatment of infectious disease have saved many more lives than this war can lose. It is with peculiar interest, therefore, that the world will view the act of Marie Davies, a young Englishwoman who has been working in the pathological laboratories of the American Ambulance in Paris, and chose the deadliest strain of bacilli of the dreaded gaseous gangrene to inject into her own body in order that a normal human test might be made of the efficacy of quinine hydrochloride as a remedy. The experiment, performed at the imminent risk of death, was successful. Another disease, one which afflicted the soldiers in France, has been conquered.

* * *

ELECTRIC DETECTOR OF ZEPPELINS.

Despite the best efforts of Sir Percy Scott, London is still vulnerable to Zeppelin raids from Germany. Invading submarines have been detected by microphones at sea in time to repel them. Now Dr. Lee de Forest, the wireless inventor, has been called to London to apply his invention adapting the incandescent electric light to the detection of a faraway airship. By setting up several microphones in a geometrical arrangement and equipping them with the incandescent Audion amplifiers, the line of direction of an approaching Zeppelin can be calculated by its varying effects on the different microphones. A cone of vibration is determined, together with the distance to its apex, the Zeppelin pro-

peller. Then the work of the defensive aeroplanes and airship guns begins.

* * *

MR. EDISON ON PREPAREDNESS.

By machines, not men, Thomas A. Edison declared in his Chicago interview on Oct. 15, potential readiness for war may be had by this nation. While the nations are shooting off large amounts of powder on European battle fronts, build here great factories in which twice as much powder could be manufactured. Locate and store away the material, but don't make the powder. Have everything ready, so that in case of need the factories can begin producing it. Make shell machines instead of turning shells individually on lathes. Grease up the machines and store them away, together with enormous quantities of steel billets. America is the greatest machine country in the world. Prepare to turn out right along twice as much as is now used on the entire European battlefield—then don't make it until the time calls for the output. Then an enormous number of trained officers and drill sergeants is better than a big standing army.

* * *

A NEW PLANT FERTILIZER.

Food products, their relative values and their cost, are factors of such immense importance to nations' food supply at the present moment that the experiments conducted in the laboratory of King's College, London, by Professors Bottomley and Rosenheim are of more than ordinary interest. Peat forms the basis for the new fertilizing agency that is called "humogen." Of recent years evidence has accumulated that the most important element in soil fertility is the bacterial life in the humus—far more important, it is claimed, than many of the mineral plant foods in which gardeners once placed their faith. The King's College experimenters now treat peat in such a way as to make it give off an energy of unprecedented potentiality, especially where quick-growing plants are concerned. "Humogen" is said to have given excellent results in the growing of wheat and barley.

THE THIRD BALKAN WAR

Germany's New Quadruple Alliance

How Bulgaria Defeated the Quadruple Entente's Attempt to Reconstruct the Balkan League

Bulgaria allied with Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro to declare the First Balkan War against Turkey on Sept. 30, 1912; the war was ended by the Treaty of London on May 30, 1913, which compelled Turkey to grant to her opponents its European territory west from Midia on the Black Sea to Enos on the Aegean, together with Crete. The future of Albania, the Aegean Islands, and Mount Athos was left to be decided in future by the powers.

The Second Balkan War arose on July 29, 1913, over the division of territory ceded to the victorious Balkan States. Rumania intervened on July 10, 1913, to get from Bulgaria an extension of her frontier and to impose peace, which was signed on Aug. 10, 1913, in the Treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria treating with Rumania, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro. By its terms the Rumano-Bulgarian frontier starts from the Danube above Tartukal, ending on the Black Sea south of Ekrene. Starting from Mount Partarica, the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier was fixed along the old Turco-Bulgarian frontier and the watershed between the Varda and the Sturma, but leaving to Serbia the upper valley of the Strumnitza, and ending at Mount Belashietza. The Greco-Bulgarian frontier starts on the crest of the Belashietza range, ending at the mouth of the Nestor River on the Aegean Sea. The dissatisfaction arising from this marking of the frontiers in the Treaty of Bucharest, by which Bulgaria, particularly, forfeited Macedonia with its largely Bulgar population to Serbia and Greece, have occasioned her new alliance with Turkey and the Teutonic powers and her declaration of war on Serbia—tantamount to a war on the Quadruple Entente.

France's Explanation

By Rene Raphael Viviani

Premier of France

In addressing the French Chamber of Deputies, which reassembled on Oct. 12, 1915, Premier Viviani said that Russian troops on the next day would be fighting alongside French and British troops in the Balkans. France, Great Britain, and Russia were in complete accord, he said, and ample troops were available without weakening any front.

The Premier's remarks were prompted by a resolution of the Finance Committee which read: "The committee is convinced of the necessity of a complete and immediate explanation on the part of the Government." The Socialist group adopted a similar resolution. M. Viviani's address follows:

THE country, owing to the grave events now taking place, must be informed, and the Government takes this opportunity to make a declaration of the situation and its policy.

The Balkan question was raised at the outset of the war, even before it came to the attention of the world. The Bucharest Treaty had left in Bulgaria profound heartburnings. Neither King nor people were resigned to the loss of the fruits of their efforts and sacrifices, and to the consequences of the unjustifiable war they had waged upon their former allies.

From the first day the allied Governments took into account the dangers of such a situation and sought a means to remedy it. Their policy has proceeded in the spirit of justice and generosity, which has characterized the attitude of Great Britain, Russia, and Italy, as well as France.

We have attempted to re-establish the union of the Balkan peoples, and in accord with them seek the realization of their principal national aspirations. The

equilibrium thus obtained by mutual sacrifices really made by each would have been the best guarantee of future peace. Despite constant efforts, in which Rumania, Greece, and Serbia lent their assistance, we have been unable to obtain the sincere collaboration of the Bulgarian Government. The difficulties respecting the negotiations were always at Sofia.

Bulgaria made claims upon her four frontiers at the expense of her four neighbors. We had hoped that Rumania, Greece, and Serbia, to whom magnificent perspectives opened elsewhere, would consent to the sacrifices, in exchange for which they would receive large compensation.

As to Turkey, which had thrown herself into the arms of Germany, there was no need for further consideration.

Our efforts with Rumania were partially successful. Rumania, the people of which country frequently manifested French sympathies, was not unfavorable to the re-establishment of the Balkan alliance. Her partial mobilization permitted her to repulse any threatened aggression—defend herself against all German pressure and observe with the closest attention events along the frontier, both Austrian and Bulgarian. Rumania knew, moreover, that only victory on the part of the Quadruple Entente could assure her independence and satisfy her national aspirations.

In their considerate desire to give the Bulgarian people satisfaction in their aspirations, the powers of the Quadruple Entente did not hesitate to ask valiant Serbia to make heavy concessions. Despite the cruelty of such a sacrifice, and desirous of proving their attachment to the Allies which were combating for their common independence, the Serbian people make this extraordinary effort and resigned themselves, hoping for compensations that the victory of the Quadruple powers would be able to give Serbia elsewhere.

The equivocal attitude of the Bulgarian Government led the Greek Government to maintain a waiting policy. Our diverse proposals received tardy response from the Bulgarian Government, which

asked for additional details and at the same time carried on parallel negotiations with our enemies. Finally, at the moment when the Quadruple Entente informed Bulgaria of the important concessions Serbia was ready to make King Ferdinand signed an accord with Turkey and engaged himself definitely with Germany.

To our friendly question as to his intention the response was Bulgarian mobilization in connection with which the concentration of Austro-German troops on the Danube indicated united action against Serbia.

In the presence of this attitude we immediately declared null and void the advantages and guarantees that we had announced we were ready to offer Bulgaria, and we have resumed with the other Balkan States our liberty of action toward them. On its side heroic Serbia, whose three successive glorious wars have not had the effect of diminishing her courage, silently prepared to meet upon two fronts the concerted attacks of Berlin, Vienna, and Sofia.

From a moral standpoint and from the standpoint of military consequences we could not accept the isolation of Serbia, and the rupture of our communications with our ally and friend.

Our action must be energetic in order to meet the efforts of our enemies, who are dominated on the western front, checked on the eastern front, and who now try to obtain on a new front, with the aid of Bulgaria, a success thus far impossible to realize either in France or Russia.

In order to succor the Serbians we must go through Saloniki, and from the outset of the Bulgarian mobilization we have conducted negotiations toward that end with the President of the Council at Athens. These negotiations are most natural in view of the definite treaty concluded between Serbia and Greece after the second Balkan war in the event of Bulgarian aggression.

They say that we are violating the neutrality of Greece, and they even dare to compare our action to that of Germany in violating the neutrality of Belgium, perjuring her signature and plung-

ing that noble country into fire and bloodshed. The conditions under which we went to Saloniki, the conditions under which we debarked, the welcome we received suffice to demonstrate the stupidity of these accusations.

This energetic action Great Britain and France, in accord with their allies, have undertaken. They have weighed the difficulties.

Our principal preoccupation is the defense of our front, the liberation of our territory by mighty efforts, to which we owe the victories already won upon our soil with the valorous support of our heroic allies, with our forces, sacrifices, and our blood. No Governments could do otherwise in a duty so tragic, but so simple.

But without weakening our front, we have the further task of fulfilling duties which our interest and our honor impose upon us. We are in full accord with the

General in Chief of the French armies. The understanding between the Governments of Great Britain and France is complete, and I cannot better express it than in the following form, namely, from now France and England, in accord with their allies, are completely agreed to go to the aid of Serbia to the extent she has asked our aid, and to assure to the profit of Serbia, Greece, and Rumania respect for the Treaty of Bucharest, of which we are the guarantors. The British Government and the French Government are in accord upon the importance of effectives conforming to the advice of their military authorities. Russia has decided to join with her allies to help the Serbian people, and tomorrow her troops will fight alongside of ours.

Gentlemen, we have done our duty toward our allies. Never has an accord been more direct and more complete between allies, and never have we had greater confidence in a common victory.

Britain's Explanation

By Sir Edward Grey

British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

The diplomatic rather than the military side of the situation was the subject of Sir Edward Grey's statement relative to the Balkan situation which he delivered on Oct. 14, 1915, to the House of Commons. He said:

I PROPOSE to confine myself to a résumé of our diplomatic objects since the war. At the outset we desired that the war should not spread, and in common with our allies we assured Turkey that if she remained neutral Turkey and Turkey's territory should not suffer. This situation was completely changed by the entrance of Turkey into the war, and all obligations on the part of the Allies then ceased.

We and our allies then concentrated upon securing an agreement among the Balkan States, and we used all our influence to secure an accord. Unfortunately, the feeling in the Balkans is not one of union, but of division. It was clear

nothing but a decisive, preponderating advantage for the Allies would have enabled us to secure a policy of union.

We were given to understand in the course of the negotiations that except with regard to Thrace the central powers had offered to Bulgaria more to secure her neutrality than the Allies could in fairness offer. The promises which induced Bulgaria to declare war were given by the central powers at the expense of her neighbors and without any corresponding advantage to them.

We have remained throughout on friendly relations with Rumania, who has favored the policy of a Balkan union.

It is the policy of bringing about a Balkan war that the sovereigns and Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria—the sovereigns and the Governments—have succeeded in carry-

ing into effect. We were given to understand that in order to secure a Balkan union there were certain concessions Bulgaria would require, especially in Thrace and Macedonia.

The Allies were ready to do all in their power to secure these for Bulgaria, but to obtain the consent of Serbia and Greece it was an essential preliminary that Bulgaria take sides with the Allies against Turkey. In other words, if Bulgaria was to realize her hopes and aspirations she must co-operate in a common cause in which the hopes and aspirations of other neighboring States were engaged.

It will be enough to say that these reasonable hopes and aspirations were, in the main, founded upon opportunity to peoples of the same race, the same sentiments, and the same religion to join themselves to a State under a Government most akin to them.

Sir Edward praised the skill and courage with which Serbia had turned upon her foes and driven them out of her country as one of the outstanding features of the war. Once again, he said, the crisis was upon Serbia and she was meeting it with the same splendid courage. The entry of Bulgaria made a great difference in the situation and raised the question of treaty obligations between Greece and Serbia.

Regarding the attitude of Greece, he

referred to the statements made by Former Premier Venizelos and the new Grecian Premier, M. Zaimis, and said it must be obvious that the interests of Greece and Serbia were now one. In the long run, he said, they must stand or fall together. Through Greek territory alone could assistance be sent to Serbia, and that this assistance was welcome was sufficiently proved by the reception accorded the allied troops. Great Britain was giving Serbia all the help in her power, freely and unconditionally. He continued:

In view of the treaty between Greece and Serbia, how can there be any other attitude on the part of Greece toward the assistance offered through her to Serbia? In the steps taken we acted in the closest co-operation with France, and the co-operation of Russian troops is promised as soon as they can be made available.

Serbia is fighting for her national existence, and with her the struggle is just now intense and acute, but the struggle is one and the issue is one, in whatever theatre of war fighting is taking place. All the Allies are fighting for national existence, and for all who are fighting the same issues arise. It is a fight for the right to live not under the shadow of Prussian militarism, which does not observe the ordinary rules of humanity in war, and to leave us free from the menace of oppression.

Tsar Ferdinand and the Opposition Leaders

The following telegram from The London Daily Telegraph's special correspondent at Milan, dated Sept. 24, appeared in that newspaper on Oct. 5, 1915:

ITALY is in close touch with her Balkan neighbors, and now it is the general belief that Bulgaria means to attack Serbia as soon as her mobilization is concluded, and that Tsar Ferdinand has resolutely thrown off his mask, and shows himself what he really is—namely, a Hungarian officer who boldly champions the cause of Austria and Germany, even in face of a sturdy warning

from independent Bulgarians, who have spoken threats of revolution in his own palace.

"Mind your own head; I shall mind mine," are the words which he spoke to M. Stambulivski last Friday, when he received five Opposition members who had come to warn him of the danger to which he was exposing himself and the nation.

The Corriere della Sera today publishes a long wire from its special correspondent, Signor Civinini, at Sofia, with full and graphic details of this now his-

toric meeting. In order to give these details the correspondent had to cross into Serbia and wire his dispatch from Nish. The five members, MM. Gueshoff, Danoff, Malinoff, Zanoft, and Stambulivski, were received by the King in the Red Room at the Royal Palace, and chairs had been placed for them around a big table. The King entered the room, accompanied by Prince Boris, the heir apparent, and his Secretary, M. Bobcovitch. "Be seated, gentlemen," said the King, as he sat down himself as if for a very quiet talk. His Secretary took a seat at a table a little apart to take notes, but the conversation immediately became so heated and rapid that he was unable to write it down.

The first to speak was M. Malinoff, leader of the Democratic Party, who said:

The policy adopted by the Government is one of adventure tending to throw Bulgaria into the arms of Germany, and driving her to attack Serbia. This policy is contrary to the aspirations, feeling, and interests of the country, and if the Government obstinately continues in this way it will provoke disturbances of the greatest gravity.

It was the first allusion to the possibility of a revolution, but the King listened without flinching. M. Malinoff concluded:

For these reasons we beg your Majesty, after having vainly asked the Government, to convoke the Chamber immediately, and we ask this convocation for the precise object of saving the country from dangerous adventures by the formation of a coalition Ministry.

The King remained silent, and, with a nod, invited M. Stambulivski to speak.

M. Stambulivski is the leader of the Agrarian Party, a man of sturdy rustic appearance, accustomed to speak out his mind boldly, and exceedingly popular among the peasant population. He grew up himself as a peasant, and wore the laborer's blouse up till very recently. He stood up, and, looking the King straight in the face, said in a resolute tone:

In the name of every farmer in Bulgaria I add to what M. Malinoff has just said, that the Bulgarian people hold you personally responsible more than your Government for the disastrous adventure of 1913. If a similar adventure were to be repeated now its gravity this time would

be irreparable. The responsibility would once more fall on your policy, which is contrary to the welfare of our country, and the nation would not hesitate to call you personally to account. That there may be no mistake as to the real wishes of the country, I present to your Majesty my country's demand in writing.

He handed the King a letter containing the resolution voted by the Agrarians. The King read it, and then turned to M. Zanoft, leader of the Radical Democrats, and asked him to speak. M. Zanoft did so, speaking very slowly and impressively, and also looking the King straight in the face:

Sire, I had sworn never again to set foot inside your palace, and if I came today, it is because the interests of my country are above personal questions, and have compelled me. Your Majesty may read what I have to say in this letter, which I submit to you in behalf of our party.

He handed the letter, and the King read it and still remained silent. Then he said, turning to his former Prime Minister and ablest politician: "Gueshoff, it is now your turn to speak." M. Gueshoff got up and said:

I also am fully in accord with what M. Stambulivski has just said. No matter how severe his words may have been in their simple, unpolished frankness, which ignores the ordinary formalities of etiquette, they entirely express our unanimous opinion. We all, as representing the Opposition, consider the present policy of the Government contrary to the sentiments and the interests of the country because by driving it to make common cause with Germany it makes us the enemies of Russia, which was our deliverer, and the adventure into which we are thus thrown compromises our future. We disapprove most absolutely of such a policy, and we also ask that the Chamber be convoked and a Ministry formed with the co-operation of all parties.

After M. Gueshoff, the former Premier M. Daneff also spoke and associated himself with what had already been said.

The King remained still silent for a while. Then he also stood up and said:

Gentlemen, I have listened to your threats and will refer them to the President of the Council of Ministers that he may know and decide what to do.

All present bowed, and a chilly silence followed. The King had evidently taken

the frank warning given him as a threat to him personally, and he walked up and down nervously for a while. Prince Boris turned aside to talk with the Secretary, who had resumed taking notes. The King continued pacing to and fro, evidently very nettled. Then, approaching M. Zanolff, and as if to change the conversation, he asked him for news about this season's harvest. M. Zanolff abruptly replied:

Your Majesty knows that we have not come here to talk about the harvest, but of something far more important at present, namely, the policy of your Government, which is on the point of ruining our country. We can on no account approve a policy that is anti-Russian. If the Crown and M. Radoslavoff persist in their policy we shall not answer for the consequences. We have not desired to seek out those responsible for the disaster of 1913, because other grave events have been precipitated, but it was a disaster due to criminal folly. It must not be repeated by an attack on Serbia by Bulgaria, as seems contemplated by M. Radoslavoff, and which, according to all appearances, has the approval of your Majesty. It would be a premeditated crime, and deserve to be punished.

The King hesitated a moment, and then held out his hand to M. Zanolff, saying: "All right; at all events, I thank you for your frankness." Then approaching M. Stambulivski, he repeated to him his question about the harvest.

M. Stambulivski, as a simple peasant, at first allowed himself to be led into discussion of this secondary matter, and had expressed the hope that the prohibition on the export of cereals would be removed, when he suddenly remembered, and said:

But this is not the moment to speak of these things. I again repeat to your Majesty that the country does not want a policy of adventure, which cost it so dear in 1913. It was your own policy, too.

Before 1913 we thought you were a great diplomatist, but since then we have seen what fruits your diplomacy bears. You took advantage of all the loopholes in the Constitution to direct the country according to your own views. Your Ministers are nothing; you alone are the author of this policy, and you will have to bear the responsibility.

The King replied frigidly "The policy which I have decided to follow is that which I consider the best for the welfare of the country."

"It is a policy that will only bring misfortune," replied the sturdy Agrarian. "It will lead to fresh catastrophes and compromise not only the future of our country but that of your dynasty, and may cost you your head."

It was as bold a saying as ever was uttered before a King, and Ferdinand looked astonished at the peasant who was thus speaking to him. He said: "Do not mind my head; it is already old; rather mind your own," he added, with a disdainful smile, as he turned away.

M. Stambulivski retorted: "My head matters little, Sire. What matters more is the good of our country."

The King paid no more attention to him, and took M. Gueshoff and M. Danoff apart, who again insisted on convoking the Chamber, and assured him that M. Radoslavoff's Government would be in a minority. They also referred to the Premier's oracular utterances.

"Ah!" said the King, "has Radoslavoff spoken to you? And what has he said?"

"He has said," replied the leaders, "that Bulgaria would march with Germany and attack Serbia."

The King made a vague gesture, and then said: "Oh, I did not know!"

The incidents of this famous interview are beginning to be gradually known in Sofia, and have created a deep impression in political circles.

Russia's Ultimatum

By Sergius Sazonoff

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Sergius Sazonoff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, made this statement to The Associated Press correspondent at Petrograd on Oct. 2, 1915:

THE situation in the Balkans is very grave. The whole Russian Nation is aroused by the unthinkable treachery of Ferdinand and his Government to the Slavic cause. Bulgaria owes her independence to Russia,* and yet seems willing now to become a vassal of Russia's enemies. In her attitude toward Serbia, when Serbia is fighting for her very existence, Bulgaria puts herself in a class with Turkey. We do not believe that the Bulgarian people sympathize with the action of their ruler. Therefore the Allies are disposed to give them time for reflection.

If they persist in their present treacherous course they must answer to Russia. An ultimatum has not been presented yet, but I presume one will be within a short time.

It was announced at Petrograd on Oct. 3, 1915, that the Russian Minister at Sofia had been requested to hand M. Radoslavoff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, the following note:

Events which are taking place in Bulgaria at this moment give evidence of the definite decision of King Ferdinand's

*The words of M. Sazonoff, "Bulgaria owes her independence to Russia," refer to the fact that when, on Oct. 5, 1908, the sovereignty of Austria-Hungary was extended over Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria having been informed by Russia of what Vienna was contemplating straightway declared herself independent of Turkey. Until the second Balkan war of June and July, 1913, Russia looked upon Bulgaria as the one Balkan State best calculated to extend Slavism in the peninsula under Russian guidance. The ambition of Ferdinand to dominate the Balkans after the defeat of the Turks in the first Balkan war, 1912-13, and his signing of an offensive treaty with Austria-Hungary in order to realize those ambitions turned Russia against Bulgaria and encouraged Rumania to invade Bulgaria the moment the latter attacked Serbia and Greece.

Government to place the fate of its country in the hands of Germany. The presence of German and Austrian officers at the Ministry of War and on the staffs of the army, the concentration of troops in the zone bordering on Serbia, and the extensive financial support accepted from our enemies by the Sofia Cabinet no longer leave any doubt as to the object of the present military preparations of Bulgaria.

The powers of the Entente, who have at heart the realization of the aspirations of the Bulgarian people, have on many occasions warned M. Radoslavoff that any hostile act against Serbia would be considered as directed against themselves. The assurances given by the head of the Bulgarian Cabinet in reply to these warnings are contradicted by facts.

The representative of Russia, bound to Bulgaria by the imperishable memory of her liberation from the Turkish yoke, cannot sanction by his presence preparations for fratricidal aggression against a Slav and allied people.

The Russian Minister has therefore received orders to leave Bulgaria with all the staffs of the legation and the Consulates if the Bulgarian Government does not within twenty-four hours openly break with the enemies of the Slav cause and of Russia, and does not at once proceed to send away the officers belonging to the armies of States who are at war with the powers of the Entente.

ALLIES' ULTIMATUM.

The circumstances which attended the presentation of the notes of the Entente powers to Bulgaria are set forth in an official communication received on Oct. 7, 1915, at Paris, from Sofia. This announcement, filed in Sofia by the correspondent of the Havas News Agency, was issued by the Bulgarian Government before it made reply to the notes. The statement follows:

On Monday [Oct. 4] between 4 and 6

o'clock in the afternoon the President of the Council received a visit from the representatives of France, Russia, and Great Britain. The first two presented notes, not identical, of the character of ultimata, in which, giving a forced interpretation of the armed neutrality proclaimed by Bulgaria and of the object of Bulgaria's mobilization, it was insisted, under threats of the rupture of diplomatic relations, that Bulgaria break off openly within twenty-four hours its relations with the central powers and send away the German and Austrian officers said to be among the staffs of the different Bulgarian armies.

The representative of Great Britain presented a verbal note declaring that Great Britain would break with Bulgaria if hostilities should occur in the Balkans as the result of Bulgarian mobilization.

In consequence of the absence of instructions, the representative of Italy

has not yet joined his colleagues in this action.

The Bulgarian Government today will hand to the representatives three notes, not identical, in which it will explain the spirit of armed neutrality of Bulgaria, while pointing out the danger that may arise from fresh encouragement given to Serbia. Rejecting categorically the accusation relative to the pretended presence of German and Austrian officers in the Bulgarian Army, it will declare it cannot drive away officers who do not exist.

At the same time the Government will present a response to two preceding notes of the Entente powers, of which their representatives have been advised through the French Minister.

The Bulgarian Government purposes to publish a Green Book on the conversations and negotiations with the powers of the Quadruple Entente.

Bulgaria's Defiance

An Associated Press dispatch dated at Petrograd on Oct. 8, 1915, reported:

BULGARIA'S reply to the Russian ultimatum was transmitted in the Bulgarian language, notwithstanding the fact that Russian is the traditional tongue in intercourse among the Slavic countries. The message was so badly garbled in transmission that the Foreign Office has not been able accurately to reconstruct the text, although extraordinary efforts have been made and the message has been repeated by sending points.

The message is described here as "bold to the verge of insolence." In substance, Bulgaria denies German officers are in the staffs of the Bulgarian armies, but says that if they are present that fact concerns only Bulgaria, which reserves the right to invite whomsoever she likes. Regarding acceptance of financial assistance from Germany, Bulgaria maintains the right to make loans wherever she pleases. As to the demand that relations be broken with the "enemies of Slav-

dom," the Bulgarian Government asserts it is its privilege to choose friends to suit itself and join with any group it prefers.

The general tenor of the reply is such as to indicate that the Bulgarian Government has no objection to withdrawal from Sofia of such foreign diplomatists as disprove its conduct.

BULGARIA'S MANIFESTO.

A dispatch from Berlin of Oct. 8, 1915, transmitted by wireless to Sayville, N. Y.:

The Frankfurter Zeitung asserts that the Bulgarian Government has issued a manifesto to the nation announcing its decision to enter the war on the side of the central powers. This manifesto, as quoted from the Frankfurter Zeitung by the Overseas News Agency, states that Bulgaria would commit suicide if she did not align herself with Germany and her allies.

The manifesto, as given out by the news agency, follows:

The central powers have promised us



FERDINAND, KING OF RUMANIA

His Kingdom Is Trembling in the Balance of the New Balkan Conflict

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



GRAND DUCHESS MARIE OF RUSSIA
She Is the Third Daughter of the Czar, and Is Sixteen Years Old.
(Photo from Bain News Service.)

parts of Serbia, creating an Austro-Bulgarian border line, which is absolutely necessary for Bulgaria's independence of the Serbians.

We do not believe in the promises of the Quadruple Entente. Italy, one of the Allies, treacherously broke her treaty of thirty-three years. We believe in Germany, which is fighting the whole world to fulfill her treaty with Austria.

Bulgaria must fight at the victors' side. The Germans and Austro-Hungarians are victorious on all fronts. Russia soon will have collapsed entirely. Then will come the turn of France, Italy, and Serbia. Bulgaria would commit suicide if she did not fight on the side of the central powers, which offer the only possibility of realizing her desire for union of all Bulgarian peoples.

The news agency says further:

The manifesto to the people, which is not only a historical document but contains valuable material in regard to Bulgarian politics and economics, states that Russia is fighting for Constantinople and the Dardanelles, Great Britain to destroy Germany's competition, France for Alsace and Lorraine, and the other allies to rob foreign countries. The central powers are fighting to defend property and assure peaceful progress.

The loyal neutrality maintained by Bulgaria has been advantageous up to the present time, the manifesto says, and it is only now that military and economic preparations have been completed.

The manifesto states that Serbia, the worst enemy of Bulgaria, has oppressed the purely Bulgarian population of Macedonia in the most barbarous manner, the male population being compelled to die for Serbia's cause, the women being outraged, and the rivers running red with blood.

The Amsterdam correspondent of *Reuter's Telegram Company* on Oct. 9 sent further extracts from the manifesto issued by Bulgaria as published by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The correspondent says the document, which purports to explain the decision of King Ferdinand and

Premier Radoslavoff to join the central powers, fills seven columns in the newspaper. It is stated that the manifesto has been widely circulated.

Defending Bulgaria's adoption of a policy of "strong and loyal neutrality," states the correspondent, the document says:

In the beginning none could foresee how events would develop and which side would be victorious. If the Government had resolved to participate in the great war it might have committed the fault of joining the side that would have been beaten, and thus jeopardize the existence of the present Bulgarian Empire. Neutrality has enabled us to bring the military material and preparedness of our army to such a pitch as never before has been reached.

A copy of the manifesto of King Ferdinand to the Bulgarians reached London on Oct. 16, 1915. The manifesto implies that Bulgaria has no quarrel with the Entente powers. It explains that they, like Germany, were prepared to give Bulgaria the greater part of Macedonia. It continues:

Our treacherous neighbor, Serbia, alone remained inflexible in the face of the advice of her friends and allies. Far from listening to their counsels, Serbia, in animosity, stupidly attacked our territory, and our brave troops have been forced to fight for the defense of their own soil.

In conclusion, King Ferdinand says:

The European war is nearing a close. The victorious army of the central empires in Serbia are advancing rapidly. We command our valiant army to drive the enemy from the limits of our kingdom and crush this felon neighbor. We shall fight the Serbs at the same time as the brave armies of the central empires.

Greece and Bulgaria

GREECE MOBILIZES.

At a session in the Greek Chamber on Sept. 30, 1915, Premier Venizelos characterized the summons to the colors of Bulgaria's forces a grave menace to peace, and virtually called on that power

to demobilize. The late Premier Gounaris, amid great enthusiasm, extended unreserved support to the Government's policy and the House ratified the decree of national mobilization and authorized a war loan of \$30,000,000. As soon as the

Chamber had assembled Premier Venizelos mounted the tribune and made the following declaration:

IN September of last year I explained to the House the policy of the Greek Government toward the international situation as created by the European war. In February last we considered that the time had come to change that attitude, but, having disagreed with the Crown, the Cabinet resigned.

After the recent elections, having again been called to power, I considered in view of the great changes that have taken place meanwhile in the international situation that we should return to our original policy; but this normal situation was suddenly disturbed by the Bulgarian general mobilization, to which measure Greece could make but one reply—by ordering mobilization likewise.

I must inform the House that after these two measures reassuring assurances were given by both sides. M. Radoslavoff, the Bulgarian Premier, declared to our Minister in Sofia that Bulgaria's mobilization had no purpose of attack either against us or our ally, Serbia, but was necessitated by Bulgaria's propinquity to the theatre of war and the object was to enable Bulgaria to maintain a policy of armed neutrality. We replied that so long as such was the significance of the Bulgarian mobilization our own must not be considered as having any other object than the same armed neutrality.

Despite these assurances, however, the situation must still be considered grave. Modern mobilization means such a serious dislocation of the country's financial and social life and entails such enormous expenditure that it cannot long be continued without serious danger to peace, and this danger is all the greater when one of the mobilized States does not conceal the fact that territorial statutes established by treaty between her and neighboring States are not considered worthy of respect.

I do not say this to depict the situation as being darker than it is in reality, but may not conceal the real state of affairs from the nation, for although everybody in Greece desires peace I know well the

incomparable spirit of self-sacrifice with which the Greek Nation under arms is ready to defend both the country's territory and the nation's vital interests and oppose any attempt of any one Balkan State to acquire for itself a preponderant position which would put an end to the political and moral independence of the rest. Nevertheless, I should be happy if the quieting assurances given by the Governments of both the mobilized Balkan States should be followed by the simultaneous and prompt recall of mobilization and thus avert danger to peace.

The Premier's speech was received with prolonged applause by the whole House and galleries. M. Gounaris, as leader of the major Opposition, rose and in a few words stated that his party approved both the mobilization and other measures adopted by the Government, and in such matters Greeks of all parties were entirely as one.

VENIZELOS RESIGNS.

An Athens dispatch to the Havas Agency, dated Oct. 6, 1915, said:

Premier Venizelos has resigned,* the King having informed him that he was unable to support the policy of his Ministry.

After Premier Venizelos, in a session which lasted till 4:30 o'clock on Oct. 5,

* This was the second time within a few months that Premier Venizelos had resigned because of disagreement with the King, who is a brother-in-law of the German Emperor and has steadily opposed M. Venizelos's policy of co-operation with the Entente Allies. Following his former resignation general elections were held in Greece and his party was returned to power by a decisive majority. M. Venizelos was recalled by the King, with whom he effected a compromise and again became Premier.

King Constantine has insisted throughout the present crisis that Greece's treaty of alliance with Serbia was abrogated by the Serbians in offering concessions to Bulgaria. The order to mobilize the forces of the nation, issued on Sept. 30, was signed by the monarch with undisguised reluctance after M. Venizelos had had an all-day conference with him. During the conference it became rumored in Athens that the Cabinet had resigned, and the report caused intense indignation among the crowds which had gathered before the Foreign Office and the newspaper bulletin boards to await news of the latest developments.

1915, had explained to the Chamber of Deputies the circumstances connected with the landing of allied troops at Saloniki, the Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the Government. The vote was 142 to 102, with thirteen members not voting.

Answering protests made by the Opposition "in the name of Hellenism" against the occupation of Greek territory by foreign troops, the Premier gave a frank exposition of the attitude of the Government, after which he invited full-discussion of the foreign policy of Greece. He said:

Some time has passed since the Entente powers have made requests of Greece. Today they ask nothing but this—they who offer Serbia, Greece's ally, succor in the event of circumstances which would require Greece herself, under her alliance, to give Serbia help. Great nations may with impunity treat treaties as scraps of paper. For smaller countries such a policy would be suicidal.

The wildest disorder broke out. As reported by *The Associated Press*, the Premier succeeded in dominating the situation, his voice rising above the tumult and the clang of the bell. He cried:

We have a treaty with Serbia. If we are honest we will leave nothing undone to insure its fulfillment in letter and spirit. Only if we are rogues may we find excuses to avoid our obligations.

"TO THE LAST DRACHMA."

In a statement to *The Associated Press* correspondents just before his resignation M. Venizelos said:

One thing is absolutely certain: Greece will abide by the terms of her alliance with Serbia, not only in letter but in spirit, to the last man and the last drachma. More, the Greco-Serbian treaty foresaw only the possibility of a Balkan war. When it was made, none could predict the present European conflict with all its widespread complications. But the spirit of the alliance was one of mutual defense, and because the dangers threatening our ally increased with unforeseen conditions there is no excuse for hiding behind the verbiage of the treaty to escape the responsibility of our pledge.

Though the entire available forces of the general empires be added to those of Bulgaria in an attempt to crush Serbia, Greece will unflinchingly remain true to her passed word. The honor of Greece is at stake. You may be certain it will not be betrayed.

Nor, indeed, has there ever been at the bottom the slightest wavering about the Greek people respecting their responsibility to enter the war in defense of their ally under the terms of alliance, although every desperate effort has been made to becloud the issue.

The spectacle of part of her press subservient to foreign influences has shamed and humiliated Greece. A people so eager to read—so much so that every bootblack, while he shines your shoes, is reading a book or newspaper—has been temporarily confused by an inspired and venal propaganda. But the feeling of loyalty to our national obligations has never for a moment been really affected.

What Greece has said she will do, she will do. She is ready to fight, and, if Serbia needs her, she will fight.

Respecting the landing of French troops at Saloniki, there is but one thing to be said—we have protested, of course, for we have wished to remain neutral in this European struggle, and we wish it now, if it were consistent with our rights and duties. But the Greek people cannot war on France, and would not if they could.

What France has done for Greece no Greek can forget. Comes now France, asking nothing of Greece, declaring categorically her sole intention to be to support Greece's ally in the case of a need wherein Greece herself would be bound to support her neighbor. It is something offered, not something asked. Indeed, since I have been Premier, I may say quite frankly that the Entente has asked not one concession of Greece.

Therefore, when France gives every guarantee respecting the integrity of Greece, when France's motives for landing troops on Greek soil are explained as in the nature of accomplishing the very purpose of Greece's treaty of alliance with Serbia, we can see no reason



Line Held by the Allied Attacking Forces at Gallipoli on Oct. 15, 1915.

why Greece should resist what she cannot help and what ultimately cannot fail to be to her advantage.

It must not be forgotten that, while no sacrifice has been asked of Greece to which her international obligations do not already impel her, the realization

of the dream, which sleeps in the heart of every true Greek, has been held out to her without conditions.

For centuries the Greeks have wanted two things—a free and united Greece and freedom for Greeks wherever they might be. The former we have gained with

blood, heroism, and sacrifice, extended over thirty centuries. The latter, in a larger degree than we could hope to achieve unaided for centuries to come, perhaps, is suddenly made possible to us.

Whoever thinks what it would mean to Greece that those of our blood line on the opposite shore may one day soon come under our flag cannot be indifferent to the realization of a greater Greece for which we are asked to pay nothing save the keeping of our pledged word, to which our honor binds us in any case. This is the position of Greece today, which I am more glad to make clear to America because I have just been approached by William Hamilton of New York with a most generous offer of assistance for Greek refugees on behalf of the American Mercy and Relief Committee.

That help should be offered from America at this juncture is a source of most sincere joy to me. For don't forget that I am a Cretan. I remember the war for the liberty of Crete. No Greek, certainly no Cretan, could ever forget, whatever the destinies of Greece may be in the war upon which she is now embarked, that her debt to America is and will be unpayable.

A NEUTRAL CABINET.

On Oct. 10, 1915, the Greek Chamber was informed by Premier Zaimis, who succeeded Premier Venizelos, forming a new Cabinet in agreement with King Constantine, in order the better to assure the vital interests of Greece, her neutrality "will for the present be armed," says a Reuter dispatch from Athens. The Premier added that the future course of the Ministry would be adapted to meet events as they occurred, and expressed the belief that the Government's course had the support of the people. In reply, Former Premier Venizelos said:

No one could wish to create internal difficulties in the country in view of the present extremely critical situation. The Chamber will give its support to the Government as long as the Government policy does not alter the principles of my policy, upon which the Chamber already has given its votes. Even if there existed no treaty with Serbia, our interests would oblige us to depart from neutral-

ity, as another State wishes to aggrandize itself at our expense.

The question is not whether we ought to make war or not, but when we ought to enter the war. In any case we ought not to allow Bulgaria to crush Serbia in order that she then may attack us with all her forces. The national soul says it is to the interest of Greece that Bulgaria should be crushed. If Bulgaria should triumph, Hellenism would be completely vanquished.

The Daily Chronicle's Athens correspondent gives the following passages from Former Premier Venizelos's speech in the Chamber. Referring to the probable result of the war, he said:

It is impossible to prophesy with accuracy, but logic must lead us to believe that to accept a victory of the central empires as certain, which the German propaganda endeavored to persuade the Greek people to do, is a dangerous attitude.

If Germany was not able to win at the beginning of the struggle, when she found her opponents unprepared, we must face the logic of the conclusion that victory is more than doubtful now, when her opponents have at their command much vaster resources in men and treasure to draw upon, and have command of the seas. Indeed, as time goes on, and if they can gain more time, reason points to the conclusion that England and her allies must win.

Referring to the new Cabinet the ex-Premier said that he believed it was inspired with a benevolent attitude toward the Entente, but in its policy of neutrality there could be no doubt that Greece was rendering an immense service to Germany. For that service she was entitled to ask for compensation. He said:

I have been told that Germany offers to guarantee our territorial integrity and to give us some extension of territory in Southern Albania. The Government should see that promise regularized in the direction of a declaration to the Government. The Cabinet should also see to it that the guarantee of integrity is not merely for the duration of the war,

which would be useless, but for a period, say, of ten years. Inquiry should also be made as to what territory has been promised to Bulgaria.

Take care, gentlemen, take care of that greater Greece which I have handed over to you. Take care that you do not hand over to your successors a smaller Greece. Gentlemen, I have finished. I feel that I have done my duty.

A REPUDIATED TREATY.

An Associated Press dispatch dated at Athens on Oct. 12, 1915, reports:

The Greek reply to Serbia's representations that the Bulgarian attack on Serbia completes the act of aggression contemplated under the treaty of alliance between Greece and Serbia, and asking if the Greek Army is ready to enter action against Bulgaria, was delivered today.

Beginning with the declaration that "the Royal Government greatly regrets that it is unable to accede to Serbia's request," the reply explains that the alliance of 1911, foreseeing Bulgarian aggression, was limited to preserving an equilibrium among the Balkan States.

"The preamble of the treaty," the reply continues, "defines it as of a purely Balkan character, not applying to a general conflagration. Both the treaty of alliance and the military convention completing it prove in the first article that

the contracting parties contemplated only isolated attacks by Bulgaria against one of them."

The note argues minutely that the treaty does not cover the situation which has arisen today—a situation in which "Greece might destroy herself without hope of saving Serbia, which cannot wish such a result." It is added that "common interests demand that the Greek forces still be kept in reserve for a better use later."

The note concludes with the declaration that Greece intends to remain an armed neutral, and "assures Serbia that Greece will continue to give her every assistance and facility compatible with Greece's exclusively international position."

A dispatch by The Associated Press from London, dated Oct. 15, 1915, says:

In a note to the British Government received today Greece announces her definite decision not to intervene in the war on behalf of Serbia at present.

In the communication, which is of great length, Premier Zaimis of Greece presents his interpretation of the Greco-Serbian treaty. He concludes with the statement that the present Greek Government is of the opinion that the treaty with Serbia does not call for intervention by Greece in the present circumstances.

The Balkan Official Press

Comments on the Negotiations Between the Balkan Governments and the Two Opposing Groups of European Powers

The diplomatic negotiations between the Balkan States and both the Quadruple Entente and the central powers—negotiations which have reached their climax in the present crisis—are clearly reflected in authoritative comment and official interviews appearing in the press of the Balkan capitals, as shown in the subjoined translations from Bulgarian, Rumanian, Serbian, and Turkish newspapers.

Narodni Prava, a Bulgarian official organ, states:

THE Bulgarian Government, unwilling to waste the forces of the nation, continues to observe its neutrality, but it bears in mind that the disagreement after the war of 1912 has not yet been settled, and that the Bulgarian Nation shall no longer

tolerate the violation of the principle of nationalities in the Balkans, and the yoke which lies upon 1,000,000 Bulgarians. In spite of this fact, the States which have to settle accounts with the legitimate claims of the Bulgarians continue to manifest unusual obstinacy, and are thus consciously preparing for a new conflict between the Balkan nations.

It seems as though the sparks, which come to us from the European fire, cannot be extinguished in the Balkans, especially since July 28, 1913, when a great quantity of explosive materials was accumulated in the peninsula. Each day brings with it greater chances of war and lesser hopes of peace. Events are unfolding themselves, due to inflexible laws and do not depend upon us.

Thanks to one year of beneficial neutrality, Bulgaria possesses today fresh forces and a reserve of national riches to meet approaching events. The spirit of the people is firm in the belief of the triumph of the Bulgarian cause.

The Bulgarian Government is convinced that the moment it has fulfilled its duty, which is the conservation of the energies of the country, the nation will then perform its duty to itself, to its future, to the ideal left it as heritage by the pioneers of our renaissance, and to our independence—its duty to realize a Greater Bulgaria for all Bulgarians.

Bulgaria is ready to face the future. She is not seeking adventures, but wants to take possession of what by right is hers.

L'Echo de Bulgarie, the Bulgarian official organ, published in French, has the following to say:

The appeal which the friends of the Balkan nations have made will have the same reception. At Athens and Nish the Governments will repeat for the hundredth time what has been proclaimed incessantly for the last two years: No concessions whatsoever are possible. The most ardent patriots will

even say, not only that Macedonia must not be restored to her legitimate heirs, but even that the existence of Bulgaria near Serbia is a danger, or that the King of Greece's way toward Constantinople leads through Sofia.

There were, chiefly in Russia, sincere people who said to the Bulgarians in 1913: "Give your brothers what they claim in Macedonia, as long as they themselves will give it back to you when they take Bosnia and Herzegovina." And today the Serbs declare that they would rather give Belgrade to Austria than transfer Monastir to Bulgaria.

And the Sofia organ of the Government, Kambana, recalling Stephen Stambuloff's words uttered in 1888 at Orhanian, points out the great danger to Bulgaria if Russia wins the strait:

If we consent to accept the yoke [said Stephen Stambuloff] nobody will be able to relieve us of it. If, on the contrary, we refuse to accept a foreign yoke, nobody will be able to impose it by force. Everything depends upon us, upon our Government and the nation.

Since the rule of Peter the Great, Russia has been aiming at the realization of her dream of conquering Constantinople. But whoever will possess Constantinople will be the master of the Balkans, and vice versa, he who is the master of the Balkans will have a say at Constantinople. Let us suppose that a son of the Czar will become Prince of Bulgaria and that Russia will rule at Constantinople. In such a case the Czar will be compelled to subjugate Bulgaria, even if it meant passing over the corpse of his own son.

Serbian Views of the Bulgarian Situation

PREMIER PASHITCH'S STATEMENT.

The Serbian Premier Pashitch made the following official statement in the Nish Parliament:

THE Quadruple Entente wants the assistance of Bulgaria. But Bulgaria will not give her support until she is assured that Macedonia will be hers.

The fact that Greece has refused to accept the proposals of the Quadruple Entente does not affect the decision of granting Cavalla to Bulgaria. It is to be regretted that Greece has not followed the advice of accepting the proposals.

The Quadruple Entente is firm in its decision to satisfy the demands of Bul-

garia. Any answer which would prevent the realization of harmony with Bulgaria will be considered by the Quadruple Entente as an act of distrust.

SERBIAN PRESS COMMENT.

The organ of the Government, Odjek, published at Nish, states:

The representatives of the Quadruple Entente have appeared at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to solicit the Serbian answer to the Bulgarian demands. There is, of course, only one answer. We must satisfy the Bulgarian claims. There is a perfect understanding between the Government and the Crown in this matter.

Strja, however, makes a bitter attack on Bulgaria:

An understanding with Bulgaria is a chimera. Turn over the pages of our history, remember the date of June 16, 1913, and then begin to negotiate with her. The Bulgarians lack morality and spirit, and cannot be compared with the Serbs, who are faithful and loyal friends. For proofs, compare their history with ours. Their whole history is full of crimes and perfidy, our history is a ray of sunshine in the darkness. Our history is full of heroism, of grandeur, and faithful friendship. Why does the Quadruple Entente seek the friendship of such a State?

Rumanian Comment on the Balkan Question

The Bucharest pro-German Seara protests against Rumanian concessions to Bulgaria:

THE Russians, supported by our French friends and our Italian brothers, together with the English, insist that Rumania cede to Bulgaria the Quadrilateral, which was taken after the second Balkan war.

For this sacrifice on the one hand the Quadruple Entente demands from us sacrifices in other directions. So that on the one hand we must start out to rescue the Russians from their inevitable doom, a thing which not only implies immense sacrifice of blood and money, but risks the preponderant situation which we gained under the glorious rule of King Carol I., and even our national existence. On the other hand, the Entente tries to make us give up a territory which is necessary to our strategic position.

Adevarul, an influential independent Rumanian organ, pro-Allies, considers the situation:

The news from Sofia makes us wonder what will become of us if Austria and Germany succeed in their plan to win Bulgaria over to their side. Should Bulgaria, instead of fighting against Turkey and with the Quadruple Entente, join hands with dying Turkey, Germany will try to settle matters with us, too. She can demand that we declare in twenty-

four hours which course we intend to take. Well-informed people say that she may even ask us to carry out the treaty of alliance, signed in 1913. It is possible also that she will only compel us to let ammunition pass to Turkey, and that will be worse, from a moral point of view. What will we do in case of such provocation?

We should then mobilize immediately on two fronts. But instead of taking the offensive against Bulgaria and the Teutonic allies, we would simply take the defensive. And then we will see how events will unfold themselves. Our immediate entrance into action, however, would surely hasten these events. In fact, it would attract a part of the German forces toward our fronts, would make possible the Russian offensive and perhaps the Serbian also. Our honor would be saved and our national aspirations realized.

The hypothesis that, not having anything better to do, we will have to go with Austria and Germany, is not impossible. The King and the Government may even desire it. This would mean, however, to commit suicide.

The official French organ of the Government, L'Indépendance Roumaine, characterizes the activity of both groups of powers in the Balkans:

The rôle of the Quadruple Entente is

to pacify the interests of the Balkan powers and make them accept sacrifices and compensations. The diplomacy of the central powers is simpler. It consists in mixing up the cards and in provoking discords.

Ignoring the fight between the foreign diplomats, they—the statesmen of the Balkans—will know, we are sure, how to decide in conformity with their essential interests, making even necessary sacrifices.

Turkey's Promptings in the Balkans

The Turkish Lloyd urges Rumania to join the central powers:

RUMANIA is hesitating and is glancing around to see on which side the bids are smaller and the chances of gain greater. She is right, of course, but there is a limit to this policy of hesitation. And this limit is reached when the vital interests of the greater powers are concerned. The press of the central powers did not follow the instance of the press of the Entente. She did not make promises which it will be impossible to keep, she did not even use blandishments, nor menaces. Events have an eloquence altogether different from the best articles published in the newspapers and the defeat of Russia forces Rumania to prompt and energetic decision. Nobody can compel a State to accept offers made to it, but in Rumania we must consider that events can very easily take a turn which would make the central powers less disposed to negotiate and more eager to act.

The hour of hesitations is past and a hypocritical policy becomes more and more dangerous. Rumania has now the chance to gather the fruits of her former friendly relations with the central powers, who for a long time have given her proofs of sincere friendship. Rumania has the chance to gather the fruits of this friendship, if she will have confidence in them and in herself. The great danger lies in indecision, in the standing between two roads and waiting for sunset before starting.

Tanin also sees the realization of Bulgarian and Rumanian national aspirations in their joining the Austro-Germans:

Logic and circumstances oblige the Balkan States, especially Bulgaria and

Rumania, to change their policy of waiting into one of immediate action. If those two young nations are convinced that they have found the proper moment for the realization of their national aspirations, they must hurry. The Russians have endured successive defeats. National aspirations cannot be satisfied with vague promises. For their complete realization one must do positive work.

The victorious situation of the Teutons might be augmented by the entrance into the war of one million bayonets—and the world's peace will then be assured.

Even if one were not to take into consideration the different interests which bind the Rumanians and the Bulgarians to the central powers, not to mention the enormous profit which would result from the Russian defeat, it remains a well-known fact that the events which are now unrolling themselves must interest the neutrals to a high degree.

Even the enemies of the Teutons agree that they are victorious. To join the defeated and fight against the victors, especially when powerful Germany is at their head, would be an act of insanity. The Balkan States thus have no other way but to join the Teutons.

The official Tanin, on another occasion, criticises the attitude of the Bulgarian Russophile press:

There are many signs that our neighbor is about to decide. The nature of the offers of the Quadruple Entente, as well as the currents of opinion that are manifest at Sofia, are interesting symptoms. The Russophile newspapers are engaged in an active campaign against the Teutons and especially against us.

Balkanska Tribuna and Preporetz are filling their columns with false rumors

concerning Turkey. They give a very black appearance to our military and economic situation. It is obvious that they want to influence public opinion, and we believe that by this attitude they are rendering a great service to their country. The first duty of a Bulgarian newspaper is not to be Russophile nor Turkophile, but first of all upholders of truth and of national interests. For instance, to say that the situation of the Turks is precarious and to describe it in such sad terms, at a time when even the Anglo-French confess that they are facing immense difficulties in attacking the Dardanelles, is to create a wrong impression of Turkey in Bulgaria. When those letters appeared in Bulgaria the Turkish troops forced back almost 100,000 men whom England had brought from the four corners. We have been

in war, and although we have had to endure continuous warfare in the last few years we are by no means beaten. We take the liberty which a victorious war of more than ten months confers upon us, and we may say that Turkey will not be defeated in the future. We grant enormous sacrifices and we know that we are suffering on account of deficiency, but at a time when even the neutrals have to accustom themselves to privations the Turks are determined—to create the basis of an empire truly independent, to do their duty to the end. We must complain of these newspapers which want to discredit us in the eyes of our neighbors.

If the Russophile newspapers of Sofia would have told the truth about us they would have rendered their country a lasting service.

Machines for Annihilating Distance

The following report appeared in The London Daily Telegraph on Sept. 13, 1915:

The war has robbed us of an address before the British Association dealing with the fascinating subject of mechanical locomotion, for that would have been his choice, Dr. H. S. Hele-Shaw told his engineering audience at Manchester last week, when delivering his Presidential address before Section G, had the war not intervened. As the President of the Engineering Section well reminded us, the subject would have afforded ample scope, as might be realized by considering what would have been the effect produced if that distinguished engineer, Sir William Fairbairn, who presided over a meeting of the British Association in Manchester just fifty years ago, had told his audience that within a comparatively short space of time our roads would be to a large extent occupied with self-propelled traffic; that electricity, then nothing but a toy, would play a most important part in our means of locomotion, not merely for driving, but for lighting; that it would be used for searching out and communicating with vessels far away from the land and from each other; that ships many times the size of the largest ones then in ordinary use would employ steam as Hero employed it 2,000 years ago, and obtain by this means a speed more than twice that of any existing ships; and that many ocean ships would be propelled against wind and tide by engines using no steam at all. If the President had further proceeded to predict that ships would travel under water for long distances as easily as on the surface, and that, above all, a safe pathway would be found in the air by means of machines flying at speeds far exceeding those of the swiftest birds, Dr. Hele-Shaw suspected that he would have lost a good deal of his reputation as a man of judgment and common sense.

The Allies' Great Offensive

Effort to Force the Western Front

British, French, and German Official Versions of the Drive, with Stirring Personal Accounts

KING GEORGE'S MESSAGE.

TO Field Marshal Sir John French,
Commander in Chief, British Ex-
peditionary Force:

Sept. 30, 1915.

I heartily congratulate you and all ranks of my army under your command upon the success which has attended their gallant efforts since the commencement of the combined attack.

I recognize that this strenuous and determined fighting is but the prelude to greater deeds and further victories.

I trust the sick and wounded are doing well.

GEORGE, R. I.

The following reply was sent:

To his Majesty the King, Buckingham Palace, Oct. 1, 1915:

Your Majesty's forces in France are deeply grateful for your Majesty's most gracious message.

There is no sacrifice the troops are not prepared to make to uphold the honor and traditions of your Majesty's army and to secure final and complete victory.

J. D. P. FRENCH, Field Marshal.

EARL KITCHENER'S MESSAGE.

The Field Marshal Commanding in Chief has received the following message from Field Marshal the Right Hon. H. H. Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, Secretary of State for War:

Sept. 27, 1915.

To Sir John French, General Headquarters:

My warmest congratulations to you and all serving under you on the substantial success you have achieved, and my best wishes for the progress of your important operation. KITCHENER.

FIELD MARSHAL'S REPORT.

THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

General Headquarters, France, Oct. 3.

The following Special Order of the Day has been issued by Field Marshal Sir John French:

We have now reached a definite stage in the great battle which commenced on the 25th inst.

Our allies in the south have pierced the enemy's last line of intrenchments and effected large captures of prisoners and guns.

The Tenth French Army, on our immediate right, has been heavily opposed, but has brilliantly succeeded in securing the important positions known as the Vimy Ridge.

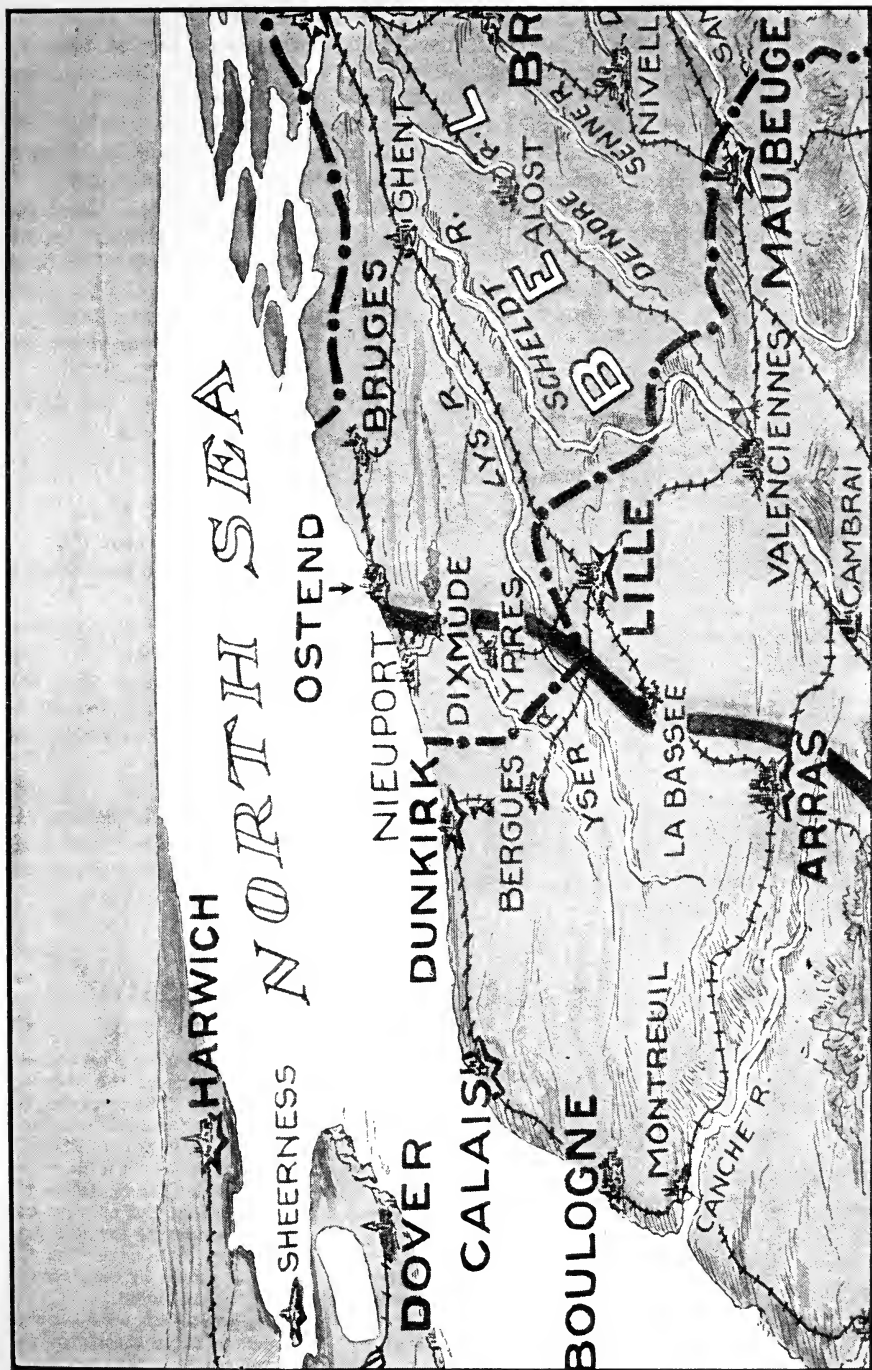
The operations of the British forces have been most successful, and have had great and important results.

On the morning of the 25th inst. the First and Fourth Corps attacked and carried the enemy's first and most powerful line of intrenchments, extending from our extreme right flank at Grenay to a point north of the Hohenzollern Redoubt—a distance of 6,500 yards.

This position was exceptionally strong, consisting of a double line, which included some large redoubts and a network of trenches and bombproof shelters. Dugouts were constructed at short intervals all along the line, some of them being large caves thirty feet below the ground.

The Eleventh Corps, in general reserve, and the Third Cavalry Division were subsequently thrown into the fight, and finally the Twenty-eighth Division.

After the vicissitudes attendant upon every great fight the enemy's second line



Line Held by the British Troops on Oct. 15, 1915.

posts were taken, the commanding position known as Hill 70 in advance of Loos was finally captured, and a strong line was established and consolidated in close proximity to the German third and last line.

The main operations south of La Bassée Canal were much facilitated and assisted by the subsidiary attacks delivered by the Third and Indian Corps and the troops of the Second Army.

Great help was also rendered by the operations of the Fifth Corps east of Ypres, during which some important captures were made.

We are also much indebted to Vice Admiral Bacon and our naval comrades for the valuable co-operation of the fleet.

Our captures have amounted to over 3,000 prisoners and some 25 guns, besides many machine guns and a quantity of war material.

The enemy has suffered heavy losses, particularly in the many counterattacks by which he has vainly endeavored to wrest back the captured positions, but which have all been gallantly repulsed by our troops.

I desire to express to the army under my command my deep appreciation of the splendid work they have accomplished and my heartfelt thanks for the brilliant leadership displayed by General Sir Douglas Haig and the corps and divisional commanders who acted under his orders in the main attack.

In the same spirit of admiration and gratitude I wish particularly to comment upon the magnificent spirit, indomitable courage, and dogged tenacity displayed by the troops. Old army, new army, and territorials have vied with one another in the heroic conduct displayed throughout the battle by officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.

I feel the utmost confidence and assurance that the same glorious spirit which has been so marked a feature throughout the first phase of this great battle will continue until our efforts are crowned by final and complete victory.

J. D. P. FRENCH,

Field Marshal Commanding in Chief,
British Army in the Field.

Sept. 30, 1915.

GENERAL JOFFRE'S ORDER.

Here is the text of General Joffre's order to the French Army announcing a general offensive:

Soldiers of the Republic: The general offensive has begun. The artillery opens; the infantry will follow; then will come the cavalry. The offensive will be kept up day and night. Remember the Marne!

Officers: All is ready in arms and ammunition. The general offensive has been decided upon. Inform your men, for he who dies for his country has the right to know where we lead him.

German Version of the Allies' Offensive

The German wireless press news sent out from Berlin on Oct. 4, 1915, contains the following:

GERMAN OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

"Main Headquarters report:

"The following Army Order of the French General Joffre has been known to the German Chief Army Administration for some time:

"Main Headquarters of the Western Army General Staff 3. Bureau No. 8, 56, 565, 15-9-1915. Secret.

"To the General in Command.

"The spirit of the troops and their

those of our countrymen who have been willingness to sacrifice themselves represent the highest conditions of the attack. The better he understands the importance of the movements of the attack wherein he participates, the braver the French soldier fights, and the more trust he puts in the measures taken by his leaders. It is therefore necessary that the officers of all grades from today onward explain the favorable conditions to their subordinates under which the next attack of the French fighting force will be conducted.

"The following points must be known to all: 1. In order to drive the Germans out of France it is necessary that we shall commence the attack in the French theatre of the war. Not only will we liberate

suppressed for the last twelve months, but we will also snatch away from the enemy the valuable possession of the occupied territory.

"A number of batteries of heavy calibre have been got together and prepared with a view to an early attack. The number of shells required for each gun at our disposal exceeds the greatest supply which have been previously calculated.

"2. The present moment is especially favorable for a general attack, first, because the landing of Kitchener's army in France has been completed, and, secondly, because during the last month the Germans have withdrawn from our front forces for use on the Russian front. The Germans have only few reserves behind their intrenched positions on the Dunes.

"3. The attack is to be a general one. It will consist of a number of great attacks made simultaneously, and will be made over a large front. The English troops will take part with large forces. The Belgian troops will also take part in the attacking operations.

"As soon as the enemy has been shaken the troops then in front of the weakened portions of the front will then attack. In order to complete the rout and cause the enemy to flee in disorder, it will be a question for the attacking troops not only of taking the first line of trenches, but of continuing the advance right through the second and third line into the open territory. The whole of our cavalry will join in the attack, so as to take full advantage of the long distance from the infantry. The simultaneousness of the attack and its weight and extent will hinder the enemy from collecting (massing) his infantry and artillery reserves at any point as he was able to do at Arras. This condition will guarantee success. The notification of this order to the troops will not fail to raise their courage to the height of the sacrifice which is required of them, and it is therefore absolutely necessary that these instructions shall be carried out with cleverness and confidence. (Signed) J. JOFFRE."

"A French regimental commander issues the following supplementary order:

"This command brings to the notice of battalion commander and company leaders the following, and begs them while on duty in the trenches and in camp to take advantage of every opportunity to give their men to understand that the efforts required of them may lead to such a success as will bring the war within a very short time to an end with one blow.

"In the attack every one must use their forces, energy, and bravery which are necessary to achieve such a great result. We must break through the Ger-

man lines and advance. In spite of everything, (remainder cannot be understood.)"

"This command of General Joffre's has been amplified by means of the following order of the commander of the English Guard Division which fell into German hands on Sept. 25:

"Division Command of the Guards Division.—On the eve of the greatest battle of all times the commander of the Guard Division wishes his troops much luck. He has nothing to add to the animating words of the Commanding General as given out this morning, but wishes his men to keep two things well before their mind: first, that upon the result of this battle the fate of the coming generation of Englishmen depends. Second, that the greatest things are expected of the Guard Division. From his thirty years' acquaintance of the Guard he knows that he need say no more.

(Signed) "LORD CAVAN."

"From the nature of these orders other things are apparent. The object of the attack was to drive the Germans out of France. The result achieved is that the Germans on a front of about 840 kilometers, at one place 23 kilometers, and at another 12 kilometers wide, (and at this latter not by any soldierly qualities of the English attack, but by a successful surprise by gas attack,) have been pressed back from the first line of their system of defense into their second line, which is not their last.

"After a careful computation the French losses in killed and wounded and prisoners is at least 130,000, those of the English 60,000, and the German losses are not one-fifth of this number.

"Whether the enemy has still the idea of attaining his object need not be considered. Anyway, such a success fought with a superiority of 6 or 7 to 1 and prepared for after many months of work on war material in the factories of half the world, including those of America, cannot be styled a 'brilliant victory.' Still less can it be said that the attack has compelled us to do anything which was not in our plans, and especially to direct our advance against the Russian army toward him. Apart from the fact that a certain division which was to have been transported away from the western front when the offensive started was held back, and that another division was sent

away in its stead to the place where the former should have gone, the attack did not cause the German chief army administration to use a single soldier anywhere where they had not previously intended to be used, arrangements having long before been settled. Moreover, the attack has not been carried out without respite day and night; neither has our defense been pushed back at any point beyond our second line. Neither has the enemy hindered us from removing our reserve troops as safely and effectively as we were able to do during the May offensive to the north of Arras."

GERMAN OFFICER'S LETTER.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Paris, dated Oct. 5, 1915, this letter, dated Sept. 26, was found on the body of a German officer who was killed in Champagne:

"One o'clock in the morning. At 7 it will have been seventy-two hours since, without interruption, we have been frightfully bombarded — seventy-two hours of endless, deafening uproar, which even the steadiest nerves can hardly endure!

"I was ordered into the trenches as an observer at 7 A. M. Naturally, telephone lines were broken. I reached the position of the reserves without much trouble, their trenches being destroyed only here and there; but there the difficulties began.

"Mines and bombs were exploding at brief intervals, interspersed with bullets from machine guns. From that point on the trenches were so damaged that we were obliged to crawl on all fours.

"I left my telephone operator and went ahead, amid uninterrupted cracklings, the bursting of grenades, the explosion of shells, the whistling of bullets, the howling of shell fragments, and fogs of smoke. By holding my breath behind my respirator I got to a point where a trench had been repaired thirty-five times. The communication trench was completely leveled. Creeping closer and closer to the ground, I arrived at the second trench, ten yards behind the first. Of the latter nothing remains. The second trench is just deep enough to kneel in.

"Profiting from a period of relative calm, I cast a glance ahead. Our barbed-wire fences are destroyed. I signal our batteries, which resume a rapid fire. Then I creep back to get my telephone operator. It takes me four hours to cover ground which ordinarily could have been covered in twenty-five minutes.

"This is becoming frightful. An explosion throws me against a wall of a trench. A Lieutenant tells me a shell struck in his shelter, also. I rush out and see that all the bombproofs on the slope are burning. A shell striking an ammunition magazine causes a formidable explosion. The French keep on firing into the fire. How I hate them!

"How I admire the French artillery! They are the master gunners. We really cannot imitate them, I regret to say. Continuing to fire into the fire, the enemy provokes a more violent explosion than the preceding ones.

"God knows what they have blown up now! From this moment I have lost all sensation of fear."

French Version of the Allies' Offensive

The following account of the Champagne fighting was issued by the official agency in Paris on Oct. 3, 1915:

ON the evening of Sept. 25 the line we held in Champagne was so irregular in contour that it seemed almost paradoxical. On the map certain of our men were facing east and others west. During the 26th and

27th we succeeded north of Souain and Perthes in occupying a front facing north and in contact with the German second line along a stretch of seven and a half miles. The ground thus conquered represented an area of some fifteen and a half square miles, and was traversed by lines of trenches graduated to a great depth. The borders of the woods were

organized for defense, and innumerable subterranean passages, trenches, and parallels facilitated a resistance foot by foot.

We overcame all these obstacles, imposing our ascendancy on the enemy, and progressing from trench to trench, and on our way seizing batteries, munition depots, and material. Our soldiers were out to conquer, and the joy of knowing that a powerful German fortress was crumbling in the face of their efforts spurred them forward with greater dash. Our Generals and Colonels took up their posts of command in the shelter of the German officers' huts, and the casemates on which there still hung notices "Stab Bataillons," "Kompagnie führer." The soldiers gayly made a rapid inventory of the dwellings and the rustic canteens installed in the woods.

Our artillery took up positions in the open country, as in the days of war of movement. Our advance progressed with success, for continuing which great honor is due to our troops, in particular the Franc-Comtois and Africains, who had assumed the task of taking a string of wooded hills stretching between Auberive and Souain to the north Roman road. The Epine de Vedegrange and Hill 150 are the only points which mark this district on the map 1-80,000. It was there that the Germans resisted with much determination in one of their systems of trenches. Our troops advanced by successive bounds, digging themselves in after each rush, so as to indicate that they had taken possession of the terrain. Thus they succeeded in reaching the enemy's second position at this point, which we have baptized the "parallel of the Epine de Vedegrange." This trench extends eastward unbroken toward Hill 193. Our military vocabulary furnishes many names for it—"Parallel of the wood of Chevron," "Trench of Lubeck." Up to the Navarin farm, further east, it is named "Trench of Kultur," "Trench of Satyrs," and "Trench of Pirates." On the evening of the 25th we had not attained the second line to the east of Navarin farm. The Germans were holding out in the pine woods which terrace the

eastern section of the Souain basin, (Bois de Spandau and Bois de Camerun.)

The next day our troops, who had gone forward west to a point where the Souain-Tahure road traverses the woods, succeeded in joining hands with those installed on Hill 193. Thus the last defenders of the works in the woods were surrounded. Here we made nearly 2,000 prisoners.

Meanwhile our African troops were gaining ground toward the north, clearing the woods and taking possession of the "Camp of Sadowa," which contained large quantities of material, and the existence of which had already been revealed by our airmen. Further east we pushed forward our line, installing ourselves on the summit of Hill 201, facing the Butte of Tahure, on which the enemy dug a second line, named "Trench of the Vistula." An attack put us in possession of a little fort at the extremity of the latter.

Along the remainder of the front the pressure was kept up by violent bombardments, by grenade throwing, and by swift attacks. On the "Main de Massiges" ground was thus gained by a sustained action of the colonial infantry. Alternating the fire of the heavy artillery and the field guns with assaults by grenadiers, we succeeded greatly in increasing our gain of Sept. 25 along the northern portion of the promontory.

Germans surrendered in groups, even though not surrounded, so tired were they of the fight, and so depressed by hunger and convinced of our determination to continue our effort to the end.

A German trench stood in the way of our advance. Our artillery concentrated its fire upon it. Toward the end of the afternoon of the 26th, when the observation officer suddenly gave the order to cease fire, he saw the Germans stand up on the crest and put up their hands. "Seventy-fives! Send a screen of fire behind," ordered the General commanding the division, and immediately the Germans were to be seen running toward our lines, while our colonial infantry went off and installed themselves in the trenches. There they stuck up the pen-

nants with which they had directed our artillery fire and which on the crest torn

by shells unfurled themselves like glorious standards.

"Failure of the Allies"

A Berlin dispatch by wireless to Sayville, N. Y., dated Oct. 2, 1915, said:

THE German General Staff recently invited a number of newspaper men from neutral countries—the United States, South America, Holland, and Rumania—to inspect the fighting line in the west during time of battle," says the Overseas News Agency. "They first went to Champagne, near Massiges, where they were permitted to question German soldiers returning from the battleground and captured French soldiers, and also to view field and trenches when under French fire.

"They are thus enabled to verify the reports from the German Headquarters concerning this greatest and most fearful battle fought on the western front since the beginning of the war. They are, accordingly, in a position to state that exaggerated statements are made in the reports from French Headquarters, and to confirm the facts that the Germans were outnumbered several times by the French; that the French suffered terrific and unheard-of losses, in spite of several days of artillery preparation; that the French attacks failed altogether, as none of them attained the expected result; and that the encircling movement undertaken by General Joffre is without tangible result.

"The neutral newspaper men left Champagne for the northern part of the line in continuation of their inspection tour."

A Berlin dispatch of Oct. 2, by wireless to Tuckerton, N. J., reported:

The following was among the items given out today by the Overseas News Agency:

"Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, in an army order telling of French attacks repulsed by two other German armies, declared to his troops that 'the world presently shall see the pompously advertised grand offensive broken by the iron will of our people in arms.'

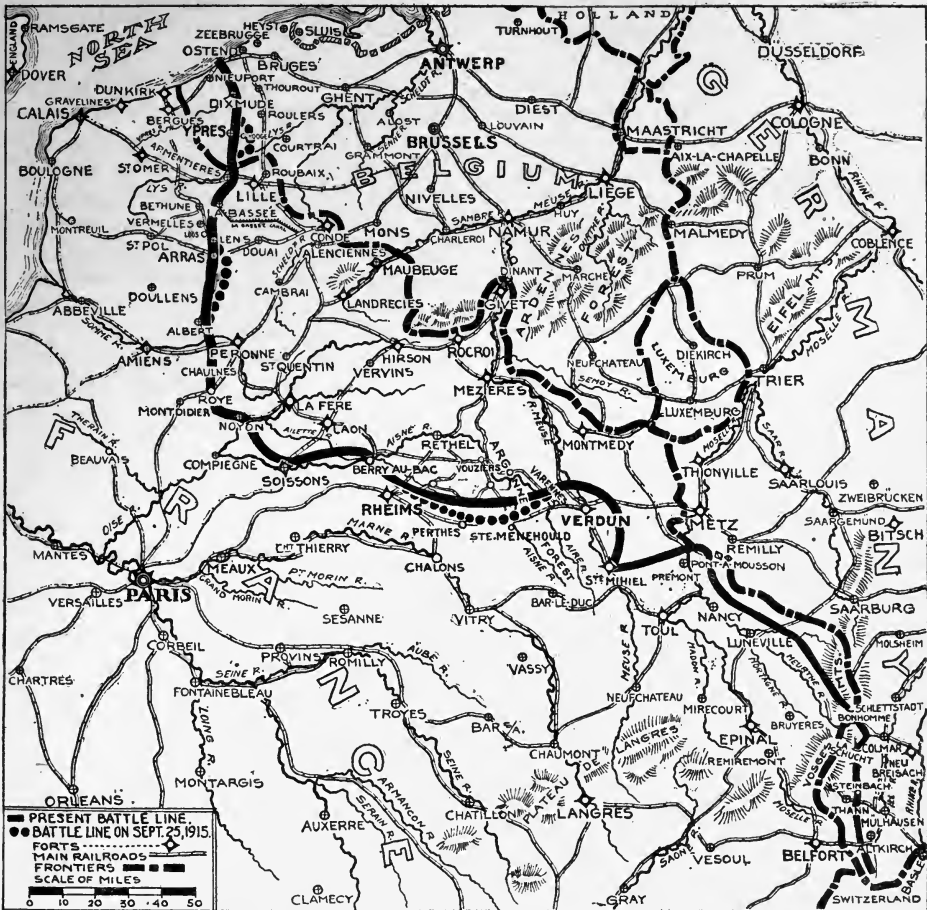
"The Berliner Tageblatt publishes an interview with Crown Prince Rupprecht in which he dwells on the bravery and steadfastness of his troops and expresses his confidence in German victory as a result of the battles being waged. He pointed out that the nature of the ground made it possible for the assailants of the German lines to win local successes, but that they were already losing piece by piece the territory won. Referring to the attack of the Allies, he said: 'They are welcome to try it again if they like.'

The London Times reported on Oct. 4, 1915, that the latest German newspapers continued to contrast the "failure," except in the first day's surprise attack, of the Franco-British offensive with the important "success" of the German counterattacks. The Frankfurter Zeitung explains:

Every step won on the hillocks to the north of Loos is a great gain for the German defense—not on account of the occupation of the ground itself, but because those positions extend to the town of Lens and conditions of space are somewhat narrow. In Champagne, too, the fight is developing favorably for us. Here, too, the enemy was unable to enlarge the gap. The little gain near Souain can hardly be counted, and, on the other hand, near Massiges the French did not get possession of the commanding heights which lie to the north of the place and which the enemy appears to be assaulting from the west or southwest. Here, too, the defense has hitherto brilliantly performed its task.

In a further article, headed "We Are Ready," the Frankfurter Zeitung remarks:

The violent struggle on the whole west front continues. French and English storming columns in unbroken succession roll up against the iron wall constituted by our heroic troops. As all hostile attacks have hitherto been repulsed with



Western Battle Front, Recording Net Changes of Line After the Onset of Sept. 25, 1915, in the Allies' Great Offensive.

gigantic losses, particularly for the English, the whole result of the enemy's attack, lasting for days, is merely a denting in of our front in two places. After the little partial successes of the first surprise attack, our adversaries have got no further. By their unsurpassable steadfastness and tenacity, our war-tried troops have rendered any further progress impossible. But the conflicts are not yet at an end. The decision is still to come.

The German people realize the frightful seriousness of the bloody struggle now being waged in the west. By every means in their power our adversaries are endeavoring, and will continue to en-

deavor, to break through the German front. That they are not disposed to soon again to abandon the object set before them is clearly evident from a speech of the English Prime Minister Asquith.

The French and English in the west are pressing for the decision. We are prepared for it, and can look forward with confidence to the continuation of the fight. It is not the German way to break out into light-hearted jubilation because we have hitherto succeeded in wrecking all these furious attempts to break through. On the contrary, the harder the fight the more German strength braces itself. Against this invincible German power of resistance all

the bombastically announced offensives have hitherto collapsed. The same thing will happen this time.

The article concludes by treating with derision the idea that the natural drawing of reserves to the threatened places on the front will thereby dangerously weaken other places.

Germany is not yet exhausted, as our enemies would like to believe. We have at our disposal sufficient free reserves who can be thrown in at any time and any place without our thereby weakening our front in any other place, whether in east or west. We shall force our adversaries to recognize this fact.

The German Counteroffensive

A REDOUBT LOST.

Following is the text of Sir John French's report, published on Oct. 4, 1915:

YESTERDAY afternoon the enemy commenced a heavy bombardment and delivered repeated attacks over the open against our trenches between the quarries and the Sermedes-Hulluch road. These attacks, which were pressed with determination, were all repulsed with severe loss to the enemy, and failed to reach our trenches.

Further to the northwest the enemy succeeded in recapturing the greater portion of the Hohenzollern Redoubt.

On the remainder of our front the situation is unchanged.

CROSSROADS RETAKEN BY GERMANS.

The French Communiqué of Oct. 4 reads as follows:

In Artois the struggle from trench to trench continued during the entire day. On the crests to the south of Givenchy the enemy was able to regain a footing at the crossing of five roads, but was repulsed everywhere else, notwithstanding the violence of his repeated counter-attacks.

The artillery and trench gun action was especially intense to the south of the Somme, in the sector of Lizons and Chaulnes, as well as to the north of the Aisne, in the valley of the Miette, and on the Aisne-Marne Canal, in the environs of Spaigneul.

An enemy aeroplane was brought to earth within our lines. The two officers manning it were made prisoners.

In Champagne the enemy again shelled our positions and rear guards with shells containing suffocating mixtures. Our artillery replied energetically.

On the western outskirts of the Argonne forest our heavy batteries took under their fire a hostile column marching from Baulny on Apremont, (north of Varenues.)

In the Vosges we repelled, after a spirited engagement, an attack by the enemy against our posts to the east of Celles-sur-Plaine. A bombardment, very violent on both sides, has occurred at Hartmannsweilerkopf.

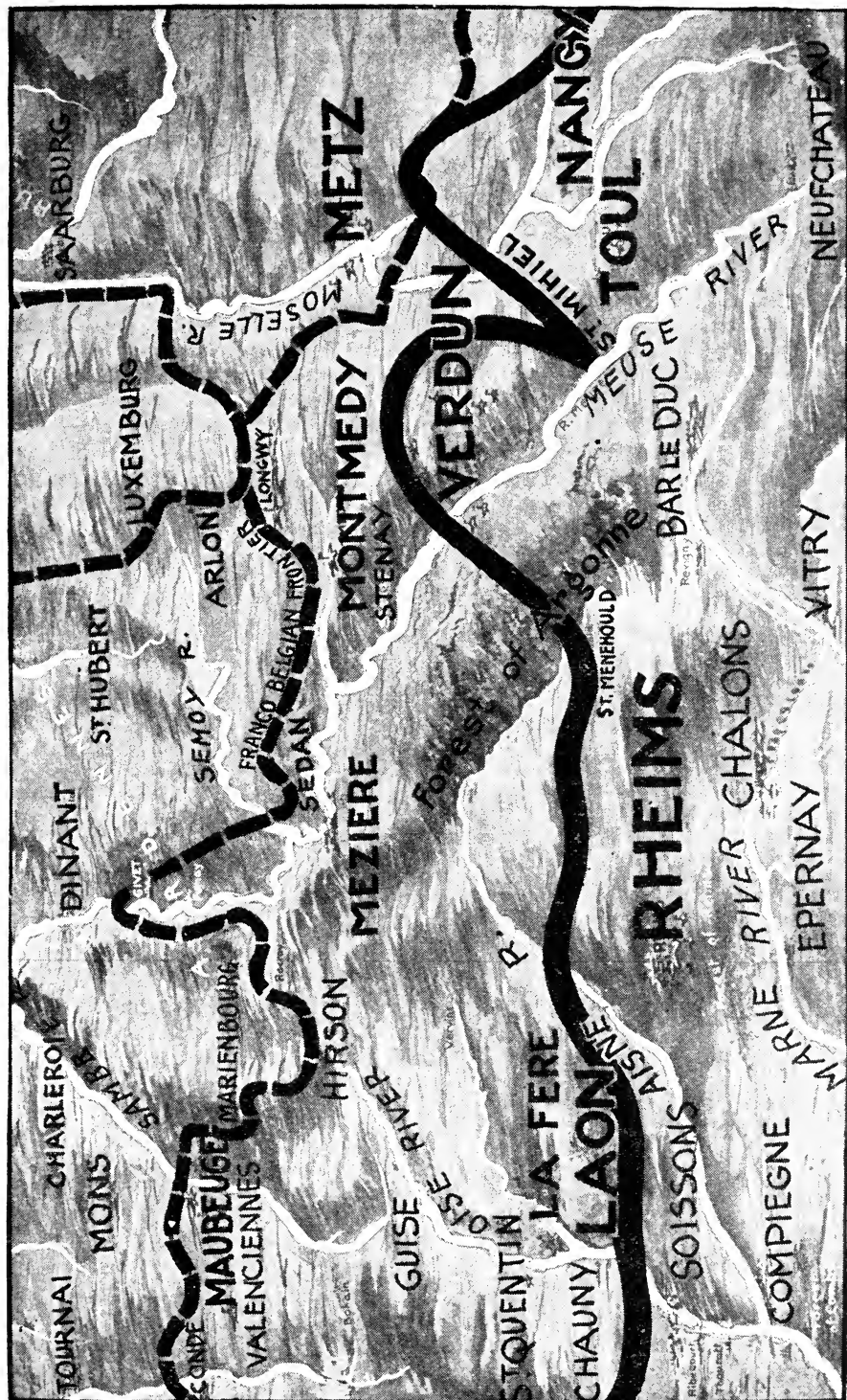
This is the official German report issued in Berlin on Oct. 4:

Five monitors appeared early yesterday morning before Zeebrugge and directed a fruitless fire against the coast. Three Belgian inhabitants fell victims.

Our attacking operations against the British front north of Loos, whence a fruitless sortie was undertaken by the enemy during the night against our position west of Haisnes, made further progress.

South of Souchez Brook the French succeeded in obtaining a firm foothold in a small section of a trench on the hill northwest of Givenchy. South of this hill French attacks were repulsed. The forty-meter section of the trench northeast of Neuville [the capture of which by the French was announced in yesterday's German report] was recaptured by our troops.

Yesterday afternoon the French began an attack in the Champagne region, northwest of Ville-sur-Tourbe and northwest of Massiges, which was with-



Area of Operations in the West, Showing Battle Line on Oct. 15, 1915, Between Rheims and Verdun.

out result. Their accumulation of troops was subjected to our concentrated fire. A strong night attack against our positions northwest of Ville-sur-Tourbe broke down under our fire with heavy losses.

The railway station at Châlons, the chief meeting place of the rear guard of the French attacking troops in Champagne, was bombarded last night by one of our airships, with visible results.

ALLIED GAINS.

Field Marshal Sir John French on Oct. 9 broke silence for the first time since Oct. 4 to announce, through the British Press Bureau, considerable gains in the Loos sector, where, to the northeast of that village, near Hill 70, his forces had penetrated the German lines to points varying from 500 to 1,000 yards in advance of the positions previously taken. The report follows:

Since my communication of Oct. 4 the enemy has constantly shelled our new trenches south of La Bassée Canal and has made repeated bombing attacks on the southern portion of the Hohenzollern Redoubt, which is held by us. These attacks were all repulsed.

In spite of the enemy's artillery fire, we have pushed our trenches steadily forward northeast of Loos, between Hill 70 and Hulluch, and gained ground varying from 500 to 1,000 yards in depth.

Yesterday afternoon the enemy heavily bombarded the whole area we had recently won from him, and followed this by an attack in successive waves of infantry on the whole front from south of Loos to the Hohenzollern Redoubt. This attack was repulsed everywhere, with heavy loss to the enemy. We gained possession by a counterattack of a German trench 500 yards west of the Cité St. Elie. Great numbers of the enemy dead are lying in front of our lines. Our losses were comparatively slight.

The text of the French communication on Oct. 9 follows:

The reports of last night set forth that the German losses, in the offensive movement undertaken yesterday against Loos and the positions to the

north and to the south of Loos actually held by our troops, were very heavy.

The assault was made by three successive and very dense formations of men, followed by detachments in column form. All these troops were cut down by the combined fire of our infantry, our machine guns, and our artillery. Only a few detachments of the Germans were successful in securing a footing in a trench recently conquered by us between Loos and the roadway from Lens to Bethune. Other local attacks, but equaling these in violence, have been repeated against our positions to the southeast of Neuville-St. Vaast, but they were completely repulsed. All the progress made by us in the last few days has been maintained.

There has been a fairly spirited cannonading, in which both sides took part, in the sector of Lihons, as well as in the region of Quennevières and Nouvron.

In the Champagne district a German counterattack delivered last night at a point to the east of the Navarin Farm was definitely checked by a curtain of artillery fire.

The only action undertaken by the enemy against the advances made by us yesterday to the southeast of Tahure consisted of a violent bombardment, coupled with the use of shells which asphyxiated and caused irritation of the eyes.

On the western boundary of the Argonne the activity of French batteries put an end to the German cannonading directed against our trenches in the sector of St. Thomas.

In Lorraine several strong reconnoitring parties of the enemy took part in an attack against our advanced posts in the Forest of Parroy. All these endeavors were completely repulsed. On the front between Rellion and Leintrey, one of the German attacking parties, after having secured a footing in one of our first line positions, was in part driven out.

There has been no notable incident on the remainder of the front.

The Belgian official communication reads:

The enemy artillery has shown slight activity. We dispersed military pioneers at divers points along the front.

The War Office in Berlin on Oct. 9 gave out the following statement:

Northeast of Vermelles a strong English attack failed with heavy losses to the enemy. During a local German attack a little progress was made southwest of the village of Loos.

In Champagne the French attacked a position east of Navarin Farm, after a few hours of artillery preparation, and in certain places succeeded in penetrating our trenches. They were driven out again by our counterattacks, leaving one officer and 100 men in our hands, after a fruitless and sanguinary battle.

In French Lorraine the French lost the much-fought-for Hill of Leintrey. One officer, seventy men, one machine gun, and four mine throwers remained in our hands.

FRENCH LOSSES.

Following is the text of the Paris official report issued on the night of Oct. 13, 1915:

The enemy renewed today with strong forces his attacks to the northeast of Souchez, against the wood "le Bois en Hache," to the east of the road from Souchez to Angres; against our positions on the approaches to the five highways on the crest of Vimy; against the small fort, previously taken by us in the Givenchy Wood, and the neighboring trenches.

Despite the extreme violence of the bombardment, which preceded these attacks, despite the desperate nature of the renewed assaults, the enemy was able to penetrate only some parts of the trenches in the Givenchy Wood which had been completely shattered by shells of heavy calibre. Everywhere else we conserved all our positions and repulsed the assault of the Germans, who suffered very heavy losses.

Artillery actions of particular intensity are reported to the south of the Somme, in the sector of Lihons. In Champagne, to the north of Souain and Massiges, in Argonne, to the north of La Harazee, and between the Meuse and the Moselle, to the north of Flirey.

In the Vosges we dispersed by our fire an enemy attack against our positions in the valley of La Laucne.

The text of the French afternoon communication follows:

At the conclusion of the bombardment reported yesterday, the enemy last evening delivered an infantry attack against our positions to the northeast of Souchez. These attacks, like the preceding ones, were everywhere completely repulsed.

Last night saw artillery actions of great intensity, in which both sides took part, between the Somme and the Oise; in the region of Andéchy, and to the east of Rheims, in the direction of Moronvillers. Batteries of the enemy have delivered a violent cannonade in the region to the south of Tahure and to the east of Butte de Mesnil. Our artillery held this fire back effectively, and in the meantime we were making further progress from trench to trench at a point to the east of the earthwork known as "the Trapeze."

There has been fairly intense fighting with trench machines in the sector of Flirey, and more violent fighting, accompanied by artillery exchanges, in the suburbs of Reillon.

In the Vosges the enemy, after a complete check to his attack along the front from the Linge to the Shratzmannele, resumed his efforts yesterday evening. A second outburst of artillery fire along the entire front, in preparation for an infantry advance, was followed by a fresh attack which, generally speaking, resulted in failure. The Germans were able to gain a footing in our first line trenches at only one point, and this was to the south of the Linge hills. The trench they took was between sixty and eighty yards long. Our counterattacks made it possible for us to reoccupy a portion of this trench immediately.

A squadron of nineteen French aeroplanes has thrown down 140 shells on the railroad station at Bazancourt, whence movements of the enemy have been reported.

Another air squadron composed of eighteen machines has bombarded the railroad junction at Achiet-le-Grand, near Bapaume. Other machines have

bombarded the railroad tracks at a point near Warmerville.

The German official statement of Oct. 13, 1915, with regard to the fighting in Belgium and France, says:

British attacks northeast of Vermelles were easily repulsed.

East of Souchez the French again lost some portion of the trenches which they were able to keep on Oct. 11.

In Champagne a French attack yesterday afternoon failed south of Tahure. Repeated attacks on the same place early this morning with several groups of troops broke down completely.

In the Vosges the French lost a portion of their positions on the western slope of Schratzmannele.

BRITISH ATTACKS.

Renewed British attacks in force upon the German lines in the neighborhood of Loos on Oct. 13, 1915, resulted in the reported capture of several trenches, including the main trench of the Hohenzollern Redoubt, all of which gains Sir John French's troops retained. This is the text of the British official statement:

Yesterday afternoon, after a bombardment, we attacked the enemy's trenches under cover of a cloud of smoke and gas from a point about 600 yards southwest of Huluch to the Hohenzollern redoubt. We gained about 1,000 yards of trenches just south and west of Hulluch, but were unable to maintain our position there owing to the enemy's shell fire.

Southwest of St. Elie we captured and held the enemy's trench behind the Vermelles-Hulluch road and the southwestern quarries, both inclusive. We also captured a trench on the northwest face of the forest. We captured the main trench of the Hohenzollern Redoubt, but the enemy is still in two communicating trenches between the redoubt and the quarries.

GERMAN LOSSES.

By DR. GEORGE WEGENER.

[The Cologne Gazette Dispatches.]

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ON THE GERMAN FRONT IN CHAMPAGNE, Oct. 12, (via Cologne and

London, Oct. 14.)—Monday ended the third hardest-fought battle since the beginning of the new offensive here. The preparatory artillery fire began on Sunday evening. The thunder of the guns, among them those of the heaviest calibre, roared throughout the whole night.

Monday morning a comparatively small attack of the French began in the neighborhood of Tahure. The French forced their way into a short trench. The enemy's aeroplane attacks were driven off throughout the day by our defending aeroplanes. The artillery fire lasted the entire day, increasing between 6 and 7 o'clock to a violent cannonade on both sides. The positions behind the front were the most bombarded, as the first lines were too close together.

At 7 o'clock, after twenty-four hours' firing, a strong attack of the French north and south of Tahure ensued, which, however, was repulsed. One lost trench was immediately recaptured, with great losses for us.

Last night passed very quietly, as well as today, except for the new flying machines.

To the question put to prisoners whether hate against the Germans was still so great as at the beginning of the war we often heard the answer: "No; these two peoples should unite in peace; that would be a good thing."

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, Oct. 13.—The night passed quietly. Toward morning there was a heavy fog. Under this protection the French, about 5 o'clock, made a violent attack south of Tahure in close columns, presumably in the hope of taking us by surprise. It was repulsed. After an half hour's bombardment they made a second attack at 7:30, which lasted until 10:30 in the morning, advancing five times in several waves of assault, which were all, with the excellent support of our artillery, easily repulsed by our infantry.

That the battles in Champagne can be brought to a conclusion by attacks of this sort, which are still carried on by the use of great masses of troops, is hardly to be expected. The statements of captured prisoners confirm this view.

Zeppelin Raids on London

Official Reports of Recent Air Attacks from Germany

In the British press an authorized statement appeared on Sept. 17, 1915, to this effect:

"The following description of some of the effects of the Zeppelin raid in the London district has been drawn up by an impartial observer at the request of the Home Secretary, [Sir John Simon,] and is authorized for publication. While it is absolutely necessary, in the interests of public safety, strictly to maintain the rule that no unauthorized accounts should appear, the real character of these outrages may be the better understood by a collection of incidents, each of which has been verified on the spot, and is vouched for by the authorities as accurate. The Home Secretary takes this opportunity of stating explicitly that the total casualties resulting from these air raids are in all cases correctly stated, and are based on exhaustive inquiry by the police."

The official report appears below:

IN a letter which he addressed to a correspondent some weeks ago, the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Balfour) set forth the reasons which prevented his Majesty's Government from disclosing the exact localities in which damage had taken place in the various Zeppelin raids. These reasons remain valid, and there is no intention to depart from the rule which secures that no information can be made available for the enemy, either in regard to the route he has taken, or the places or buildings on which he dropped his bombs. The experience of the raids of last week, combined with the German official reports on them, demonstrates that the commanders of German aircraft are often grossly in error as to their movements, and have no means whatever of estimating the effect of their promiscuous bombardment either materially or morally. In every case where damage has been caused it is private property that has suffered, and in most cases this private property has been of the small residential kind. Almost all the unfortunate people who have been killed have not only been noncombatants, but noncombatants of a kind which it has been hitherto the honorable practice of civilized warfare to exempt from attack, that is to say, women and children, small shopkeepers, and working men, the sacrifice of whose lives can effect no military purpose whatever, either morally or materially.

The folly and futility of the raids which took place last week can be well imagined when it is remembered that the London district, which may be taken for conven-

ience as the area administered by the Metropolitan Police, is just short of 700 square miles in area. It is by hastily dropping at random in the dark certain explosive and incendiary material somewhere on this enormous surface that the enemy professed to be accomplishing some important military purpose. In point of fact, no public institution of any kind was hit, nor any power station, nor arsenal. No damage was done which affects the use of any building connected directly or indirectly with the conduct of the war. It is true that two hospitals narrowly escaped damage, but it is only fair to say on behalf of the officers of an army which has done its best to destroy the cathedrals of Belgium and France that up to the present they have only succeeded in hitting one church. So far as the moral effect of the raid was concerned, it is to be feared that from the standpoint of Berlin it was a complete failure. If Count Zeppelin himself accompanied the raiding aircraft (as has been reported from Holland) he will be disappointed to learn that only a minority of the vast population of London was aware of the presence of his airship at all, and that among those who heard the guns fire or saw the Zeppelin the feelings everywhere aroused were of interest and curiosity rather than of fear.

That London and its suburbs as a community faces calmly the murderous efforts of the raiders is in no way a mitigation of the callous and purposeless brutality of their action, or of the tragedies which have followed.

Here are a few pictures of the effects

accomplished by the officers and crew of the last airship which visited the London district:

First—Somewhere in the area of London you can go to the corner of a little street; this one has a public house at the corner. Outside it on Wednesday evening last week after the place was closed a man and a woman were talking. The woman went off to buy some supper at a neighboring shop; the man stood there to wait for her, and while he was waiting there fell at his feet the first of the explosive bombs. It killed the man outright; it blew pieces of paving stone on to the surrounding roofs, it blew in the front of the public house, reducing the stock to a mere mass of broken glass, over which still floats an indefinable odor of assorted forms of alcohol; it took off the top of a grand piano on the floor above, twisted the iron bedsteads, injured a woman who was sleeping there, and reduced what had been the carefully kept living rooms of a small family to a mass of soot and dust and plaster and broken glass. In what conceivable respect did it contribute to the progress of the war?

Second—In another part of the area over which the airship passed, there is a big block of workmen's dwellings—places where men live who are away at their trades all day and often all night, and which day and night are crowded with children. A bomb dropped on the roof of one of these, and right under the roof was a little flat in which four children had been put to sleep. Two of them after being put to bed had got up surreptitiously to make tea in an adjoining room; you can see the bed that they left now, a mass of blackened and charred sheets with the mattress torn to pieces. They escaped by a miracle, but in the small bedroom next door to them the other two children were killed in an instant. These buildings are strong, and the bomb did not penetrate far; you would hardly notice the damage to the roof if you pass it in the street. That was all that was happening when the Captain of the German aircraft professed to think he was visiting the docks and vitally damaging the Port of London.

Third—In another place a bomb dropped through the roof of a stable yard; it was an incendiary bomb, and it set on fire a motor car on which it fell. The stableman and his wife, in spite of the fire, which was immediately serious, set out to rescue the eleven horses which were in the stable behind the fire, and they were carefully taken out one by one and let loose in the street. A dog which was kept to guard the premises was also carefully rescued, so was a caged bird kept on the first floor above the fire, though while she was bringing it down the stableman's wife was blown off her feet on the stairs by the blast of an explosive bomb which fell in a neighboring courtyard. The only casualty in this case was a bantam cock.

Fourth—In such a case as the last the futility of the enemy's attack was merely ridiculous; in others it was tragic. Somewhere in the vast area of London's suburbs there is a little block of houses standing almost by itself and divided up into small flats. On the ground floor there were sleeping a widow, her daughter, aged 18, and a young man whom they kept as a lodger. On the first floor was a family with three children, two of them girls, and on the second floor a workingman and his wife with five children, four of them girls and one a boy. The bomb dropped squarely on the roof of the house. As the laborer and his wife who were on the second floor described it, the whole partition wall beside their bed gave way and disappeared; the man pushed his wife out into the centre of the room and went off to find his children. Two of them, who slept in the room under the spot where the bomb fell, had vanished with room, bed, and everything, and their bodies were found two days later under the débris of the house. Of the others, the boy, aged 8, ran for safety to the staircase, which was blown away, and in the dark fell down into the hole where his sisters' bodies were buried in the ruins. Of the first floor inhabitants two were missing altogether, and their bodies were subsequently recovered. Of the ground floor, where apparently the worst effect of the explosion took place, it is sufficient to

say that part of the body of the man who occupied it was found 150 yards away.

Fifth—A bomb dropped in the street blew in the front of a shop, but spent the main force of its explosion on a passing motor omnibus. There were twenty people on board, including the driver and conductor. Nine of them were killed and eleven injured, among the injured being the driver, who had both his legs blown off, and died shortly afterward in the hospital.

These incidents alone account for nearly half the deaths which have been caused. They will suffice to show what is the real measure and nature of the success which has attended the enemy's attack on the London area.

In human life and limb the net results of the week's raids in the London district were 38 killed or died of wounds and 124 injured.

It ought not to be omitted from mention that two policemen and one Army Service Corps man appeared among the casualties; otherwise no person in uniform was either killed or injured.

A LATER ATTACK.

Fifty-five persons were killed and 114 injured in the Zeppelin raid over London on the night of Oct. 13, 1915. Fourteen of the killed and thirteen of the wounded were military casualties, according to an announcement made later by the Official Press Bureau. The text of the announcement follows:

The Press Bureau of the War Office announces that a fleet of hostile airships visited the eastern counties and a portion of the London area last night and dropped bombs.

Anti-aircraft guns of the Royal Field

Artillery, attached to the central force, were in action, and an airship was seen to heel over on its side and to drop to a lower altitude.

Five aeroplanes of the Royal Flying Corps went up, but, owing to atmospheric conditions, only one aeroplane succeeded in locating an airship. This aeroplane, however, was unable to overhaul the airship before it was lost in the fog.

Some houses were damaged and several fires were started, but no serious damage was caused to military material. All fires were soon got under control by the fire brigade.

The following military casualties, in addition to the one announced last night, have been reported: Fourteen killed and thirteen wounded.

The Home Office announces the following casualties other than the military casualties reported above: Killed—Men, 27; women, 9; children, 5; total, 41. Injured—Men, 64; women, 30; children, 7; total, 101.

Of these casualties 32 killed and 95 injured were in the London area, and these figures include those announced last night.

The Globe, which has been conducting a campaign advocating reprisals, says today:

"The public knows now that the Zeppelin, choosing its own time and circumstances for attack, is practically immune against the ordinary weapons of aerial warfare. The only way to hit the enemy is to strike at him as he strikes at us—to bomb his sleeping towns."

At a meeting today of theatrical managers for discussion of a proposal to substitute matinées for night performances it was decided to continue the latter.

London's Aerial Defense

By Arthur J. Belfour

First Lord of the British Admiralty

Speaking in the House of Commons on Sept. 15, 1915, Sir H. Dalziel put the question whether the Admiralty were satisfied with the aerial defense of London. Were they satisfied that the guns were of the right kind, that they were powerful enough, that the men in charge were fully qualified for the responsible task which had fallen on them? Why on a recent visit of Zeppelins to London were no aeroplanes apparently called into requisition? He understood there were plenty waiting. Had the Admiralty made a definite study of the

defenses of Paris, against which flying machines seemed to have been unable to make any headway? Who was in charge of the aerial defense of London before Sir Percy Scott? Sir Percy Scott's appointment had, he thought, been received in all quarters with great satisfaction, but he could not understand why it was necessary to wait until the Zeppelins had visited London before calling for Sir Percy Scott's advice. His appointment did not mean that if the present system was imperfect it would immediately become perfect. He supposed the whole question was the provision of the proper gun. Too much must not be expected till Sir Percy Scott had had time to review the whole situation, and probably to secure the guns which would be required. Mr. Balfour's reply to these questions appear below.

THE right honorable gentleman who has just sat down made a pointed and perfectly legitimate appeal to me to say something about the defense of London. He asked me questions about the guns, the provision of guns, the character of the guns, and their sufficiency in point of number, and their sufficiency in point of quality, and he also asked me various questions about the organization of the defense of London, which, as he truly observed, is not a thing which can be brought to perfection merely by appointing officers. In order that the House may really judge of the situation fairly they must remember that nobody foresaw, when the war broke out, the full development of aerial war, whether on our own part or on the part of our opponents. This is a branch of war which has never been tried before, and on which there has been no experience until this war which counts for anything, and, therefore, it is inevitable when you have to deal with a situation of that sort that before your eyes the situation changes, and the organization which those responsible before the war might naturally have thought adequate is proved by experience to be quite inadequate.

If we had set to work, let us say, three or four years before the war with a full knowledge of the development of aerial warfare; if the Government of that day had set to work with that knowledge to organize the defense of London, I have no doubt it would have been organized on lines different from those which now prevail, but you really ought not to criticise the Minister then in charge because it is not done. That is not a fair way to look at human effort. The Naval Aerial Service has, I think, quadrupled since the war commenced—I rather think I am under the mark in say-

ing that. An organization which might have been adequate and was adequate when the war broke out and responsibilities seemed relatively slight in regard to the defense of the internal parts of the country, gradually became more and more inadequate, and has been supplemented, and is still in course of being supplemented, day by day. I hope the organization intended to meet this danger is improving and is growing far more rapidly than the danger itself. That is my hope and my expectation.

The right honorable gentleman asked why Sir Percy Scott, whose appointment he is good enough to approve, was not appointed before. The answer to that is really the answer to all this particular class of attack. There are things which were foreseen before the war, there are things which were not foreseen, and which I do not think could have been foreseen before the war. One of them was the peculiar development of this method of warfare. The appointment of Sir Percy Scott is not the only great change of organization which it has been found necessary to effect in consequence of the development of aircraft warfare. I now find it absolutely necessary to bring the whole air service more into harmony with the general practice of the Admiralty, to greatly increase the staff at the head of affairs, and to make arrangements to deal with the enormous amount of work which is now thrown upon those responsible for the air service. The naval air service is now an immense service. The number of fliers is very great and the number of machines is very great. There are responsibilities as regards the design of machines. There are responsibilities for arranging the whole system of coast defense, and the organization which was not inadequate when the war broke out I found completely

inadequate soon after I assumed responsibility as First Lord of the Admiralty. I hope, as regards the organization, that it is now either complete, or in a fair way to completion. The changes have been very great, and they have all been in the direction of fitting the office to deal with new and great responsibilities, and I hope as time goes on their adequacy will more and more make itself felt.

If the right honorable gentleman asks me whether I think that at this moment everything has been done that can be done or will be done for the defense of London, I do not think so. I think the thing is still in progress, and still in process of development. If he asks me whether I think it possible within a reasonable time to provide an adequate defense of London, I should give him a much more reassuring answer. Let me frankly say I should give him a more reassuring answer in no small degree, because I have a great belief in the organizing capacity and the energy and resource, the openness to new ideas, which has always characterized the distinguished Admiral who now has the defense of London immediately under his control. [Cheers.]

The right honorable gentleman mentioned Paris. Pains have been taken to make ourselves acquainted with the methods of the defense of Paris, and much, no doubt, has been learned, and will be learned, from studying their example. But let not the House be carried away with the idea that the problem of London is identical with the problem of Paris. ["Hear, hear!"] I am sure the right honorable gentleman does not fall into that error. Nor, if I may say so, is the problem of one who has got to try and defend London at all similar to that of the Minister who has to try and defend Paris. Paris starts with being under a single military government, and it starts with being a great military fortress, and therefore, being a military fortress, it is supplied with a great mass of guns and with great defensive arrangements. London is not a fortified town.

London is, as everybody knows—and nobody knows it better than the Germans—a city which should not, under the laws of civilized warfare, be the subject of this kind of attack. But we take our enemies as we find them. ["Hear, hear!" and cheers.]

We perfectly recognize that a nation which is prepared for any degree of brutality at sea is not likely to show undue humanity when it comes to deal with land. ["Hear, hear!"] Therefore we do not for a moment suppose that London, or any other undefended place in this country, is to derive more consideration from the laws of humanity or the laws of nations. But I hope and believe, although I cannot promise immunity from attack to any part of the United Kingdom—in war immunity from attack can be rarely promised by any responsible Minister or General—but I think I can promise the House that everything is being done to develop and to organize such defenses as are possible against aerial attack. I think I can tell the House, without being unduly optimistic, that, lamentable as have been the results of these German attacks on undefended places, the actual number of persons killed and injured and the actual amount of property destroyed has been relatively insignificant, although the hardship inflicted on particular individuals has been tragic beyond expression. If you turn your eyes away from the cases of individual hardship, cruelty, and suffering, and consider simply how much injury to this country, either as a great economic unit or as a great fighting force, has been done by these aerial attacks, I can truly say that so far that damage has been insignificant, and, although immunity cannot be promised for the future, I have every hope that Sir Percy Scott and all the other naval authorities who are devoting their minds to this problem will be able to diminish the dangers in the future, to increase the security, and to enable his Majesty's lieges to sleep comfortably in their beds. ["Hear, hear!"]

Russia's Recoil

Czar's Resumed Offensive Strong and Well Supplied

By a Military Expert

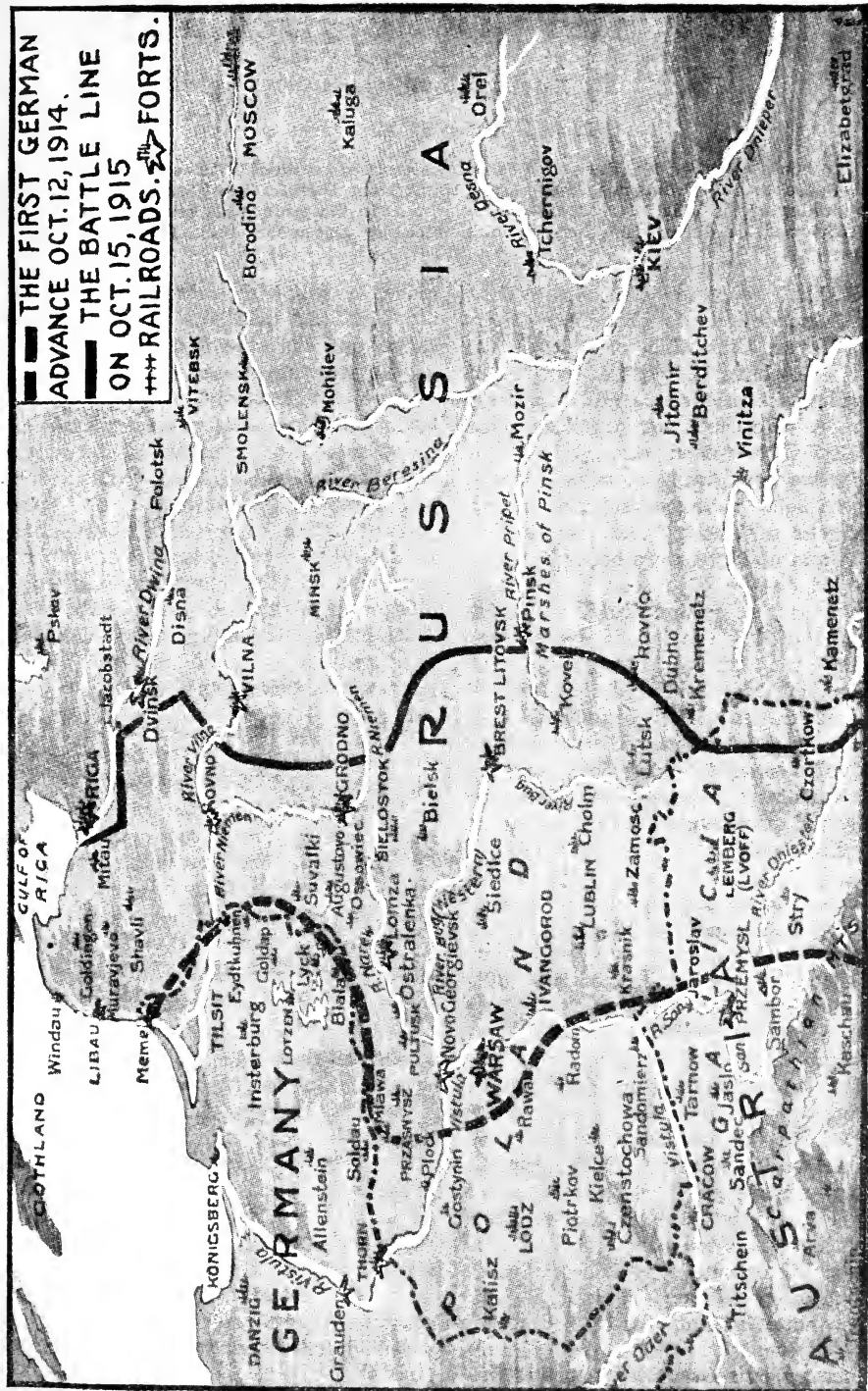
WHAT was generally regarded in early October as a temporary check to the Germans on the Russian front while the Teuton leaders were making redispersions of their forces bids fair to become permanent. In fact, the German offense seems to be paralyzed. From Riga to Bukowina Teuton reports have told of but little except their ability to repulse Russian attacks. It seems that the initiative has passed to the Russians and that, even in front of Dvinsk, the Germans are now on the defensive. The combination of the rainy season, of marshes, of long lines of supply and inability to maintain a continuous flow of heavy shells, has brought the Germans to a halt. Once operations in the east, by reason of difficulties in transportation, are reduced to a matter of rifle fire, the Germans no longer can run over the Russian armies, but, meeting them on an equal footing, can make but little headway against them.

Germany has up to now literally blasted her way through Poland by concentrating her superiority of heavy guns at carefully selected points and blazing the trail for the infantry to follow. Against this the Russians had no defense. Their own guns were outranged and outmanned, and when the German infantry reached the Russian trenches it was to find an enemy thoroughly shaken, almost demoralized, whose resisting power was almost gone. As the German advantages, however, disappear, from whatever cause, whether through inability to bring up their own heavy guns or through increase in the Russian supply of munitions, the Russian defense becomes as strong, if not stronger, than the German attack.

The Russian soldier, though for the

most part uneducated, is, nevertheless, an excellent fighting man. If properly officered, in fact, he is almost the par of any other soldier of Continental Europe. Consequently, when the game is reduced to the infantry rifle and the machine gun, it becomes largely a question of numbers. On such a basis the Teutons cannot hold their own. The demands made on them from all points are so great that everywhere except in the recently begun operations in Serbia, they are outnumbered. They can, it is true, by clever use of railroad lines, effect rapid concentrations at selected points, but it is always at the expense of some other parts of the line. The net result is that, after an almost inconceivable sacrifice in men and an expenditure of enormous supplies of shell in order to accomplish a given object—the forcing of Russia to a decisive battle—Germany faces a Winter in the interior of Russia, with her object as far removed from accomplishment as it was months ago. This means stagnation, and time works to the benefit of Russia more than to that of Germany.

The Riga section during the week ended Oct. 17 was extremely quiet, but south, in the Dvinsk region, there was violent fighting. Yet, in spite of all their efforts, the Germans seem no nearer to capturing Dvinsk. Small gains at some points have been more than offset by the losses at others. From Dvinsk to the Dniester the Germans have been hard put to it to hold the Russians in check without attempting an offense of their own. As a matter of fact, the Russians have made a number of gains at different points—unimportant, it is true, but indicative of the reviving striking power that enabled Russia to sweep through Galicia a year ago.



Germanic War Area in the East, Showing the Battle Line on Oct. 15, 1915.

What the Hour Demands

By David Lloyd George

British Minister of Munitions

In the book published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, entitled "Through Terror to Triumph: Speeches and Pronouncements of the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, M. P., Since the Beginning of the War," Mr. George has expressed in the preface his estimate of the need for British service during the three months preceding December, 1915. His words appear below.

AFTER twelve months of war my conviction is stronger than ever that this country could not have kept out of it without imperiling its security and impairing its honor. We could not have looked on cynically with folded arms while the country we had given our word to protect was being ravaged and trodden by one of our own co-trustees. If British women and children were being brutally destroyed on the high seas by German submarines this nation would have insisted on calling the infanticide empire to a stern reckoning. Everything that has happened since the declaration of war has demonstrated clearly that a military system so regardless of good faith, of honorable obligations, and of the elementary impulses of humanity constituted a menace to civilization of the most sinister character; and despite the terrible cost of suppressing it the well-being of humanity demands that such a system should be challenged and destroyed. The fact that events have also shown that the might of this military clique has exceeded the gloomiest prognostications provides an additional argument for its destruction. The greater the might the darker the menace.

Nor have the untoward incidents of the war weakened my faith in ultimate victory—always provided that the allied nations put forth the whole of their strength ere it is too late. Anything less must lead to defeat. The allied countries have an overwhelming preponderance in the raw material that goes to the making and equipment of armies, whether in men, money, or accessible metals and ma-

chinery. But this material has to be mobilized and utilized. It would be idle to pretend that the first twelve months of the war have seen this task accomplished satisfactorily. Had the Allies realized in time the full strength of their redoubtable and resourceful foes—nay, what is more, had they realized their own strength and resources, and taken prompt action to organize them—today we should have witnessed the triumphant spectacle of their guns pouring out a stream of shot and shell which would have deluged the German trenches with fire and scorched the German legions back across their own frontiers.

What is the actual position? It is thoroughly well known to the Germans, and any one in any land, belligerent or neutral, who reads intelligently the military news must by now have a comprehension of it. With the resources of Great Britain, France, Russia—yea, of the whole industrial world—at the disposal of the Allies, it is obvious that the central powers have still an overwhelming superiority in all the material and equipment of war.

The result of this deplorable fact is exactly what might have been foreseen. The iron heel of Germany has sunk deeper than ever into French and Belgian soil; Poland is entirely German; Lithuania is rapidly following. Russian fortresses, deemed impregnable, are falling like sand castles before the resistless tide of Teutonic invasion. When will that tide recede? When will it be stemmed? As soon as the Allies are supplied with abundance of war material.

Two Millions of Lives

War's Cost in Human Beings Estimated by a Military Expert

A special dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated at West Point on Oct. 7, 1915, presented the following report:

SINCE the great war in Europe started more than 2,000,000 men have been killed; the wounded number nearly 4,000,000, while the total number of prisoners and of the missing is more than 2,000,000. These are conservative minimum figures compiled from the best available data, and were made public in Cullum Hall here tonight by Brig. Gen. Francis Vinton Greene, U. S. A., retired, in an address on the war, delivered before the members of the New York State Historical Association.

General Greene is an honor graduate of West Point of the Class of '70 and the author of many standard works on military history. He gave his hearers the benefit of what he called an "intelligent guess" as to the casualties of the war, and submitted a table showing the increase of the national indebtedness of the European belligerents. The increase over 1914, approximately, is \$20,000,000,000. How much of this is war debt, of course, is problematical. The combined wealth of the Allies is estimated at \$204,000,000,000, while that of the Teutonic allies, with Turkey included, is estimated at \$108,000,000,000.

General Greene also discussed the changes in the art of warfare that have made the great struggle not only the most frightful but also the most interesting, from a military point of view, of any war in history. Incidentally, the speaker indicated what, in his own opinion, is required to make adequate the national defense of the United States.

In the present decade, he said, there had occurred more important changes in the art of warfare than in the previous fifty years, and in those fifty years more than in the five preceding centuries; in other words, since the first use of gunpowder in warfare.

What these changes in the art of war-

fare mean is learned by a study of the tables of casualties, financial expenditures, &c., compiled by General Greene. One of these gives the population, based on official figures, of the various countries concerned in the war. These figures are taken from official reports. Summarized, they show that on the side of the Allies there are in Europe 266,500,000 people, as compared with 122,200,000 population of the Teutonic nations and their ally, Turkey. The colonies of the Allies have a population of 472,500,000 people, as compared with 32,800,000 in the colonies that now or did belong to Germany, Austria, and Turkey. The total population upon which the Allies can draw is 739,000,000, as compared with 155,000,000 who owe allegiance to Emperor William, Franz Josef, or the Sultan.

Another table gives the "armed strength" of the various belligerents, the estimates being based on figures to be found in various standard works. General Greene describes the figures as "approximate only," but "probably sufficiently accurate for comparative purposes." This table, which gives both the army and naval totals of the powers at war, follows:

ARMED STRENGTH.

	—Armies.—		—Navies.—	
	Peace.	War.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Great Britain ..	156,000	700,000	545	2,700,000
France	800,000	2,780,000	368	900,000
Russia	900,000	2,600,000	241	680,000
Italy	270,000	1,500,000	183	500,000
Belgium ...	45,000	170,000	...	.....
Serbia	25,000	100,000	...	.....
Total....	2,196,000	7,940,000	1,337	4,780,000
Germany ..	800,000	3,500,000	304	1,300,000
Austria-				
Hungary..	340,000	1,400,000	124	350,000
Turkey	220,000	360,000	41 (?)	100,000
Total....	1,360,000	5,260,000	469	1,750,000

The most interesting of the tables is the one that gives the casualties in the present war. The figures are based upon

official reports made in the House of Commons from totals printed in the newspapers and from data gathered from other sources.

"They are not much more than intelligent guesses," said General Greene tonight, "but I have used minimum figures." This table follows:

LOSSES IN BATTLE.				
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Gt. Britain	86,000	251,000	55,000	392,000
France ...	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000
Russia ...	500,000	800,000	900,000	2,200,000
Italy	5,000	15,000	5,000	25,000
Belgium ...	25,000	40,000	15,000	80,000
Serbia ...	20,000	40,000	10,000	70,000
Total ..	1,036,000	1,846,000	1,285,000	4,167,000
Germany .	600,000	1,000,000	300,000	1,900,000
Austria ..	400,000	700,000	700,000	1,800,000
Turkey ...	30,000	80,000	20,000	130,000
Total ..	1,030,000	1,780,000	1,020,000	3,830,000

General Greene's figures dealing with the financial situation in Europe are as follows:

FINANCES.					
(In Millions of Dollars.)					
	National Wealth.	Nat'l Debt. 1914.	Nat'l Debt. 1916.	Per Cap.	P.C.
Great Britain.	\$85,000	\$3,485	\$11,000	260	13
France	50,000	6,345	9,500	237	19
Russia	40,000	4,540	6,500	47	16
Italy	20,000	2,850	3,000	85	15
Belgium	9,000	825	825	110	12
Serbia	500	125	125	41	8
Total	\$204,500	\$18,170	\$30,950		
Germany	80,000	3,735	9,985	153	12
Aus.-Hungary.	25,000	1,050	2,000	39	8
Turkey	3,000(?)	675	675	188	22
Total	\$108,000	\$5,460	\$12,660		

"The figures relating to Great Britain and Germany," said General Greene, "are accurate. The others are approximate only. The estimates of the cost of the war vary from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 per day, which will bring the total cost on Jan. 1, 1916, to nearly \$25,000,000,000, of which probably 80 per cent. has been borrowed."

In his discussion of other phases of the war General Greene laid stress on the important part played by the aeroplane, the automobile, the submarine, and wireless telegraphy, which are for the first time effectively useful in warfare.

"From Napoleon's time to the present the art of war has benefited by all the wonderful improvements in the

mechanical arts and sciences, all of which are the servants of war as well as of peace. Instantaneous communication of intelligence, marvelously rapid transportation of troops, the ability to feed and supply unheard-of numbers in the field, flying through the air to detect the enemy's movements, swimming under water to destroy the enemy's ships, hurling projectiles of unprecedented size to destroy his forts, caring for hundreds upon thousands of wounded, which but for the automobile would have perished upon the field—these are some of the more important methods of warfare now.

"The fabled stories of the countless hordes who crossed the Hellespont with Xerxes and Alexander have been far surpassed by the actual numbers of the forces engaged in the present conflict. The figures are certainly startling. In Europe 78 per cent. of the population at war, in all the world 56 per cent. of the population involved in the conflict; 13,000,000 men actually under arms; 2,000,000 killed, nearly 4,000,000 wounded, more than 2,000,000 prisoners. We cannot grasp these figures, but we can get some idea of what they mean by comparing them with the results of previous wars. We were accustomed to speak of our civil war as the greatest conflict of modern times, but apparently it was only one-tenth the magnitude of the present conflict.

"At no time did the number of men actually under arms, North and South, exceed 1,300,000, and the total number of those killed in battle and died of wounds on the Northern side was 110,070, and on the Southern side probably not more than 80,000; so that in four years of war then the destruction of life was less than one-tenth of the destruction of life during a little more than one year at the present time. In the Napoleonic wars, from 1796 to 1815, the largest army ever assembled was that which Napoleon led into Russia in 1812, and this numbered somewhat in excess of 500,000. The German armies fighting today in Russia on the east and in France on the west are more than six times as large."

Case of the Arabic

German Official Disavowal of the Submarine Commander's Act

THE German-American crisis arising from the destruction of the British liner *Arabic* by a German submarine and the killing of two Americans and about forty other persons was ended on Oct. 5, 1915, completely to the satisfaction of the American Government when Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, sent a letter to Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State, expressing the German Government's regret and its disavowal of the act of the submarine commander. At the same time Count von Bernstorff assured Mr. Lansing that the Kaiser's instructions to his naval commanders had been made so stringent that incidents like the sinking of the *Arabic* could not recur. The Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, accepted liability for all damages to American citizens resulting from the destruction of the *Arabic*, and announced his willingness to negotiate amounts due.

The language of Count von Bernstorff's note makes it plain that the long and bitter controversy arising from the German submarine campaign is near an end. At the State Department it was said officially on Oct. 5 that the results of the less formal communications between the Ambassador and the Secretary of State, which ended in the Ambassador's satisfactory letter of that date, indicated that better and quicker results probably could be reached without additional exchanges of formal notes.

This is taken to mean that the German answer to the last American note on the general submarine question, originating from the destruction of the *Lusitania*, may never reach Washington. Such a note had been prepared, and one sentence from it, giving Germany's promise not to attack unresisting liners without warning, was quoted in a short letter from Count von Bernstorff to Mr. Lansing shortly after the attack on the *Arabic*. But the body of the note, it was understood, probably would give place to

informal conversations between the two diplomats, although at the end of their discussions, when a full agreement is reached on all the remaining minor details, this settlement may yet be made public in the form of a letter.

"It is a diplomatic victory for the United States," Ambassador von Bernstorff remarked to a friend, referring to the *Arabic* settlement, "but credit must be given to Germany, I believe, for nobly accepting the word of the British officers that they did not intend to ram the submarine."

This point, it was learned, at one time threatened to interrupt the proceedings, as the German Government at first wished to arbitrate the conflicting evidence.

The promptness with which Count von Bernstorff altered the original draft of the letter demonstrated that he had been empowered to negotiate a complete settlement of the case, and it was assumed that he naturally did not finally accede until the American Government made known its unalterable determination not to relinquish any of its demands.

The results of American diplomacy under the guidance of President Wilson may now be stated with something like completeness. They include:

1. Germany's acknowledgment of the right of American ships to sail through the war zone unmolested, with the accompanying acknowledgment of full German liability for any damage inflicted by German naval vessels to these American craft.

2. German acknowledgment of liability for American ships sunk anywhere by German war vessels, even if the American bottoms are taking contraband to Germany's enemies, as was alleged in the case of the *William P. Frye*.

3. Germany's promise not to sink American ships carrying conditional contraband to Germany's enemies, even when it is impossible to take such ships into a German port.

4. Germany's offer to arbitrate the German claim of right to sink American ships carrying absolute contraband to Germany's enemies.

5. Germany's acknowledgment of liability for damages to American citizens injured by German attacks on merchant ships, even of Germany's enemies, when these attacks are delivered without warning and without the assailed ships attempting resistance or escape.

6. Germany's promise not to attack unresisting liners, even of her enemies, without warning and without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew.

7. Germany's disavowal of the sinking of the Arabic and an expression of regret at the incident, with notice to the offending submarine commander of this action.

8. Germany's statement that hereafter the mistaken impression of a German submarine commander that his boat was about to be rammed by an enemy merchantman would not be regarded as diminishing German liability for damages inflicted upon American citizens.

All that is left of the points in dispute are minor details that promise an easy settlement. There may be some conversations necessary before the final chapter of the Lusitania controversy is made public.

German Disavowal in the Arabic Case

Ambassador von Bernstorff's letter disavowing the act of the German submarine commander in sinking the steamship Arabic, which was sent to Secretary Lansing on Oct. 5, 1915, follows:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 5, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

Prompted by the desire to reach a satisfactory agreement with regard to the Arabic incident, my Government has given me the following instructions:

The order issued by his Majesty the Emperor to the commanders of the German submarines, of which I notified you on a previous occasion, has been made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the Arabic case is considered out of the question.

According to the report of Commander Schneider of the submarine which sank the Arabic and his affidavit, as well as

those of his men, Commander Schneider was convinced that the Arabic intended to ram the submarine.

On the other hand, the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the affidavit of the British officers of the Arabic, according to which the Arabic did not intend to ram the submarine. The attack of the submarine was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act, and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly.

Under these circumstances, my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity for American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost on the Arabic. I am authorized to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity.

I remain, my dear Lansing, Yours very sincerely,
J. VON BERNSTORFF.

Munition Workers Opposed to Women

An Associated Press Dispatch dated Oct. 5, 1915, reported:

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, at a Women's Social and Political Union meeting in London this afternoon, openly denounced as traitors representatives of organized labor who, she said, were opposing the employment of women in the present crisis.

"I asked the Government to set up factories to train women in munitions work," she said. "Mr. Lloyd George was willing, the women were willing, but this training of women was opposed by unionized skilled workers. This is nothing short of treachery, and those who stood in the way were traitors."

The German and British States of Mind

By John Galsworthy

A version of this article originally appeared in The Chicago Tribune. It has been specially revised by Mr. Galsworthy for its appearance in more permanent form in CURRENT HISTORY.

TO talk about this horror is like whispering in a hurricane. If one must whisper, let it be on the psychological aspect of the War, as it concerns Germany and England. White Papers, Grey Books, and so forth are only evidence of the National Positions and States of Mind behind Diplomacy. Let me, then, take the National Position and State of Mind of Germany first.

Germany arrived late on the European stage. She arrived when other Powers, and notably Britain, had attained all the territorial expansion which their wildest dreams could desire. Germany is geographically pinched between races, the Slav and the Frank, and at sea the Briton, with whose spirits the Teuton spirit does not feel itself in accord. This geographical position, coupled with the hate left in France by the wresting of Alsace and Lorraine, or, as the Germans would phrase it, the restoration of those provinces to Germany, inspired in Germany the feeling that for self-preservation she must be mighty in armament. She duly became so mighty as to infect every other country with fear of her intentions. Germany has, since her Unification, developed a highly efficient and remarkable autocracy, and definite national ideals of life and culture, which she believes to be the best in the world. The Military, Bureaucratic, Professorial, and Journalistic circles in Germany, inheriting from Frederick the Great, Bismarck, and other leading spirits, the philosophy that in international affairs "Might is Right," have sedulously fostered it in the people at large, together with a patriotism pervading every thought and action.

To bring these doctrines to full fruition the German Nation has made for two

generations great efforts and sacrifices, perfecting and consolidating a Military, Naval, and Social Machine of stupendous power, the consciousness of which, to judge from demeanor and utterance, has filled all Germans with a sincere belief in their superiority to the rest of the world. Germany, moreover, has expanded commercially with a rapidity and success that might well turn the heads of any people.

To sum up: The modern German state of mind is, We were handicapped by our late arrival. We have a racial and philosophic conviction that we have as much, even more, right than those who happened to arrive before us to World Empire and World Leadership, and though we have no wish to disturb Peace, we cannot afford to let anything endanger the full preservation of our national prosperity or hinder the full realization of our national dreams.

I hope this is a fair statement of the German position and state of mind—a position and state of mind based, not on the usual quiet belief in their own country that all peoples feel, but on a frank assumption of national superiority, to be asserted at all costs. Take for illustration the saying, not of an Emperor or Military Bureaucrat, not even of a Professor, but of the leading German poet, Gerhart Hauptmann: "Our victory will guarantee the perpetuation of the Teutonic races to the betterment of the world."

In a word, modern Germany is a throw-back to the epoch before the ideas of Internationalism and Democracy had established themselves; and so mighty and self-confident a throw-back, that she is in danger of dragging the whole world back with her to the point which in her present mood she believes to be the summit of the Universe.

The British Position and State of Mind

is more complicated. Britain is a very curious blend of aristocratic (not autocratic) and democratic feelings; a blend that absolutely cannot be understood by any one who has not lived the English life from his birth up. Britain is and always has been extra-European, something strange to the other nations of Europe. This, and the fact that politically she is the oldest and most-settled Western country, are the natural results of her being an island, and having had the chance to develop for centuries at leisure, without foreign interruption, and attain a sort of common sense, live-and-let-live plane of existence. She has long had everything she wants, and cannot therefore claim any credit for not wishing to disturb the world. She is (because she has no reason to be anything else) fundamentally a peace-lover, fundamentally satisfied with things as they are, or, rather, were.

It is something of a rule (to which there are, of course, exceptions) that only when the well-being of a man or nation is guaranteed, can one expect altruistic sentiment to come into play. By the accident of her position Britain has been able to begin to feel sentiment in the matter of World Politics, to assume a championship of Peace, of little nations, of the sanctity of Treaties. And these assumptions have in turn reacted on the English till they really have a certain feeling for the weak, for their pledged word, and so forth. Let any man examine his friends and acquaintances and he will see precisely the same process going on, the same softening altruism progressing in those who have reached a certain point of security, such as has been reached among the nations by Britain, and, more rapidly, by America. This state of mind in that curious country, Britain, has been and still is somewhat clouded to the outside gaze, by a fringe of noisy, imperialistic drum-beaters, who claim for her before the world precisely what the Germans now claim for Germany, that Britons are inherently superior to others, and are in fact what the Germans also think they are—God's own people! To men with any sense of humor and proportion, the claims are equally absurd. But

these drum-beaters are less than ever typical of Britain. It may be taken as certain that no British Government could now wage a deliberately aggressive war in Europe, and remain in Office a day.

No British Government (for instance) would ever have received sufficient support to enable it to *initiate* an attack on Germany for the sake of destroying her growing commercial prosperity and naval power as Germans, with a naïve sincerity, believe. Britain, as a whole, has neither fear nor jealousy of German commerce; she has arrived at a point of wisdom or unwisdom which believes that Commerce best takes care of itself, and before this war began anti-German feeling in Britain, apart from a certain mutual dislike of each other's manners, dated only from the initiation of the German Naval Policy, and was due to genuine fear that Germany intended in the long run to attack. Whether or no Germany was acting with that view, or merely, as she said, to safeguard her commerce from attacks that would most assuredly never have been made on it, is now an academic question which can be left to those whom it amuses.

If Germany had not declared war on France, but had waited without offensive movement for an attack on the Franco-German border, Britain would now be neutral. I have no authority for this statement, but it is my deliberate conviction. For, in such circumstances, the British Government, even if so inclined—would not have received a mandate from Parliament, and most surely not from the electors of Parliament. This is one of the many points on which Germany cannot understand Britain. German Ministers are responsible to their Emperor. British Ministers are responsible to Parliament and the electors of Parliament. In Germany there is no connection whatever between the arbiters of national policy and the nation; in Britain there is through Parliament a *very real* connection; so real that our diplomacy in this crisis was even obliged to take a certain tentative character; apparently mistaken, in Germany—where no such check on diplomacy exists—for chicanery. The fact is, Democracy and Autocracy cannot

lie down together, and whenever they try there is misunderstanding to the point of disaster.

When the thunderbolt of the Austrian demand on Serbia was discharged from the blue, the very last thing Britain was thinking about was a European war. The suggestion that she cooked up this devilish hash secretly is the final word in fantasy. The deciding factor for Britain was, without any question whatever, the violation of Belgium's neutrality—one of the most cynical and dire blunders ever made by any nation; and the fact that, through the violation Britain's friend, France, was hit below the belt. The profound disbelief with which this simple reason for British intervention has been received in Germany is but another proof of the impossibility that modern Germany finds in understanding modern Britain. They have got on to different planes of ethical thought. Modern German thought says in effect: "What! You went into this great war for the sake of a broken treaty—a mere scrap of torn-up paper—because you considered your honor involved? Oh! no! You know perfectly well that if it had suited you, as we thought it suited us, you, too, would have broken that treaty. Might is Right! Self-assertion is paramount. One must hack one's way through! Circumstances have given you the chance of your life to destroy us whom you have been longing to destroy ever since we began building our fleet. Hypocrite! Treacherous hypocrite!"

That is the perfectly sincere belief of modern German thought. If I am any judge whatever, if I have a psychological insight at all into the life, thought, and feeling in my own country, I say unreservedly that this belief is an entire misconception not of every individual Briton—by no means—but of the vast majority of Britons, that is to say, of collective modern British thought; and collective modern British thought does, in a way that Germans apparently cannot understand, govern British policy. However unfavorable to Britain the circumstances or combinations might have been, I feel certain she would have

gone to war with Germany over the violation of that little country's guaranteed neutrality, and the foul blow it dealt to a friend. I say it, as a hater of war, a despiser of war—*There was nothing else to do!* A treaty is a treaty; honor is honor! Whatever our past, and like all nations we have done some pretty bad things, we do not now indorse this modern German philosophy: "Might is Right." That common little expression, "Playing the game," has come to have a real significance in our country; come to be recognized as a standard, more or less perfectly observed, in every class.

The phrase expresses in minimum terms—and it is our national genius to minimize the expression of everything, in direct contrast to the national genius of Germany, which is to maximize the expression of everything—the phrase expresses, I say, a real national philosophy. Judging from two recent instances—the restrained behavior of American troops fired on by civilians at the occupation of Vera Cruz, and the honorable repudiation by the American Government of a doubtful position over the Panama Canal duties—it has become also the national philosophy of America. Neither England nor America has any right to claim credit for having this national philosophy; nor must it be taken as one that governs their conduct in relation to races that they esteem inferior.*

Thus, so far as Britain is concerned, this war is a struggle between two main states of mind; one taking rise in an autocratically governed country; the other in a country that grows day by day more democratic; one based on naked self-expression, the other on recognition of others besides self. The Germans have qualities of which we British might be proud, just as we have qualities of which the Germans might be proud; but, in so far at all events as European Politics are concerned, the two peoples are head-

*Here is, perhaps, the point of reconciliation between the British and the German national philosophy. They both believe that "Might is Right" in connection with inferior races; but Germany includes in that expression the whole world. Britain no longer does so.

ing in opposite directions. In Germany ends justify means; in England they do not. There never has been, and is not now, any way of reconciling those hostile states of mind; and now that they have come to grips, the one has got to eat the other.

In the eyes of modern Germany we are apparently a decadent people, riddled by liberty, sloth, sentiment, selfishness, and Pharisaism, and for all that very dangerous or we should not be so hated.

In our eyes the Germans have given their souls into the charge of a tyrannous machine; and have become thereby both domineering and servile, and dangerous to the liberties of others. The bitterness between us is the bitterness of strong peoples, each serving with all its might an irreconcilably different ideal of existence.

There are individual Germans—I know some—to whom this “*Might is Right*” doctrine, Militarism, Culture by rule of iron, and raw nationalist patriotism are abhorrent. There are individual Britons—I know some—who believe in these things, hate Democracy and despise

Altruism. A few swallows make no Summer. The main currents and divergences are plain. And the crash has come.

So far as Britain was concerned, the violation of Belgium’s neutrality made intervention in this War a terrible matter of course. But the general conflagration seems to have been inherent in the state of perpetual fever that hangs over countries armed to the teeth and controlled by despotic Bureaucracies. I believe it to be in truth a case of the spontaneous combustion of an atmosphere sulphurous for years, and at last overcharged.

In justice to Germany, there is in her attitude a real element of fear for her position, wedged in between strong allied Powers. But she has done her best for years by what, in our deplorable way of minimizing, we should call “*gas*,” to disguise this fear from the world. She should not now be hurt that others do not credit her with an anxiety which has played no small part in precipitating this most ghastly conflict. A queer mixture of arrogance and nerves has done the job. And what a job! What a damnable job!

Confidence

By VINCENT OSWALD.

What’s that, my friends? Ye tell me that the Germans in this land
Would be against us—would support the Kaiser if his hand
Tore, ruthless, at the Stars and Stripes?—the flag of those dear shores
Whose great, all-loving voice, in welcome glad, threw wide the doors
Of Opportunity to men of every clime on earth,
And cried: “Join me in Heart and Spirit and forget your birth!”

Say, friends, ye ’maze me! Know ye not that Germans who are here
Chose once for all, with crystal minds—mayhap, though, with a tear—
’Twixt Land and Life, ’twixt Bond and Free, ’twixt Might and human Right?
Why, friends, these be the grandsons of the heroes who durst fight
’Gainst tyranny within the confines of the fatherland
Itself—brave revolutionists, who then sought a freer strand;
These be the sons of men who fought the Fights of Fights—and died!—
That so our nation and those Stars and Stripes might still abide!

And think ye, friends, that men like this would fail in lesser test?
Ye know them not! They’ve given us themselves, their all, their best.
For weal or woe, they’re one with us. My friends, in war’s grim blight,
You’d find the Germans at your side, fighting, like you, for RIGHT!

France

By Rudyard Kipling

The subjoined extracts from a private letter of Mr. Kipling, written during his last visit to France, recently appeared in the British press.

* * * I thought I realized something of what was being done by France. I see now that I am only beginning to understand what France is. I can only plead in self-defense that I doubt if France herself knew twelve months ago. France is not merely fighting this war, she is living it, and living it with a gayety and a high heart that, when you get to close quarters, doesn't for a second hide the cold, deadly earnestness and tenacity of her purpose.

I have been in their towns, &c., and I can testify that they bear themselves, men and women, equally resolute—with-out parade or self-pity. We had tea the other day in a town which the Bosches shell daily, because it is full of women and children and has a fine old church. The cellars of the house were a hospital. But not one word around that cheery table upstairs, where not one shade of daily etiquette was missing, suggested, or even hinted at, the perpetual strain under which they live. They were French; and so long as work was to be done they worked. And they do work! As far as I can see there is not a single action of any individual from one end of France to the other which is not colored and guided and soaked through by their strong determination. * * * We shall come to this ourselves in time, but at the present moment we haven't wholly realized the way in which the French, as I have said, are living this war. We English must be made to understand this for our own sakes as well as for theirs, and the example that the French are setting us can't be rubbed in too often or too hard.

Of course, you know the state of affairs as well as any stranger can; but have you ever really conceived France as a country where there is not one single young or middle-aged man except at the post of duty assigned to him by

the military authorities, nor a woman who is not, in her own way and walk of life, engaged in duties directly connected with the war? There is no questioning about woman's action in France. No woman has any doubt of what is expected of her. None of them have time for anything except the war, and still they lose nothing of their charm and their grace. * * *

If it is hard for us to understand the French, it has been harder for the French to understand us. I don't blame 'em! For example. You remember S. talking about that hellish business of ours last April? Couldn't be got to say any more than that it was "damned unhealthy." And he is like all the rest of us. Well, what on earth are the French to make of this sort of thing which they have known now for the past year? And we are just as inarticulate as we were at the beginning. Yet there isn't much difference really between us. Our hostess at the tea party said, with a delightful smile, that, on the whole, bombardment "does not add a zest to life." It might have been S.'s own sister speaking. And it's the same with their men all along the line. But behind the laugh and the outrageous understatement of things there is the spirit that moves mountains. * * *

The readiness and endurance, and again the light heart, among their men is marvelous. They don't stop to argue about things. They are agreed that the only good Bosch is a dead Bosch, and they joyously and zealously do their best to make it so. I think their abundant health and poise (it's a vile word, but you know what I mean) and "devil" struck me most. Next to that was the state of their trenches, which are built and drained and kept as though the war was going on for the next five years.

The trenches are full, too, of useful little ideas and gadgets, which I mean to talk over with you when I come back. * * *

I had the luck to see a very rare thing in this war—the review of an army—40,000 on parade. There was no ceremonial. It was simply the passing of hard-bitten fighting men, and that made it all the more impressive. Once more, it was their radiant health and fitness that made me so happy. Also, I have watched the 75's. They, too, do not deal much in ceremony, but their work is beautiful, and the breech mechanism is a dream of simplicity and efficiency.

So, too, is the sighting. Their officers are a cheerful folk, who can work to thirty yards' clearance over their own infantry. * * *

But when all is said and done, it is the men and the women who are the wonders. I could fill a book with details of the life behind the lines and up to the lines—how would you like to graze a cow under big-shell fire?—and the patience and the fervor and terrific industry of all the land. But you must see it to believe it; and when you have seen it you must testify, as I hope to, that nothing that England can do is enough to keep abreast of such an ally.

The Unexpected

By M. E. BUHLER.

One mocked at death, for being strong
 of limb
 And fearless, death no terrors had for
 him:
 "From out my course I shall not move
 a jot,
 Let him approach at will; I fear him
 not!"

Yet, when the conqueror whom he
 thought to meet
 As man meets man, erect upon his feet,
 Came creeping in long twilight shad-
 ows, he
 Fell on his knees and writhed in agony.

Another, not self-confident but frail,
 Feared death from his youth upward;
 e'en would quail
 At every shadow which upon his path
 Seemed pointing toward him in its som-
 bre wrath.

Yet, when death came, not wrapped in
 lengthened gloom
 As all life long this man expected doom,
 But sudden in the sunlight, not a trace
 Of fear remained; he met him face to
 face.

How the United States of America Became a Nation in Arms

A Record of One-Man Rule and of Compulsory Service in Arms During the Civil War

By J. Ellis Barker

Stating that ninety-nine out of every hundred well-educated Englishmen ignore the means whereby the United States raised millions of soldiers at a time when its population was very much smaller than that of the United Kingdom at present, Mr. Barker presents in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for September the first complete story of conscription in the civil war and of President Lincoln's dictatorial part therein to serve the nation. The article is invaluable as a study showing a precedent for the British democracy during the present war and for the light it throws on the psychology of both voluntary and compulsory service in arms as applied to an intensely democratic people. Somewhat abridged, and omitting largely the documentary quotations needed for establishing his case with completeness, this article from one of Great Britain's most influential reviews appears below, with the express permission of the Leonard Scott Publication Company.

WHEN the South struck its blow for independence there certainly was confusion in Washington and throughout the States of the North. In describing the condition of the country in 1861 the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War reported: "There was treason in the Executive Mansion, treason in the Cabinet, treason in the Senate and the House of Representatives, treason in the army and navy, treason in every department, bureau, and office connected with the Government." The position of affairs was more fully described in the First Executive Order in Relation to State Prisoners, which was issued on behalf of the President by Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, on the 14th of February, 1862. He wrote:

The breaking out of a formidable insurrection, based on a conflict of political ideas, being an event without precedent in the United States, was necessarily attended by great confusion and perplexity of the public mind. Disloyalty, before unsuspected, suddenly became bold, and treason astonished the world by bringing at once into the field military forces superior in numbers to the standing army of the United States.

Every department of the Government was paralyzed by treason. Defection appeared in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the Cabinet, in the

Federal courts; Ministers and Consuls returned from foreign countries to enter the insurrectionary councils or land or naval forces; commanding and other officers of the army and in the navy betrayed the councils or deserted their posts for commands in the insurgent forces. Treason was flagrant in the revenue and in the Post Office Service, as well as in the Territorial Governments and in the Indian reserves.

Not only Governors, Judges, legislators, and Ministerial officers in the States, but even whole States, rushed, one after another, with apparent unanimity into rebellion. The capital was besieged and its connection with all the States cut off.

Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal political combinations and secret societies were formed furthering the work of disunion, while, from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies, individuals were found furnishing men, money, and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy yards, arsenals, military posts and garrisons, one after another, were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents.

Congress had not anticipated, and so had not provided for, the emergency. The municipal authorities were powerless and inactive. The judicial machinery seemed as if it had been designed not to sustain the Government, but to embarrass and betray it.

Foreign intervention, openly invited and industriously instigated by the abettors of the insurrection, became imminent, and has only been prevented by the practice

of strict and impartial justice with the most perfect moderation in our intercourse with nations. * * *

Extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone.

At the touch of war all the factors of national strength, the army, the navy, and the civil administration, had broken down. Consternation and confusion were general. At the head of affairs was a quaint and old-fashioned country attorney from the backwoods, possessed of a homely wit and infinite humor, ignorant of national government, surrounded by treason and besieged by a mob of clamorous office seekers who blocked the ante-rooms and the passages at the White House, sat on the stairs, and overflowed into the garden. Congress was not in session. Washington was isolated and threatened. It was questionable whether the two houses of the Legislature would be able to meet in the Federal capital. Many people in the North sympathized secretly with the South. Few officials could be trusted. The position was desperate. Everything had broken down except the Constitution. In the hour of the direst need the American Constitution proved a source of the greatest strength, and it saved the country.

The American Constitution had been planned not by politicians but by great statesmen and soldiers, by able and energetic men of action who had fought victoriously against England. They had wisely, and after mature deliberation, concentrated vast powers in the hands of the President, and had given him almost despotic powers in a time of national danger. President Lincoln unhesitatingly made use of these powers. It will appear in the course of these pages that the Southern States were defeated not so much by President Lincoln and the Northern armies as by the Fathers of the Commonwealth, who in another century had prepared for the use of the President a powerful weapon which would be ready to his hand in the hour of peril.

Believing that the United States were likely to be involved in further wars, the founders of the American Republic wished to strengthen the State by making the President powerful and independent, by

giving him almost monarchical authority in time of peace, and by making him a kind of dictator in time of war. The United States Constitution states: "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the active service of the United States." In time of danger State rights were to disappear, the military independence of the individual States was to come to an end.

Unlike the British Prime Minister, the American President is free from popular and parliamentary control. He can at any time repudiate a majority of both houses. He can veto any act of Congress, even if it is supported by large majorities, and he has frequently done so, for he is supposed to act solely in the interests of the nation and in accordance with his own conscience, without regard to party majorities and party intrigues. He can place at the head of the army and navy any man he chooses or he can command in person and no one can question his action. His Cabinet, the Secretaries of State, are nominated by him, and they are his subordinates. They are the President's, not the people's, servants. They have no seat and no voice in Congress. They are supposed to stand, like the President, outside and above party, to be servants of the nation as a whole. The Ministers, like the President, cannot be removed by a chance majority. The President and his Secretaries of State are not so constantly hampered in their actions by the fear of losing popularity and office as are British statesmen. The founders of the Commonwealth gave to the President a vast and truly royal authority because they believed that a National Executive could be efficient only if it was strong, and that it could be strong only if it was independent of party ties and intrusted to a single man.

Hamilton, Jay, Gouverneur Morris, John Adams, and other leading men of the time were so much in favor of a strong Executive that they advocated that American Presidents, like British Judges, should be appointed for life and should be removable only by impeachment.

The doctrine that a Government, to be

efficient, requires not many heads but a single head, that a one-man Government, a strong Government, is valuable at all times, and especially in time of national danger, was more fully developed by Hamilton in the seventieth letter of *The Federalist*.

Great Britain is ruled by a Cabinet, by a number of men who are nominally equal, and the Prime Minister is their President, he is *primus inter pares*. The British Cabinet Ministers take resolutions collectively and they act, at least in theory, with unanimity. As they act unanimously, there is no individual, but only collective, responsibility for Cabinet decisions. At the present moment twenty-two Cabinet Ministers are collectively responsible for every important decision, even if the decision requires high expert knowledge which few, if any, of them possess, or if it concerns only a single department—such as the army or navy—with which twenty Ministers out of twenty-two in the Cabinet may be quite unacquainted. An anonymous author wrote some years ago of the British Cabinet that it had many heads but no head, many minds but no mind. Government by a crowd is a danger in war time. Hamilton clearly foresaw the weakness and danger of governing by means of a committee of politicians, especially in time of war.

War is a one-man business. To the founders of the American Republic it seemed so essential and so self-evident that only a single hand could direct the army and navy efficiently and "with decision, activity, secrecy, and dispatch" that they thought that the paragraph of the Constitution which made the President Commander in Chief of both services was unchallengeable and required neither explanation nor defense. That paragraph is curtly dismissed by Hamilton in the seventy-fourth letter of *The Federalist*, as follows:

The President of the United States is to be "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States." The propriety of this provision is so evident in itself, and it is, at the same time, so consonant to the precedents of the State Constitutions in general, that little

need be said to explain or enforce it. Even those of them which have in other respects coupled the Chief Magistrate with a council have for the most part concentrated the military authority in him alone.

Of all the cares or concerns of government, the direction of war most peculiarly demands those qualities which distinguish the exercise of power by a single hand. The direction of war implies the direction of the common strength, and the power of directing and employing the common strength forms a usual and essential part in the definition of the executive authority.

At the outbreak of the civil war, when all the factors supporting the Government's authority had broken down, President Lincoln fell back on the Constitution. He rather relied on its spirit as it appears in *The Federalist* than on its wording, and he did not hesitate to strain his powers to the utmost in order to save the State. On the 15th of April, immediately after the bombardment and fall of Fort Sumter, he called upon the Governors of the individual States to raise 75,000 men of State militia, in proportion to their inhabitants, and to place them in the service of the United States and under his command. These 75,000 men were called upon to serve only for three months, not because the President or his Cabinet believed that the war would last only ninety days, but because, according to the act of 1795, the President had authority which permitted "the use of the militia so as to be called forth only for thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress." A musty law circumscribed and hampered the President's action, but it did not hamper it for long. Very soon it became evident that that preliminary measure was totally insufficient, that energy and novel measures were required to overcome the dangers which threatened the Northern States from without and from within. Relying on the spirit of the Constitution and on his duty to defend the Union at all costs, President Lincoln, to his eternal honor, did not hesitate to make illegal, but not unscrupulous, use of dictatorial powers. On the 27th of April he directed General Scott to suspend the privilege of *habeas corpus*, if necessary, in order to be able to deal with treason and with opposition

in the Northern States. On the 3d of May he decreed by proclamation that the regular army should be increased by 22,714, or should be more than doubled, and that 18,000 seamen should be added to the navy. At the same time he called for forty regiments, composed of 42,034 volunteers, to serve during three years.

At the beginning of the war the Northern States were almost unarmed. The Government had completely neglected the army and navy. In the country was only a scanty supply of arms and ammunition. Under Buchanan's Presidency an incapable, if not a treacherous, Secretary of War, who later on joined the Southern forces, had allowed large numbers of arms to be removed from arsenals in the North to arsenals in the Southern States, where they were seized by the Secessionists. For the supply of muskets the Government depended chiefly on the Springfield Armory and upon that at Harper's Ferry. The capacity of the private manufacturers was only a few thousand muskets a year, and after the destruction of the arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry, on the 19th of April, 1861, which contained 15,000 muskets, and which otherwise might have fallen into the hands of the Confederates, the resources of the Government were seriously diminished. The want of arms limited the call of the President on the 15th of April to 75,000 men, and many regiments were detained for a long time in their camps in the different States until muskets could be imported from Europe. Orders for weapons were hastily sent abroad, and many inferior arms were imported at high prices. The Springfield Armory, the capacity of which was only about 25,000 muskets per year, was rapidly enlarged, and its production, assisted by outside machine shops, was brought up to about 8,000 muskets per month at the end of 1861 and to about 15,000 per month shortly afterward. The United States had to pay for their neglect of military preparations in the past. Everything had laboriously to be created. Meanwhile confusion was general. The army which had been collected was merely a mob of ill-armed men. During 1861 the State of Indiana,

for instance, had raised and sent into the field, in round numbers, 60,000 men, of whom 53,500 were infantry. The following statement, taken from Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, shows what arms they received during the year:

Muskets and Rifles.

Prussian muskets.....	4,006
United States rifles.....	5,290
Padrei rifles.....	5,000
Belgian rifles.....	957
New percussion muskets.....	7,299
Altered percussion muskets.....	8,800
Long-range rifles.....	600
Springfield rifles.....	1,830
Short Enfields.....	960
Long Enfields.....	13,898
Saxony rifles.....	1,600
Austrian rifles, .54 calibre.....	3,822
Mississippi rifles, .54 calibre.....	362

In their need, anything that had a barrel was used to arm the troops. The Southern States even fell back upon shot-guns and ancient fowling pieces. Gradually order was evolved out of chaos. The inborn energy and talent for organization of the race asserted themselves. The North was far superior to the South in population, wealth, machinery, and appliances of every kind. In the course of time, a large, well-organized, and well-equipped army arose.

At the beginning of 1862 the Southern States were threatened with invasion by large armies. A great forward movement of the Northern forces was ordered to begin on the 22d of February, and rapid progress was being made. Forts Henry and Donelson were rapidly captured from the rebels, Bowling Green and Columbus had to be evacuated, and Nashville surrendered. The entire line of defense formed by the Southern States toward the west was swept away, and a march by the Northern troops into the heart of the Southwestern States seemed imminent. Consternation seized upon the Southern people. The Southern Army of 1861 was composed chiefly of volunteers who had enlisted for twelve months. The voluntary system had yielded all it could yield. It became clear that the Southern States could not successfully be defended by volunteers against the North, that national and compulsory service was needed. The Southern Government was aroused to action, and without hesitation

President Jefferson Davis sent a message to the Confederate Congress in which he laid down that it was the duty of all citizens to defend the State and in which he demanded the introduction of conscription for all men between 18 and 35 years.

He demanded not only conscription but practically the total surrender of State rights. He wished the confederation of Southern States to fight like a single State, recognizing that concentration increases strength. A conscription act was rapidly passed on the 16th of April, 1862.

As conscription for all men from 18 to 35 years did not suffice to fill the depleted ranks of the Southern Army, it was made more rigorous. An order by Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, dated the 1st of August, 1862, stated:

The obtaining of substitutes through the medium of agents is strictly forbidden. When such agents are employed, the principal, the substitute, and the agent will be impressed into the military service, and the money paid for the substitute, and as a reward to the agent, will be confiscated to the Government. The offender will also be subjected to such other imprisonment as may be imposed by a court-martial.

As desertion from the ranks had weakened the Southern Army, the press appealed to the citizens of the South to assist in the apprehension of deserters and stragglers. All men and women in the country were exhorted to "pursue, shame, and drive back to the ranks those who have deserted their colors and their comrades and turned their backs upon their country's service." Still further exertions were required to prevent the Northern troops invading the Southern States in force. Hence, in September, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed another act of conscription, which called out for military service all men between the ages of 35 and 45.

Years of fighting reduced the ranks of the Southern armies. They could hold their own against the overwhelming numbers of the North only by extending the age limit of compulsory military service still further, by making conscription still more rigorous. In February, 1864, a general military act was passed which en-

rolled all white men from 17 to 50 years in the army.

The American civil war had begun in April, 1861. At its commencement the people in the North had believed that, owing to their overwhelming superiority in numbers, in wealth, and in resources of every kind, they would be able to subdue the insurgent States by armies raised on the voluntary principle within a reasonable time. However, the war dragged on interminably. Enthusiasm for volunteering diminished, men became cool and indifferent. Owing to the reduced number of workers, wages rose very greatly throughout the Union and men turned rather to the factory than to the army. Week by week the expenditure in blood and treasure increased. At last the people in the North began to see the necessity of abandoning the voluntary system and of imitating the Southern States by introducing compulsory service. It will be of interest to see the way in which public opinion veered around. In his report of the 17th of March, 1866, the Provost Marshal General, James B. Fry, the head of the great recruiting department of the Northern armies, described this change in opinion under the heading "Public Recognition of the Necessity of a General Conscription," as follows:

During the latter part of 1862 the necessity for a radical change in the method of raising troops in order to prosecute the war to a successful issue became more and more apparent. The demand for reinforcements from the various armies in the field steadily and largely exceeded the current supply of men. The old agencies for filling the ranks proved more and more ineffective. It was evident that the efforts of the Government for the suppression of the rebellion would fail without resort to the unpopular, but nevertheless truly republican, measure of conscription. The national authorities, no less than the purest and wisest minds in Congress, and intelligent and patriotic citizens throughout the country, perceived that, besides a more reliable, regular, and abundant supply of men, other substantial benefits would be derived from the adoption and enforcement of the principle that every citizen, not incapacitated by physical or mental disability, owes military service to the country in the hour of extremity. It would effectually do away with the unjust and burdensome dispro-

portion in the number of men furnished by different States and localities.

But it was not easy to convince the public mind at once of the justice and wisdom of conscription. It was a novelty, contrary to the traditional military policy of the nation. The people had become more accustomed to the enjoyment of privileges than to the fulfillment of duties under the General Government, and hence beheld the prospect of compulsory service in the army with an unreasonable dread. Among the laboring classes especially it produced great uneasiness. Fortunately the loyal political leaders and press early realized the urgency of conscription, and by judicious agitation gradually reconciled the public to it. When the enrollment act was introduced in Congress in the following Winter the patriotic people of the North were willing to see it become a law.

Early in 1863 the bill introducing conscription was placed before Congress at Washington, and was discussed by both houses. The debates were brief and the speeches delivered are most interesting and enlightening at the present moment, when the principle of conscription is hotly discussed, not only in Great Britain but throughout the British Empire. Let us listen to the principal arguments in favor of conscription.

Mr. Dunn, Representative of Indiana, urged the necessity of conscription in the following words:

The necessity is upon us to pass a bill of this character. We have many regiments in the field greatly reduced in numbers. * * * It is due to the gallant men remaining in these regiments that their numbers should be promptly filled up. This cannot be done by voluntary enlistment on account of the influence of just such speeches as are made here and elsewhere denouncing the war; many make a clamor against the war as an excuse for not volunteering. Moreover, a draft is the cheapest, fairest, and best mode of raising troops. It is to be regretted this mode was not adopted at first. Then all would have shared alike in the perils and glories of the war. Every family would have been represented in the field, and every soldier would have had sympathy and support from his friends at home. The passage of this bill will give evidence to the rebels that the nation is summoning all its energies to the conflict, and it will be proof to foreign nations that we are prepared to meet promptly any intermeddling in our domestic strife. The Government has a right in war to command the services of its citizens, whom it protects in war as well as in peace. We, as legislators, must not

shrink from the discharge of our high responsibility.

Mr. Thomas, Representative of Massachusetts, stated:

For the last six or nine months a whole party—a strong party—has deliberately entered into a combination to discourage, to prevent, and as far as in it lay to prohibit, the volunteering of the people of the country as soldiers in our army. Members of that party have gone from house to house, from town to town, and from city to city urging their brethren not to enlist in the armies of the nation, and giving them all sorts of reasons for that advice. * * *

Mr. Speaker, this is a terrible bill; terrible in the powers it confers upon the Executive, terrible in the duty and burden it imposes upon the citizen. I meet the suggestion by one as obvious and cogent, and that is that the exigency is a terrible one and calls for all the powers with which the Government is invested.

The powers of Congress, within the scope of the Constitution, are supreme and strike directly to the subject and hold him in its firm, its iron grasp. I repeat what at an early day I asserted upon this floor, that there is not a human being within the territory of the United States, black or white, bond or free, whom this Government is not capable of taking in its right hand and using for its military service whenever the defense of the country requires, and of this Congress alone must judge. The question of use is a question of policy only. * * * It is, in effect, a question to this nation of life or death. We literally have no choice.

The views given fairly sum up the opinion held by the majority of the American people in the North and by that of their representatives at Washington, who passed the Conscription act without undue delay against a rather substantial minority.

In each district a Provost Marshal, acting under the Provost Marshal General, an examining surgeon, and a Commissioner constituted the Board of Enrollment. The enrolling officers were directed to enroll all able-bodied persons within the prescribed ages and to judge of age by the best evidence they could obtain. They were required to make two classes in their returns, the first of all men between 20 and 35 years and the second of all between 35 and 45 years. If we wish to learn how the conscription act worked in the unruly North, where an enormous percentage of the population liable to military service consisted of

immigrant foreigners who often were ill-acquainted with the English language, we should turn to the report which the Provost Marshal General made to the Secretary of War on the 17th of March, 1866. We read:

When the bureau was put in operation the strength of the army was deemed inadequate for offensive operations. Nearly 400,000 recruits were required to bring the regiments and companies then in service up to the legal and necessary standard. Disaster had been succeeded by inactivity, and the safety of the country depended on speedy and continued reinforcement of the army. The insufficiency of the system of recruitment previously pursued had been demonstrated, and the army was diminishing by the ordinary casualties of war, but more rapidly by the expiration of the terms for which the troops had engaged to serve. To meet the emergency a new system of recruitment was inaugurated. The General Government, through this bureau, assumed direct control of the business which had heretofore been transacted mainly by the State Governments. * * *

The following is a condensed summary of the results of the operations of this bureau from its organization to the close of the war:

(1) By means of a full and exact enrollment of all persons liable to conscription under the law of March 3, and its amendments, a complete exhibit of the military resources of the loyal States in men was made, showing an aggregate number of 2,254,063 men, not including 1,000,516 soldiers actually under arms when hostilities ceased.

(2) 1,120,621 men were raised at an average cost (on account of recruitment exclusive of bounties) of \$9.84 per man; while the cost of recruiting the 1,356,593 raised prior to the organization of the bureau was \$34.01 per man. A saving of over 70 cents on the dollar in the cost of raising troops was thus effected under this bureau, notwithstanding the increase in the price of subsistence, transportation, rents, &c., during the last two years of the war.

(3) 76,526 deserters were arrested and returned to the army.

The vigilance and energy of the officers of the bureau in this branch of business put an effectual check to the widespread evil of desertion, which at one time impaired so seriously the numerical strength and efficiency of the army.

(4) The quotas of men furnished by the various parts of the country were equalized and a proportionate share of military service secured from each, thus removing the very serious inequality of recruitment which had arisen during the first two years of the war, and which, when the

bureau was organized, had become an almost insuperable obstacle to further progress in raising troops. * * *

The introduction of compulsion acted as a powerful stimulus to voluntary enlistment throughout the Union,* and, in consequence of this revival of voluntary enlistment, the number of men compulsorily enlisted was not as great as it might have been, especially as the compulsory system was not exploited to the full. Only a comparatively moderate number of those who by law were declared to be liable for military service were called upon to join the army. On the other hand, the moral effect of the passing of the conscription act was very far-reaching and salutary.

The conscription act of 1863 was a most beneficial measure, but it had several grave defects. It failed to place upon the men liable for military service the duty of coming forward without delay. Hence the Government had to search them out.

Enrolled men whose names had been drawn from the wheel for service and who failed to obey the call were liable to the extreme penalty.

Deserters were proceeded against with great energy. Death sentences for desertion were not infrequent, but in many cases they were commuted. Still, from the table given later on, it appears that 261 soldiers of the Northern Army were executed. Among these were a good many deserters.

The Union Government had made the unfortunate mistake of allowing men who had been enrolled as liable for military duty and who had afterward been "drafted" for service to escape their duties by the undemocratic expedient of finding a substitute or of paying \$300. That provision was naturally much resented by the poorer classes, and especially by alien immigrants in the large towns. The opposition made the utmost use of its opportunity, denounced the Government, and incited the masses to resistance. The Provost Marshal General's report tells us that the people were incited against the Government "by the

*This was due to the fact that the individual States vied with one another to fill their quota so as to make compulsion unnecessary.

machinations of a few disloyal political leaders, aided by the treasonable utterances of corrupt and profligate newspapers * * * by a steady stream of political poison and arrant treason." While the Government was obeyed in the country, these incitements led to sanguinary riots among the worst alien elements in several towns, especially in New York, Boston, and Troy. A large part of New York was, during several days, devastated by the mob, and the suppression of the rising cost more than 1,000 lives. When order had been re-established, Mr. Horatio Seymour, the Governor of New York, expressed doubt whether conscription was constitutionally permissible, and asked President Lincoln to obtain a judicial decision on that point. The President replied on the 7th of August:

* * * We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used.

This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side, if we first waste time to re-experiment with the voluntary system, already deemed by Congress, and palpably in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether the law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go.

My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged—of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Shortly afterward conscription was enforced throughout New York with the energetic assistance of Governor Seymour, who clearly recognized the pertinence of the President's arguments.

Let us now consider the principal facts and figures relating to the civil war.

It began on the 12th of April, 1861, with the bombardment of Fort Sumter;

it ended on the 9th of April, 1865, with the surrender of General Lee and his army to General Grant at Appomattox Court House. Except for three days, the war lasted exactly four years. The history of the civil war is at the same time inspiring and humiliating. It is inspiring because of the patriotism, the heroism, the ability, and the resourcefulness which were displayed by both combatants. Both showed that it was possible to improvise huge and powerful armies. It is deeply humiliating because the civil war is a gigantic monument of democratic improvidence and of unreadiness, of governmental short-sightedness and of criminal waste, of bungling, and of muddle. The North possessed so overwhelming a superiority in population and in resources of every kind, and had had so ample a warning of the threatening danger long before the trouble began, that the war would probably never have broken out had the Northern statesmen exercised in time some ordinary foresight and caution, as they easily might have done and as they ought to have done. If some precautions had been taken and if, nevertheless, the Southern States had revolted, their subjection might have been effected within a few months at a comparatively trifling expenditure of blood and treasure. How crushing the numerical superiority of the North was over the South will be seen from the census figures of 1860, which supply the following picture:

American Population in 1860.	
Population of Northern and Western States.....	22,339,978
White population of Southern States.....	5,449,463
Colored population of Southern States.....	3,653,880
Total	31,443,321

If we compare the total population of the antagonists, it appears that the North had twenty-five inhabitants to every ten in the South, both white and colored. However, as the Southern negroes did not furnish soldiers during the war, we must deduct their number. Thus we find that for every ten possible combatants in the South there were no fewer than forty in the North. In 1860 the

Northern States had two and a half times as many inhabitants and four times as many men able to bear arms as had the Southern States. In addition, the Northern States possessed infinitely greater wealth and infinitely greater resources of every kind than did their opponents.

From the official statistics available it appears that the wealth of the Union was in 1860 about fifteen times as great as that of the Southern States, which were merely producers of food and raw materials. In the course of the war the economic supremacy of the North increased very greatly, for while the manufacturing power of the Northern States expanded rapidly, the economic position of the Southern States deteriorated continually. Northern warships blockaded the coast of the South, and the Southerners could neither sell their staple products—especially cotton and tobacco—nor import the machines, weapons, and manufactures of every kind which they needed. While the North was self-supporting and could freely import from abroad all it required, the South was thrown on its own resources, and before long the people lacked even the most essential things. Hence their sufferings were terrible, while the people in the North lived in relative comfort and affluence.

The people, both in the South and in the North, made a most gigantic military effort. The Secretary of War laid before Congress information from which it appeared that the Northern States furnished altogether the gigantic number of 2,653,062 soldiers. If this colossal aggregate is reduced to a three years' standard they furnished no less than 2,129,041 men. If we compare this figure with the total population of the Northern States given above we find that the North sent to the army 10 per cent. of the total population. The official figures relating to the military effort of the South are incomplete and not reliable. Estimates vary. However, when we draw the average of the various estimates it appears that the Southern States furnished to the army about 1,000,000 men, or approximately 20 per cent. of the white population.

The war entailed colossal losses in men

and money. According to the accounts furnished in the Official Record, the war losses of the Northern Army were as follows:

Losses of Northern Army.			
Volunteers.	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Killed in action.....	4,057	61,654	65,711
Of wounds received in action.....	2,164	39,912	42,076
Of disease.....	2,688	218,806	221,494
Accidental (except drowned)	141	3,869	4,010
Drowned	102	4,749	4,851
Murdered	36	468	504
Killed after capture..	14	89	103
Suicide	24	340	364
Executed by U. S. military authorities.	..	261	261
Executed by enemy..	4	60	64
Sunstroke	5	301	306
Other known causes.	61	1,910	1,971
Causes not stated....	28	11,987	12,015
Aggregate	9,324	344,406	353,730
Losses of Northern regular army.....	260	5,538	5,798
Grand aggregate — regulars and volunteers	9,584	349,944	359,528

These figures are considered by many authorities to be an understatement. Some estimate that the Northern States lost approximately 500,000 lives through the war. Through death, the Northern armies lost about 20 per cent. of their men, and the losses come to about 2 per cent. of the whole population. The war losses of the Southern States were approximately as great as those of the North. Apparently about one-half of the Southern Army died, and the deaths caused by the war equal almost 10 per cent. of the white population of the South. Altogether, the American States combined lost between 700,000 and 1,000,000 lives in four years' warfare.

The economic losses caused by the war were enormous. Estimates vary, but the most reliable one gives the figure of \$10,000,000,000, or £2,000,000,000. The war bill of the United States continues mounting up through the payment of pensions which entail at present an expenditure of about £30,000,000 a year. The civil war crippled the North financially for many years, but it ruined the South. Between 1860 and 1870 the taxable wealth of Virginia decreased from \$793,249,681 to \$327,670,603; that of

South Carolina from \$548,138,754 to \$166,517,591; that of Georgia from \$645,895,237 to \$214,535,366, &c.

Let us now consider the principal lessons of the civil war:

If the American statesmen had exercised merely reasonable caution and foresight the war would probably never have occurred. The principal towns of the South lie near the sea border, in spacious bays or up-river. They were protected against an attack from the sea by strong forts. By adequately garrisoning these forts in time, as General Scott, the head of the army, had advised President Buchanan, the American Government could have dominated the rebellious towns, and could have cut their connection with the sea as had been done with the best success at the time of the nullification troubles of 1832. Unfortunately, President Buchanan paid no attention to the views of his military experts.

Washington said in his fifth annual address: "If we desire to avoid insult we must be able to repel it. If we desire to secure peace, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." He and many of the founders of the Republic had pointed out in *The Federalist* and elsewhere that it was dangerous for the country to rely merely on an untrained militia, and had urged the necessity of maintaining an adequate standing army. Unfortunately their warnings were not heeded by the short-sighted and unscrupulous politicians. Had the United States possessed a small standing army ready for war, the Southern States would scarcely have dared to rise, and had they done so their power could easily have been broken. In the opinion of many American military experts a standing army of 50,000 men would have sufficed to end the war in a few months. The disregard of the views of the military experts, and the criminal levity and recklessness of self-seeking politicians cost the United States approximately a million lives and £2,000,000,000. They paid dearly for their previous improvidence and their neglect of military preparations.

When the bombardment of Fort Sumter began, when the army, navy, and the

whole administrative and judicial apparatus broke down, the dissolution of the great Republic seemed inevitable. The Union was saved by a man of sterling character but of merely moderate ability, by a great citizen but scarcely a statesman of the very first rank. Abraham Lincoln was animated by an unwavering faith in the Union and in the righteousness of its cause. Undismayed by disaster, he rallied the waverers, encouraged the downhearted, and created harmony among the quarreling parties. When matters seemed desperate, he mobilized the country, raised a huge army, and saved the State by his exertions. Had a Buchanan or a Johnson been in power the Union would undoubtedly have been lost. He did not hesitate to exceed his constitutional powers and to act as a dictator when the fate of his country was at stake. In Lord Bryce's words: "Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell." One-man rule undoubtedly saved the United States.

The British Constitution is unwritten, is fluid, is adaptable to the necessities of the moment. It has been created by gradual evolution, and it lends itself easily to the creation of a one-man Government for the duration of the war. The Prime Minister need only be made solely responsible for the conduct of the Government in all its branches during the war. By thus increasing the power of the Prime Minister, the Cabinet Ministers would be made responsible merely for their departments. They would be responsible to the Prime Minister and he to Parliament. Cabinet Ministers could therefore devote themselves practically entirely to their administrative duties. They would become the Prime Minister's subordinates. He would assume sole responsibility for important decisions. He would consult the Cabinet Ministers, but could no longer be hampered in his action by the opposition of one or several of his colleagues. The direction of affairs would no longer be in the hands of an unwieldy body, such as could not successfully direct any business. The State would possess a managing director, as does every business, and thus foresight,

unity, energy, dispatch, and secrecy in action might be secured.

Many Englishmen extol the voluntary system and oppose compulsory service because in their opinion compulsion, conscription, is undemocratic. Most of these are quite unaware that the greatest, the freest, and the most unruly democracy in the world gladly submitted to conscription half a century ago, and appear to forget that France and Switzerland recognize that the first duty of the citizen consists in defending his country. If the United States found conscription necessary to prevent the Southern States breaking away and forming a Government of their own, how much more necessary is the abandonment of the voluntary system when not merely the integrity but the existence of Great Britain and of the empire is at stake!

While the Southern States armed their whole able-bodied population at an early date, the Northern States were late in introducing conscription. Besides, conscription was with them only a half measure, as has been shown. They introduced it only on the 3d of March, 1863, two years after the outbreak of the war, and as they failed to arm all available men the war dragged on for two whole years after conscription had been introduced. The fourfold superiority in able-bodied men and the fifteenfold superiority in wealth would undoubtedly have given to the Northern States a rapid and complete victory had they acted with their entire national strength at the outset.

The United Kingdom and the British Empire have made enormous efforts, but greater ones will be needed. The United States have provided this country with a great and inspiring precedent. The Northern States placed 10 per cent. and

the Southern States 20 per cent. of their entire population in the field. If Great Britain should follow the example of the Northern States she alone would be able to raise 4,500,000 men. If she should follow the example of the South she should be able to provide 9,000,000 soldiers. The British losses during the first year of war have been appalling, but they are small if compared with those incurred by the Americans in the civil war. If Great Britain should lose men at the same rate as the Northern States her dead would number about 1,000,000. At the proportion of the Southern States her dead would number about 4,000,000. Great Britain and her daughter States have an opportunity of demonstrating to the world that they have as much energy, resourcefulness, patriotism, and vitality as the men who laid down their lives in the terrible campaign of 1861-5. If the United States were ready to make the greatest sacrifices for preserving their Union, the United Kingdom and the Dominions should be willing to make sacrifices at least as great for the sake of their existence.

At the dedication of the Soldiers' Cemetery in 1863, Abraham Lincoln pronounced the following immortal words:

It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

These words are known by heart by every American schoolboy. They may well serve as a memento and as a motto to Englishmen of the present generation and inspire them in the heavy task which lies before them.



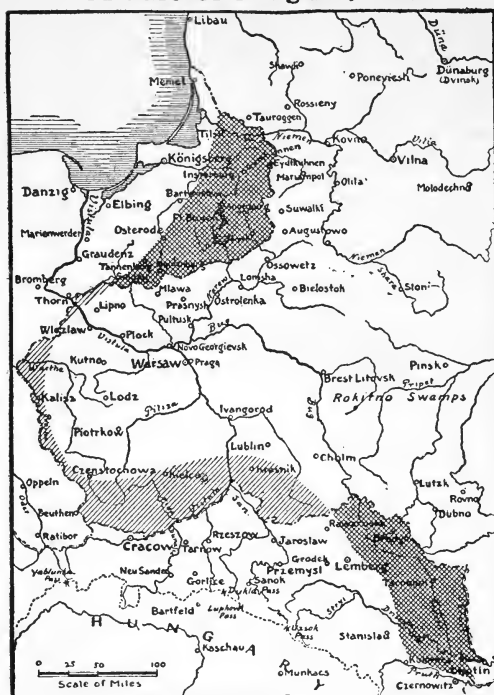
"Facts from the
Frankfurter Zeitung
"One Year of War"

“Territory Occupied on the Eastern Front”

The Territory Occupied by Central Powers. (Light Shading)

The Territory Occupied by Russians. (Dark Shading)

Middle of August, 1914



First of August, 1915



"Cost of the War"

"Cost of the First Year of the War to England"

14-15 BILLION
MARKS

**"The Savings of
English Industry
in a Year of Peace"**

4 3/4
BILLION
MARKS

"Territory Occupied on Western Front"

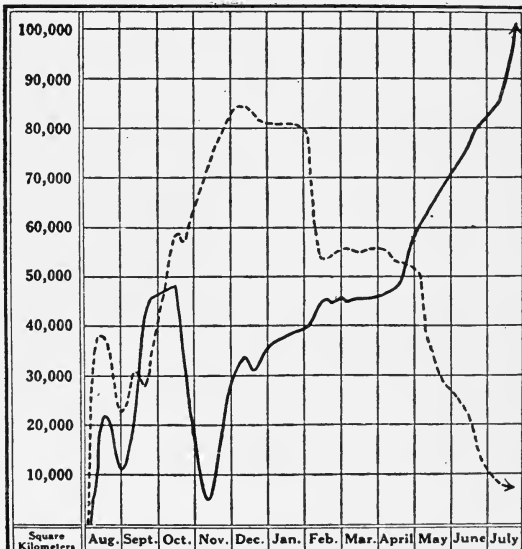
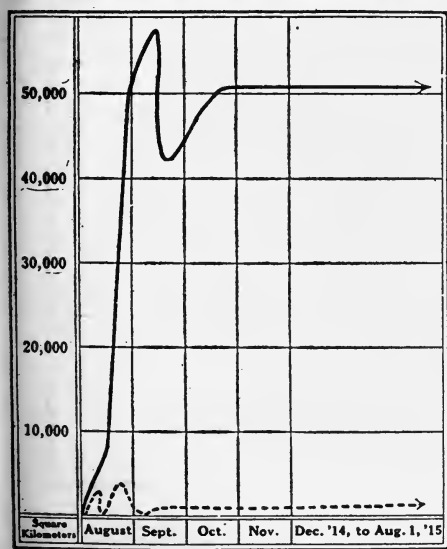
Enemy's Territory Occupied by Germany. (Light Shading)

Aug., 1914 Enemy's Territory Occupied by Allies. (Dark Shading)

Aug., 1915

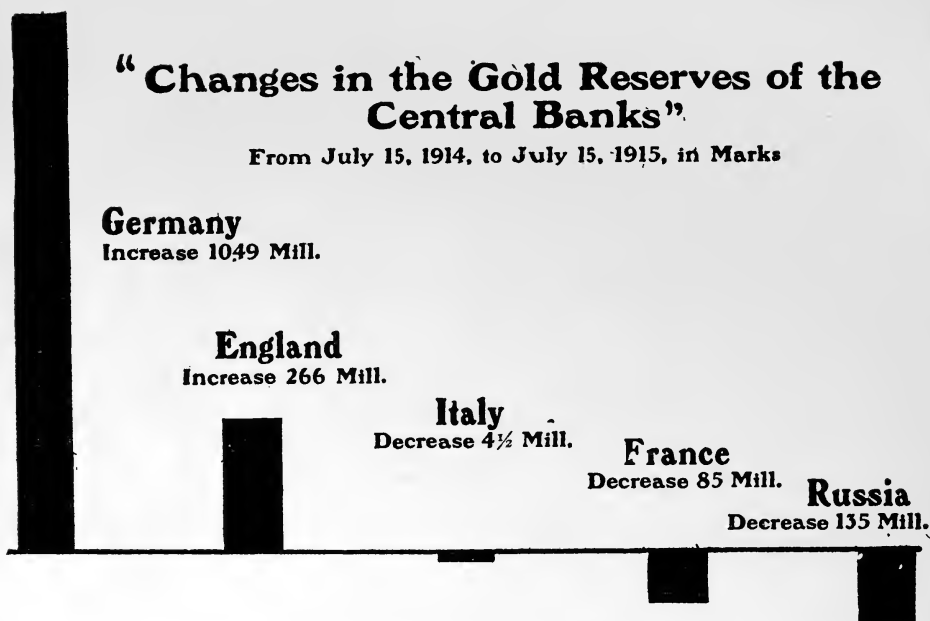


"Possession of Conquered Territory From Month to Month"



-----French Curve —————German Curve
 -----Russian Curve —————Curve of Central Powers

"The first chart displays the varying fortunes on the Western front, the second chart those on the Eastern front. It will be noted that after the first two and one-half months of war, the positions on the Western front remained stationary. On the Eastern front, however, the Russians at first made large gains which later were entirely wiped out and reversed by German successes."



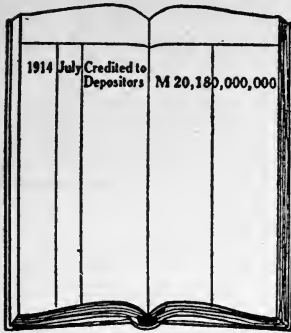
"Comparisons Between English

Germany	July 15, 1915
Imperial Bank Notes	M 5415 Mill.
Currency Notes	" 240 "
Public Deposits	" 751 "
Other Deposits	" 1852 "
Total	M 8258 Mill.
Gold Reserve	" 2392 "
Proportion of reserves to liabilities . .	28.94%

"Savings Deposits of the German People"

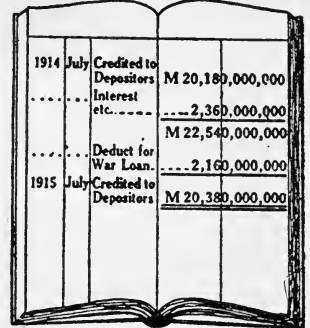
The Savings Capacity of the German People Before and During the Year of the War

Before the War



1914	July	Credited to Depositors	M 20,180,000,000
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"Shortly before the war, German savings had passed the proud sum of twenty thousand million marks. Although the depositors had, in the meantime, subscribed more than two thousand millions of war loans, at the end of the first year the deposits showed an increase of more than two hundred millions."



1914	July	Credited to Depositors	M 20,180,000,000
.....		Interest etc.....	2,360,000,000
.....		Deduct for War Loan.....	2,160,000,000
1915	July	Credited to Depositors	M 22,540,000,000

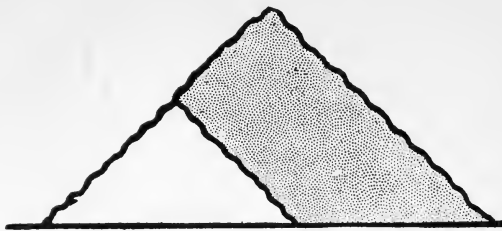
and German Money Standards"

England		July 15, 1915
Bank Notes		£ 34.5 Mill.
Currency Notes		" 49.3 "
Public Deposits		" 53.0 "
Other Deposits		" 146.7* "
Total		£ 283.5 Mill.
Gold Reserve		" 53.1 "
Currency Notes Reserve		" 28.5 "
Total Gold Reserve		£ 81.6 Mill.
Proportion of reserves to liabilities . .		28.79%

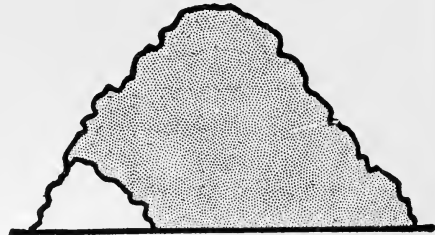
* £ 158.0 Mill., deducting 11.3 Mill. on behalf of Currency Notes Redemption Accounts of the Bank of England.

“Industrial Col

“The Portions of industrial France either oc



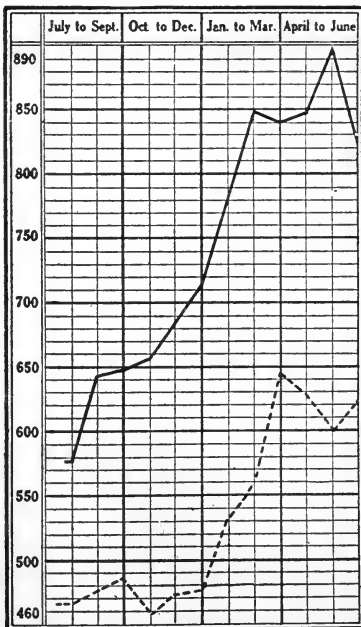
Coal: 68.8%



Iron Ore: 90%

“Increased Cost of Living in England”

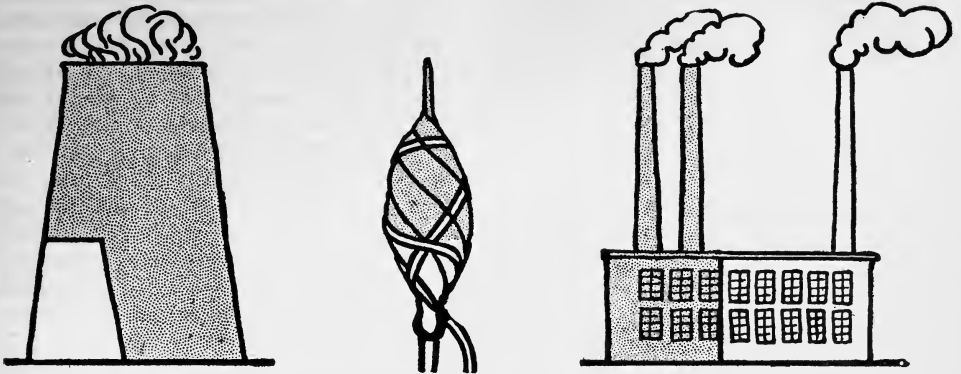
———Grains and Meat
- - - - -Products of Mines



“The curved lines on the left show the increased cost brought about by the war in two of the most important commodities on the English market, grains and meats, as well as the products of the mines. The basis for these calculations is to be found in the London Economist. This publication calculates the average prices of the more important commodities, based on the average prices from 1901 to 1915; this average for grain and meats shows an index figure of 500, and for products of the mines 400. The deviation from these figures since the beginning of the war are indicated on the chart.”

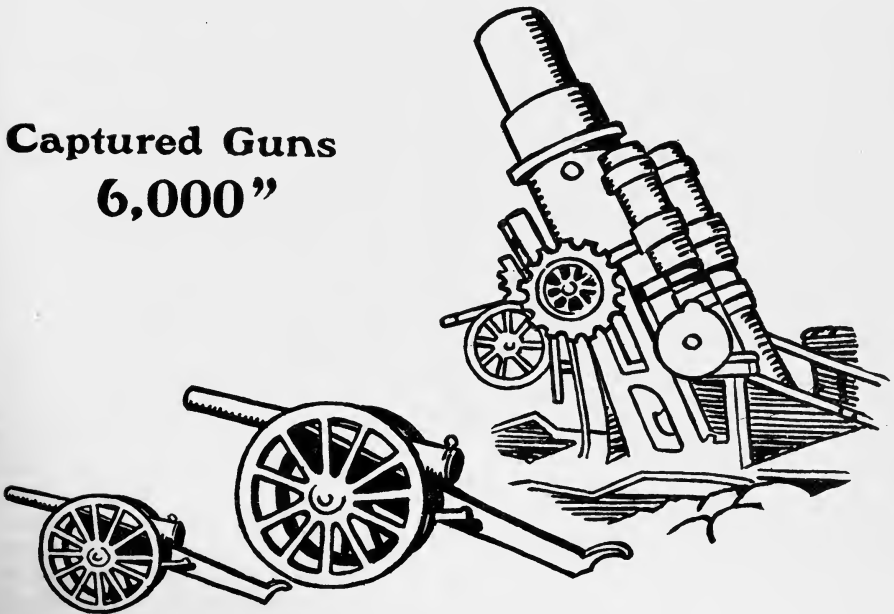
lapse of France"

cupied by Germans or included in the war zone"



Pig Iron: 85.7% Textile Industry: 68.7% Total Industry: 43%

**"Captured Guns
6,000"**



Impeachment of German-Americans

By Professor Hugo Muensterberg

of Harvard University

THIS is not written in my own defense. Whenever during this year of displeasure Germanophobic voices have thundered against me the crushing question, Are you an American or merely a German-American? I have answered every time with a clear conscience: Neither. I am a German and have never intended to be anything else.

I did not leave Germany because I liked it less. I was professor at a German university when Harvard invited me to develop here the interest for experimental psychology. I accepted the invitation at first for a short time only, and under the condition that I might stay here as citizen of my Fatherland. Later, when many a European summons called me back, I resisted every temptation and stayed on not only because the American scholars urged me to continue, but chiefly because I had become fascinated by the hope to help toward international amity.

I have always proclaimed—the history of the war has proved the complete truth of this conviction—that not the practical interests but feelings and emotions control the political events. The feelings between nations depend upon their mutual understanding. The harmony between Germany, England, and the United States at which I aimed could thus best be furthered if I helped to interpret the German ideals to the English-speaking lands and the Anglo-Saxon ideals to Germany. I might have continued my psychological researches in Germany as well as here, but for this task as interpreter I had to stay in America.

For more than twenty years I have toiled for this peaceful end. I feel that I succeeded at least in retouching the absurd picture of the American which alone was familiar to the Europeans, and all my efforts over there crystallized in the Amerika-Institut, which I organized in Berlin. It was only the natural counter-

part that when, during the last year, American sentiment rushed into the anti-German camp, I remained loyal to my aim of interpreting the other side. I did not attack the enemies of Germany, but tried to show that Germany was not to be blamed either, that every country fulfilled its historic duty.

This was, of course, resented by those who denounce the Germans as culprits, and I have been blamed for my belief in German virtue just as I had been often attacked in Europe on account of my incessant preaching that the Americans are not materialists but at bottom idealists. All this, however, had not the least to do with actual politics. I never have participated in a political action of the German-Americans, I never have signed a motion. I knew that I was an invited guest with the duties of a guest, even if the host sometimes forgot the guest's privileges.

But just because I stand entirely outside of German-American politics, I may be permitted to testify on the witness stand in the solemn trial which the whole nation has opened in these Summer days against those millions of American citizens who emphasize their German descent. The first indictments referred only to the zeal with which they worked against anti-German agitation. The gross offense of which they were accused was that of German propaganda when in a neutral land they resisted the effort to tarnish and stain the land of their parents and grandparents.

But the charge has become much more serious since large meetings in the big cities, assemblies and congresses with resolutions, have indicated that under the whip of the war the Teutonic masses have decided to strengthen their front, and to insist on a forceful influence upon the national life of the country. This was a much more dangerous crime than the mere propaganda for the German bel-

ligerents. This was the forming of an alien party on American soil, of a State within the State, of an anti-American army. This must have results which reach far beyond the time of the war. It is a crime against the spirit of true Americanism. Is it surprising that the indignation has risen to a high pitch and that men who were born on German soil have become alarmed, uncertain whether this movement of the German-Americans may not contradict their oath to the great Republic?

But the case is too grave to be dismissed with the haste of a Georgia jury. What are the real issues and what are the facts? Perhaps no arraignment has been more vehement than that which Oswald Garrison Villard, himself born of a German father in Germany, made in a forceful address delivered at Stockbridge. With flaming words he denounces the political traits of the country which his father left: "The distance between the two countries politically is surely as great as the ocean between their shores. Let those who will proclaim as the objective of all human development the intensely centralized all-wise, all-seeing State. True Americans will have none of it, not King nor Kaiser, nor military autocrat, nor aristocrat, nor government from above, not even if it makes the cities beautiful, cares for its sick and dependent as no other political system, develops education as none before and conquers the industrial world by wedding science to industry. For there is something nobler and better than efficiency, something far more worth while than good government, and that is self-government. No such blessing as this exists today in Germany, where the right to vote not once but several times at each election is the privilege of property owners, as in Prussia, where there is no responsible Ministry in the Reichstag to be changed by the popular will, where autocrat and Junker control the Government, while Agrarians dominate its fiscal policy even to the extent of putting taxes on food to grind the poor."

Is this really still a time when such a verdict can be accepted by thinking Americans? Freshmen debaters may

still wrangle about the question whether the monarchical or the republican State form is the better one in general. Those who have learned to think historically know that State forms cannot be arbitrarily made and that a republic for Germany would be as ludicrous as a monarchy for the United States. Each State form has its shadows as well as its lights.

But is it true that monarchical Germany is really less self-governing than republican America? A year ago we heard that the Emperor made war against the will of the nation. Today the world knows at least that people and Emperor were one in this war from the hour in which Russia mobilized her troops, while Americans learned that their President indeed has the power to decide upon war or peace in lonely reflection.

And what became of the fancy that the King and the aristocrats are the war-makers, while the quiet citizen is pacifistic? Do we not know now that the Kaiser and the Chancellor and the aristocratic diplomats are in favor of compromises and concessions and conservative peace conditions, while Tirpitz, the man of the middle class—he got his nobility only as Admiral—and the industrial associations and the Chambers of Commerce are the ones who insist on the sharper warfare and on annexations in France and Russia?

It is true that Agrarians dominated the fiscal policy "even to the extent of putting taxes on food," but are those Agrarians not part of the people which governs itself, and is Mr. Villard not aware that this Agrarian policy was one of wisdom and has saved the country? If the anti-Agrarians had prevailed with their tax policy in the interest of industry German agriculture would have faded away as that of England did, and the German Nation would have been completely dependent upon imports, while it can now live on in the midst of the English blockade.

And is it fair to denounce the German rights of voting by pointing to some antiquated methods in the election for the Prussian Diet, that is, for a single State? What has the Diet of Prussia to do with

German politics? Does Mr. Villard not know that the vote for the German Reichstag is based on the freest manhood suffrage known in any country in Europe, incomparably freer than the vote in England? Is the Ministry really not responsible to the Reichstag? The Emperor cannot veto a bill, and, more important, every figure in the budget of the Government is dependent upon the vote of the Reichstag. The Reichstag can withhold the salary of the Chancellor and the Secretaries and can stop the whole machine of government by refusing the appropriations.

Yes, the German Nation governs itself just as much as the American. Misuses may disfigure the system there as well as here, but both lands are lands of freedom. Yet does this mean that there is no essential inner difference? Certainly not. In full freedom and mature self-government the German people aim toward different ideals and organize their life with different beliefs from those of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The fundamental issue has often been shown in this year of excited discussions. If all the absurd misunderstandings and willful distortions be disregarded and the pitiful declamations about Treitschke and Nietzsche be set aside the real difference comes clearly to light—the Anglo-Saxon system is controlled by the belief in the individual as such and the Teutonic ideals are bound by the belief in the overindividual soul.

The greatest happiness of individual men on the one side, the growth of cultural value, independent of the happiness which they bring, on the other side; that is the world contrast. Everything else necessarily results from it. The overemphasis on the State as the bearer of the cultural values on the German side, the submission of the State to the perfection of the individuals on the Anglo-Saxon side, are the necessary consequences.

Like two great religions, these two groups of ideals are blessing Western mankind, both strikingly different from ideals of the East. Different virtues must be emphasized, different defects must be censured, when the State is

made to serve the individuals and their happiness, than when the individuals are to serve the State as the bearer of the national culture. This difference must not be minimized. We must keep it steadfastly before our eyes.

But what follows from it, if the German-Americans really proclaim that they wish to spread in this country a belief in those German ideals? Does it mean in the least that American citizens become disloyal to the country of their choice? Does it mean that they transact the business of Germany if they feel from the bottom of their hearts that an admixture of German ideals and German instincts ought to become the goal of the whole American Nation?

Surely this would be disloyalty if it were taken for granted that the American Nation can have only the one destiny—to be the embodiment of Anglo-Saxon ideals. But this is a postulate which the German-Americans absolutely decline to accept. There was never a land which, by its whole historic development and by the very conditions of its birth and its growth, acknowledged so frankly that it was not to depend upon a ready-made code of traditions, but that it was to develop its inner life by the will and the purpose of its inhabitants.

A European who was admitted to American citizenship was welcomed to a community of men who felt themselves bound together not by a common past, but by a common future. America does not mean a reminiscence, but a task. The immigrant, from whatever nation he comes, pledges by his oath of allegiance fundamentally only that he will contribute the very best which is in him to the development of the United States. It is not his duty, it is not even his right, to deny the ideals which are living in him in order to imitate the behavior of others who are filled with a different faith. It was necessary that the Anglo-Saxon ideals should have prevailed for a long while and that the newcomers who were disorganized should have become assimilated to the philosophy of public life which they found around them.

But this spell has been broken. Even the masses have firmly grasped the fun-

damental fact that not England but all Europe is the mother country of the United States. Those of low, selfish aim who have no interest but success in their private affairs may have yielded to the superficial dogma that the German and the Scandinavian, the Irish and the Italian, ought to accept the Anglo-Saxon ideals which those of English descent brought to these shores. Those who sought not profit and comfort alone, who wanted to work for the good of the Commonwealth, had to choose a less convenient way. They had to struggle for the recognition of their own ideals and to make them blend with the traits of the nation. They recognized the greatest mission of America, the mission not to be only England over again or any other European land, but by the joint forces of men of all the countries to fuse contrasting ideals into a harmonious whole which should truly express the faith of all its citizens.

The Norwegian and the Greek, the Dutch and the Italian, the Irish and the German, who come here are poor Americans if they come only to take and not to give, if they come only with the desire to profit from that which the others have accomplished and not with the persistent will to bring their own best traits and their own inherited virtues into the service of all. The Italian whose only ambition is to forget Naples and to garb himself in English physical and mental and moral costume is on the debit side of American life. He had better stay at home. But if he comes to bring into the colorless American life the Italian feeling for color and beauty, of sense enjoyment and enthusiasm, he enriches the country of his new allegiance and makes himself worthy to be an American. He does not serve Italy by that, he fulfills his duty to his new country if he keeps all which was noble and glorious in his native land living in his own heart and in those of his children and spreads it in his community.

This is the spirit in which the German-Americans felt it their sacred duty to keep warm the memories of their racial past and to foster the German ideals and the German virtues in their American

homes and in their American cities. That in itself has nothing whatever to do with help to the German Nation. It does not even necessarily involve a desire for special friendship between America and Germany; it proclaims only the firm conviction that the land of their hope will be a better and a nobler country if the ideals of their fathers are merged in the public life.

The Germans felt this duty perhaps more than others from the European Continent just because their national ideals are so strongly contrasting with some Anglo-Saxon creeds. Had it been only the love for music and flowers, for Christmas trees and gardens, for folk songs and fairy tales, it would have been insignificant, and they might have sacrificed it with a clear conscience.

But endlessly more important impulses were at stake. Their whole devotion to the overindividual ends, their faith in the State as bearer of the ideals, their trust in thoroughness and discipline, in purity and loyalty, were involved. They had become almost unconscious of this contrast in the routine of everyday life. But the great struggle about the war has awakened the burning consciousness of the tremendous issue. They suddenly have felt with shame that they had not done enough to bring these German ideals into the American life and to arouse understanding for their eternal value. Now they suddenly knew that they would disgrace themselves as Americans if they were disloyal to their foremost American duty. They pledged to keep the fire of the German belief alive on their hearth forever.

Is our time unfit for this message of German idealism? Is American life not in need of this gospel of thoroughness and discipline? Is it really better for the American future if those impulses which speak the soul of Germany are eliminated in order that the Anglo-Saxon instincts alone keep control of the land?

American politics has profited from the balance between the centralizing and the decentralizing energies in the country between the power of the nation and the power of the States. It would have been disastrous if only the one or the other

had determined the fate of the country. Is not just this balance needed between the individualistic Anglo-Saxon impulses and the overindividualistic German ideals? In the week in which Mr. Villard blamed the Germans for insisting on the right of their ideals, Mr. Metcalfe wrote: "That dramatic art is in a condition of deterioration is not to be denied. That is also true of our literature, of our painting, of our sculpture, of our education, of our journalism, of our politics, of our business integrity, of our statesmanship, of our religion, of our patriotism, and of all the things where idealism counts. We are practical; we are commercial; the great god graft is our divinity."

I do not think that this diagnosis is true either. There is certainly too much graft, but dishonesty is not a fundamental fault of the American make-up. Who is the true enemy of American life?

On the morning of July 24 every one in the United States found on the first page of his newspaper the note in which the American Government told Germany that it would consider it an unfriendly act in the ominous sense of diplomatic language if the further pursuit of German warfare against English ships should lead to the drowning of an American citizen. Millions who were clamoring for an American war in the interest of the Allies read the message of that July morning with fervent enthusiasm. Other millions to whom the horrors of war without a national life necessity appear sinful read it with fear. Still other millions to whom a war between the United States and Germany appears a ghastly disaster read it with despair. But all asked in highest tension, What will be the answer? Will Germany really prove to be the first enemy which America faces in this twentieth century?

But a higher power than human diplomacy gave the answer without waiting, right in the hour in which the question was asked. On the same morning on which Secretary Lansing's message was heard around the world, not one, not ten, not a hundred, but nearly a thousand American citizens were drowned and found a death of horror in the waters.

Who was the enemy who dared to sink the American ship with her living freight? Who killed the many hundred joy-seeking Chicago people without warning? We all know that it was the spirit of carelessness and recklessness which torpedoed the pleasure boat, the same spirit which sank the Slocum with a thousand victims a few years ago. That is the true enemy today and has been the enemy for many a year, an enemy which cunningly and wantonly destroyed American life, the only real enemy which ought to be fought with the united force of the nation.

Can we forget the losses which the people have suffered—railroad accidents ten times more frequent than in Europe, murders almost a hundred times more numerous than in the leading countries of the Old World? But this enemy within the American borders has not only maimed and killed hundreds of thousands every year. It has devastated the natural treasures in the people's possessions, wasting the forests and the mines and the rivers, destroying the timber and the coal of future generations. It has even crippled the moral life, making education superficial and shallow, emptying the churches and filling the dance halls and saloons, undermining the family life and driving mankind to senseless chase for wealth and luxury and mere pleasure. Even the belittlers of Germany have never denied that the German mind is devoted to thoroughness and seriousness, to carefulness and lawfulness, to reverence and self-discipline. This German belief in training and expert judgment, in authority and efficiency, is the one weapon which can overcome the dangerous happy-go-lucky carelessness of American life.

May it not be said that the enmity against Germany which has taken hold of wide circles in America and the resulting war excitement have had no more treacherous effect than the sudden interruption which they brought in the struggle against this spirit of recklessness and lawlessness in the land? The fight against it had begun in many lines. The big crackers on the Fourth were forbidden, steel cars were built and many a grade crossing abolished, the country-



ISMAIL HAKKE PASHA

Late Grand Vizier of Turkey, Who Was Sent to Berlin to Effect the New
Turco-Teuton Entente.

(Photo © by American Press Assn.)



GENERAL DANGLIS

Chief of Staff of the Greek Army and New Minister of War of Greece
(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

wide movements for the conservation of the national resources began, the work against infant mortality and race suicide, against vice and intemperance had started, more and more old-age pensions and accident insurance were introduced, the schools were improved, child labor was reduced, some City Governments were cleaned. The spirit of carelessness and recklessness was at least threatened by a new spirit of thoroughness and conscientiousness.

The nation began to feel that instead of the go-as-you-please method traditions of healthy discipline must be gained. The child must learn to do his duty even if it is unpleasant. Self-discipline is more valuable than smartness, the respect for the expert more needed than the boldness with which every one feels ready to judge about everything. Unselfish endeavor and true religion are a greater glory than the power to buy the world. Haphazard whims were to be replaced by the methods of efficiency. All was in the midst of noble development, and all this was suddenly interrupted and threatened with wholesale destruction.

The reckless spirit of dash seemed to take command of the masses again. All the cheap instincts must be let loose when the cry is raised, "The enemy is beyond the ocean!" The real enemy at home must then be forgotten. All suspicion and fear, all boast and anger turn against the imagined enemy far away. Firecrackers burst again, the passions sway, the fire-eaters shout, and where yesterday the sober advice for "safety first" was still heard, reckless voices were outdoing one another in the demand to carry the gruesome war from distant Europe into the quiet land of America. It was exactly as President Lowell said to the Harvard students at the end of the last academic year: "Do not forget that we are hysteric people."

If hysteria takes hold of the national mind, the process of wholesome discipline must be stopped. It is easy to make a hero out of Harry Thaw, and to make a criminal out of William II., but it cannot be done without serious harm to the conscience of the whole people. If America turns against Germany, it is a misfor-

tune; but if this enmity against the Germans destroys the influence which Teutonic ideals had at last gained in this country, if the spirit of thoroughness is subdued again, the misfortune is much greater. The duty of the German-Americans to interpret the ideals of public life in the sense of their Teutonic traditions was never more important for the progress of America.

The overwhelming mass of the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific seem in this hour united by the belief in the need of military preparedness. This, too, may perhaps be hasty. The ideal of peace at any price is surely not unworthy, and a persistent refusal to enter into the race for armament may truly be an effective means to work toward lasting peace. Yet it cannot be denied, however noble the pacifistic ideals are, their promoters have not succeeded as yet in proposing a single plan by which war would be abolished and yet at the same time possibilities be given for the healthy growth of progressive peoples and for the historically necessary reduction of decadent nations.

As long as such a scheme does not exist the American Nation is probably wise in doing like the others and in preparing for the possibility of a defensive war. But is this really possible with any hope for success as long as those ideals of the German-Americans, as long as expert judgment and thoroughness are ridiculed, discipline and authority denounced, and every free American believes that he may act as he pleases and that he may rely on smartness and dash?

Remember the Eastland! The training of an army can never begin in Plattsburg camps; it must begin in the nursery and in the little schoolroom. However the European war may end, at its beginning Russian and French armies felt sure that they would soon enter the Brandenburg gate of Berlin; and today no foreign soldier is on German soil. Germany has so far won on land over a threefold superiority.

Who has done it? Hindenburg had his share, but German parents who taught their children discipline, German school teachers who taught their pupils thor-

oughness, have won the war up to today. If America believes in preparedness, it cannot buy it in the munitions factories; it can gain it only by developing those virtues which give meaning to the German-American creed.

Yet preparedness for and triumph in war are only a fraction of the national life. Every other phase, in education and morality, in art and science, in industry and law, demands the same contribution. The German-Americans cannot be blamed for insisting on gaining more influence when the needs of the

time are so crying and when they feel that they can contribute exactly what is needed.

It is easy to denounce the hyphenated citizens. He who sees deeper must recognize that the hyphen is a symbol of honor and that the German-Americans and the Irish-Americans, the Italian-Americans and the Norwegian-Americans, and the Anglo-Americans may all be equally proud of their hyphen if it is to them a sign of the pledge to contribute their racial ideals to the glorious fabric of the American Nation.

German-Americans and the United States

By Professor Albert Bushnell Hart

of Harvard University

IN setting forth his new Teutonic doctrine Professor Hugo Münsterberg elaborately discusses what he calls "The Impeachment of German-Americans." This "indictment" or "solemn trial" of the Germans he refers back to three supposed charges: (1) "The zeal with which they worked against anti-German agitation"; (2) "The farming of an alien party on American soil, of a State within the State, of an anti-American army"; (3) "An attempt to introduce into American life and the American State German principles of arbitrary government." Professor Münsterberg candidly excludes himself from the German-Americans and asserts himself to be a German and a German only, who may, therefore, study the question with detachment.

The text of the article is measured and courteous. No one can take exception to the tone or the language used, which is the more reason for carefully going into the doctrine thus laid down, for it comes from a German who for eighteen years has been an alien resident of the United States and has strong views with regard to the rightful influence and future activity of his blood-brethren who have elected to become Americans. It may appear before we get through that

Münsterberg's agreeable words express a doctrine which till a year ago was novel to Americans, and which involves a theory of race relations which would be of immense harm to the Republic.

Till recently nobody except registers of voters concerned themselves with the status of a man who was German in appearance, spoke German, perhaps as his only language, and called himself a "German." He might be either one of four things: (1) A German citizen sojourning in the United States for a brief time; (2) a German citizen established here for life; (3) a former German citizen, now naturalized in this country; (4) a native-born citizen, descended from German ancestry.

They were all welcome. They bore a national character for industry and public spirit. Many of them married with Americans of other race descents. They were a valuable and valued element in the population of many cities and many States.

Actually there is a serious difference between the German-born or person of German descent who is still a German subject and one who has become an American citizen. The former is under many obligations and restrictions which do not apply to the latter. In many

States he cannot vote at all and in the others only if he has taken steps looking toward naturalization. He is subject to the call of his own Government in case of war, as hundreds of thousands have realized during the last year. He is entitled to the aid and protection of his own Government in this country if he needs it. He has no claim to remain in the country if Congress chooses to enact that he shall depart.

On the other hand, he is entitled to the protection of the laws and courts, and city, State and National Governments. He receives some privileges which his own Government would not dream of bestowing upon foreigners. For instance, Hugo Münsterberg has for many years been a professor of an American university; while in some German States, and probably in all, no one can possibly become a regular professor except by naturalizing himself as a German.

The alien resident has all the privileges of free speech and a free press possessed by citizens. Yet as a guest and sojourner it would be a monstrous breach of breeding for him to endeavor to build up political parties in this country, or to take part in movements for putting pressure upon the United States Government.

One of the equally serious "indictments" against the Germans is that many of them who owe allegiance only to the German Empire have taken advantage of this hospitality of the United States to make trouble for the Government, and to rouse all whom they can influence against the measures of the Administration.

It is they who have most persistently accused American business men and the whole Government of encouraging kinds of business which aid the Allies, and are therefore unfavorable to the German armies; hence, in the view of these favored aliens, they are contrary to good morals and to international law. Even a man of so much experience, weight, and good intentions as Bernhard Dernburg discovered that his usefulness in America was at an end when he defended the killing of the Americans on the *Lusitania*, for which the Administration demanded redress as a wanton at-

tack upon the lives of noncombatant Americans.

The naturalized German and his descendants are on an entirely different footing. In the eyes of the law, he is a complete citizen in every particular, except that the United States by treaty with Germany has consented that two years' residence in the original home country, without showing any intention to return, may cause the forfeiture of American citizenship and a return to German citizenship. The naturalized citizen must not only pay taxes and obey the laws like the aliens, he must also serve his country if called upon in time of war.

On the other hand, if he goes abroad he is entitled to something that the alien never has, namely the protection of the United States Government. President Taft went so far as to put an end to a treaty with Russia which had lasted nearly a hundred years, because Russia refused to give the ordinary privileges of travel to Jewish-American citizens.

The alien German and the naturalized German have this in common, that they both came to the United States in order to better themselves. Nobody compelled them, nobody paid them. They made their own choice. If they ever accepted Professor Münsterberg's argument that Germany is much better governed; if the German education, social life, civic spirit, governmental efficiency really seemed to them so much higher than ours, then why in the name of the Temple of the Thousand Gods have they not all gone home long ago?

Every German who comes to this country as anything except a passing visitor thereby expresses his opinion that he does not like Germany enough to live there. If there is truth in one-tenth of the passionate adoration of all German methods, which has been so plentiful in the ultra German-American press, we must make up our minds to lose several millions of our most esteemed fellow-citizens as soon as the war is over and the German steamers begin to run again.

Professor Münsterberg seems to suppose that most of the permanent resi-

dents or temporary residents have, like himself, come over in order to bring a higher and nobler civilization to America. It would be safe to say that forty-nine-fiftieths of them came here to raise not us, but themselves; because wages were higher, or the conditions of life easier, or the opportunities for their children better, or because they "did not like to be bossed" in Germany.

Many of the German immigrants have been highly educated people, who have contributed to the intellectual life of America; but the last thing they intended to import was the political ideals of their Fatherland. Some of them fled for their lives from those ideals. Many of them, such as Carl Follen and Carl Schurz, brought with them democratic ideas which were tabooed in Germany and which they hoped to find welcome in America. There is absolutely no gainsaying the fact that the Germans are here because they like America as they have found it better than they liked Germany when they lived in that country. Upon what, then, does Professor Münsterberg found his dictum that "the Germans felt this duty perhaps more than others from the European Continent just because their national ideals are so strongly contrasting with some Anglo-Saxon creeds?"

Other Germans who have lived longer in America than Professor Münsterberg and have adopted it as their own land refuse to take part in such a movement. Who can fail to see that it would be the worst thing that could happen to the German-Americans? If any of them want a different type of Government, they are free to go elsewhere and find it. If they want their fellow-Americans to feel that they are a people of capacity they will not produce that impression by starting a political party.

Some hotheads count upon a combination with the Irish, which is very unlikely because no people in the world are such successful politicians as the Irish, partly because of their unrivaled habit of standing together and partly because they never attempt the impossible.

The impossible in this country is to form a successful political body which

is avowedly composed of members of only one race, or of two races. There is probably not a State, certainly not a large city, in the United States where a professedly German ticket would not be snowed under at the first election by a combination of the other races. The thing is as plain as A B C. If nobody but Germans are going to vote for the ticket, nobody but Germans would be elected if it were successful, and nobody but Germans would get any of the good things of office.

Under such circumstances the utmost that can be done must be to elect a few specially tagged German members of City Councils, Legislatures and Congress, powerless to do, but sometimes in a position to prevent action. If Germans can do that, Poles, Scandinavians, and Italians may do the same. The net result of such an attempt to interject European race problems into American politics would be to cripple the Legislatures and to put the Germans in the position of malcontents.

The writer can never forget the impression made on his mind by sitting in the gallery of the Reichstag in the old Bismarck days and noting the subdivision of the members on the floor into religious and other groups, a subdivision which made real popular government impossible.

Or is this movement intended to be a punishment to all the Americans who have sympathized with the Allies in the present war? In his book, "War and America," a year ago, a distinguished German, professor in an American university, did not hesitate to warn his hosts that German voters are going to take a hand in this. "Their national German-American alliance with two and a half million voters as members, their intellectual leaders and their economic captains of commerce and industry, their farmers and their workmen, old and young, men and women, first generation and second and third, every religious sect, North Germans and South Germans, Austrians and Swiss—they will be united and will show a crushing power of which the reckless torchbearers of German hatred did not dream." The same writer, who

earnestly pleads for friendship between Germany and the United States, sees a possibility of still severer retribution. "There is no inkling of the neutrality which the President upholds as long as the press indicts and convicts Germany and the Emperor without evidence, from mere passionate prejudice. * * * The Germans do not preach hatred against their neighbors, but they insist that it would be a gigantic calamity if this war were to cut the ties of the American and German nations."

All that is a bugaboo. When this dreadful war is over, the passions and resentments and distrusts among Americans will die out, for whoever is responsible for the war we surely are not.

We cannot expect German-Americans to be fiercer than the German Emperor, who has had the sagacity to take backwater on the question of the drowning of American citizens which so aroused the American people. Where does that leave the hotheads who were saying in public that the 100 Americans on the *Lusitania* got what they deserved? It leaves them just where they will be left if they ever try to found a German-American political party.

It is well for some of the alien journalists who have so misused our hospitality that they are not staying under an "overindividual" or a Supreme State. What would the German Government do to Americans in Berlin who tried to induce Americans who had become naturalized Germans to start a political propaganda against, let us say, monarchy?

The Americans have received, welcomed and liked their German visitors and fellow-citizens because they came to this country and accepted it as a haven, because they have entered into the national life more readily than any immigrant race, except the English, Scotch and Welsh. They have nowhere formed "quarters" in the great cities like those of the Italians and Bohemians, the Poles and many other races. They have diffused themselves among the population. As farmers they have settled in race groups less than the Scandinavians, many of them frequent their own church, schools and colleges; but a large part of

the young Germans who have enjoyed higher education have found it in State and endowed universities, in which a majority of the students were not of the German race.

To claim that the Germans, consciously or unconsciously, have been furnishing their countrymen with political ideals superior to those which they found here, or will furnish a supply of such ideals is, to speak mildly, a great presumption. They are not agitators or propagandists. They have shared and shared alike, glad to accept the kind of society and government which they found here.

So far from German political ideals being invoked to supplant inferior and weaker conceptions inherited from our Revolutionary and later times, it is the American ideals which have filtrated into Germany. The German imperial federation would probably never have been brought about but for the success of the American federation in proving that it could govern a great nation and hold a great people together. The manhood suffrage for the Reichstag can be historically traced to the success of widely diffused suffrage in the United States. The precept and example of the United States are largely responsible for even the limited degree of democracy in the German Empire, in many cases transmitted by Germans who had lived in this country.

Why not? The sublime conception of "government of the people, for the people and by the people" is longer lived than Abraham Lincoln, broader than the United States and higher than the German Empire. These ideals belong to mankind. The true German-Americans are a democratic folk, most of whom would be unhappy under an imperial system of government, no matter how wise, fatherly and protective. That is one of the main reasons why they are not subjects of a monarchical empire.

What the self-appointed leaders of the German-Americans in this country (among whom Professor Münsterberg is not meant to be included) are after is so to arouse the national feeling of former Germans as to cause them to adhere together in a race group. Naturally,

Germans born and children of Germans born, when their former country entered into war, believed in its aims and hoped for its victory. Blood is thicker than water.

The author of this article is proud to count among his forebears a Swedish pastor who was an immigrant to the United States. Because of that connection, he is interested in Sweden and the one-time home of the family; he is prone to think well of Swedish literature, of Swedish society, of the Swedish people. He wishes safety to the Swedish Nation. He thinks there are good things about Swedish society which Americans would do well to take into account. He is Swedish-American in the sense that he recognizes both the Swedish and the English contributions to the make-up of his country; but an American first and Swedish afterward.

That seems to be the point of view of most of the persons in the United States who go back two or three generations to German ancestors. It ought to be the frame of mind of every born German who has chosen to be an American. When it comes to political parties and to State policy, woe to the country in which the races group together and keep alive a sense of solidarity against all other races!

The fearful suffering of the Near East is largely due to the existence of just such race units. Turkey has been for six centuries a hodge-podge of peoples, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Serbians, Rumanians, Montenegrins; every one keeping up its religion, language, traditions, and national spirit, however widely diffused. The Balkans for three years have been a blood bath, because the Greeks in Bulgaria consider themselves still Greeks, and the Bulgarians in Macedonia are still Bulgarians. So with Austria-Hungary, which may possibly be patched up again, but is doomed to final collapse, because no policy can satisfy the race units which are adherent to each other. What can you do for a so-called nation when it is "first a Bohemian and then a subject of the empire!" "First a Hungarian," "first a Slav." What a spectacle for

mankind and what wretchedness for the people in the composite empire!

The Turks appear at last to have discovered the only way of stopping the complaints of subject races, and that is to exterminate them.

The United States possesses as many races as Austria-Hungary, or Russia, or the Turkish Empire, and yet up to this time we have not been conscious of any race difficulty, except that of the negro. One main reason why that is so serious is because the greater part of them are grouped in a limited area and are recognizable at sight as members of a special race. The Scotch, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Slavs, the Jews are all diffused through many States and cities. Until the great European war came they lived on comfortable terms with each other, and never dreamed of national race parties. If the Germans, as Münsterberg advises, are "to keep the fire of the German belief alive on their hearth forever," of course the Irish, the Swedes, the Greeks, the Italians, the Hungarians, the Slovaks, the Bohemians, the Poles, the English, the Turks, the Egyptians, the Albanians are entitled to do the same thing.

Our hope as a nation is that each of the scores of nationalities who have come to us for the same flattering reason that the Germans have come will give up its traditional ways and practices so as to allow a national feeling to grow up, such as Germany cultivates.

We are assured by Professor Münsterberg that "the German mind is devoted to thoroughness and seriousness, to carefulness and lawfulness, to reverence and self-discipline. This German belief in training and expert judgment, in authority and efficiency, is the one weapon which can overcome the dangerous, happy-go-lucky carelessness of American life." Suppose we take a leaf from that book. Let us see what the especially thorough, serious, expert, careful nation does to race groups which attempt to do what Professor Münsterberg advises his countrymen to do to us.

Germany is one of the most homogeneous countries in the world. Nevertheless, it has several non-German and dis-

contented race elements. In the Mazurian Lake region, where so many hard battles have been fought in the last twelve months, there are 400,000 Slavs who cannot speak German at all, and in Poland there are 3,000,000 Poles who can not or will not use the imperial language. With these exceptions, the German Government has succeeded in compelling every man, woman, and child in its dominions, except alien residents, to know German. What would be the effect if the United States Government should make the attempt to compel everybody to speak English?

There are in the empire about 4,000,000 Poles; nearly the whole of whom live in the same province and preserve their Polish spirit. Does efficient Germany, whose former subjects are called upon by Professor Münsterberg to teach us the significance of race groupings, encourage this state of things? Does the German Government recognize that the Poles were there before the Germans came? Does the German Government encourage the Poles to "keep the fire of the Polish belief alive on their hearths forever"? Not precisely. Every effort has been made short of actual physical force to Germanize the Poles, to break up the use of their language, to destroy the cohesion which is among them, to quench the memory of the glorious days of what was once a brilliant kingdom.

At the other end of Germany is another group, in Alsace and Lorraine. The people are German in origin, but some of them as distinctly French as the people of Bordeaux. Have they been allowed in the last forty-five years to "keep the fire of the French belief alive on their hearths forever"? Not precisely. In the northwest of the empire is another group of Danes—Danish in blood, in sympathy, in language. Are they making a contribution to the common life of the empire? Not precisely. The whole theory and policy of the German Empire is that every person within the empire and subject to the empire shall be German, join the German Army, think German, and preach German.

Of course the explanation is that the State is superior to the Individual; that

the future of Germany as a great power depends upon the unity of her people; that the Polish, French, and Danish cultures are inferior to the German and must give way to a higher Kultur. The three or four million non-Germans must bend to the sixty-one or sixty-two million Germans.

Carry the principle over! Here in America, where we have not three, but thirty race elements, shall we encourage any one of these elements to maintain itself on the ground that it represents a higher civilization which is to be a lesson to the rest of the country? Shall we permit what Germany would be horror-struck to allow in order that Germans who prefer to leave their own country may unite as a permanent political force in the country of their adoption?

What are the advantages which the American Nation is to gain from a tightening up of Teutonic feeling among several million of its citizens, and a conscious effort to make them a distinct and separate section of the American people? Münsterberg tells us that "the Anglo-Saxon system is controlled by the individual as such, and the Teutonic ideals are bound by the belief in the overindividual soul." Elsewhere he admires in the Germans in America "their whole devotion to the overindividual ends, their faith in the State as bearer of the ideals, their trust in thoroughness and discipline, in purity, and loyalty."

This is a somewhat vague and colorless statement of the philosophical theory that the State is a thing, an existence, a force, a unit, a whole, which is made up of multitudes of men, but is not human. The same conception is often applied to the Church. Mere human beings know both the Church and the State only as a combination of other human beings acting through human beings.

There may be an oversoul, though no photograph of it has yet been obtained; but there is no State which is not made up of men, organized by men, and carried into effect by men. If the overindividual will speak through Gabriel's trumpet, we will bow the knee. If he

speaks through the vocal organs of a man issuing orders, or through the pen of a Secretary, or the megaphone of a Commander in Chief, we Americans think that the Emperor, or the Minister, or the General is only a man like ourselves, capable of error and of injustice.

People talk about "the State" as though it were the ark of the covenant. In fact it is only an organization similar in kind, though far superior in power, to the club or the order or the National Church. The purpose of the State is to make and execute common decisions for the common welfare. The real crux in government is, Who makes the decisions? The Germans who compare the United States with Germany seem to think that they are made here by individuals, and in Germany by "the State." In both countries they are made by the men who for the time being are in power.

When we say that in Germany people work for the State we mean that they work for the maintenance of a particular organization which came about in part by design and in part by accident.

If the people of Germany are satisfied with it, no one can deny their right; but what they are satisfied with is not the delegation of the power to make the decision of life and death for the nation, to some persons elected by their fellows, but to permit the chief powers of government to spring from a man, able indeed, but selected by the accident of birth, that man aided by members of

certain families possessed of certain properties to whom it is the traditional habit of the nation to defer.

However efficient and masterful that system may be, it has no ground for claiming that it is the only normal and desirable system for other parts of the world. We have our own notions about the nature of government. Our chief interest is in the people who are not in office; the Germans are more concerned with those who are. We look upon the State as the servant of the community; the Germans look upon it as a God-given master.

Nobody can possibly quarrel with the German people for thinking that they have a good thing for which it is worth while to make many sacrifices. Shall they, therefore, hold up the German principle of the supremacy of the State as an ideal so incalculably important that the Germans in America are to band together as a sort of guild of State-makers? The only thing that will ever shake the people of the United States out of the idea that the welfare and happiness of the individual is the proper end of the State will be a disastrous war with a nation which is founded on the State-for-the-State theory.

Most of the Germans in this country do not hold to that doctrine and could not teach it, for they are here to cultivate their own individuality and to allow their children to grow up under that influence. No race group in the country is more genuinely democratic than the German.

German Estimate of Allies' Losses

A Berlin dispatch by The Associated Press via London, dated Oct. 4, 1915, reported:

A supplement to the German official statement says that the French losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners in the recent fighting were at least 130,000, and those of the British 60,000, while the German losses were not one-fifth of this number.

The German official statement of the loss by the Allies of an aggregate of 190,000 men follows within a few days an official estimate of German casualties made by the French War Office, which asserted in its statement of Wednesday, Sept. 29, that the Germans had lost since the beginning of the allied offensive a total in killed, wounded, and prisoners of "more than the effective strength of three army corps," or about 120,000 men.

Romance of a London Square

By May Sinclair

This article appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle.

I OWN that I was a little depressed by my friend's invitation. It was that I should go at once to 13 Kensington Square and see the work done by the War Hospital Supply Depot, and write an appeal for it "in the papers." Friends are always inviting you to do this sort of thing in the pathetic belief that everything you send to "the papers" will infallibly get in, (whereas in nine cases out of ten it doesn't.) Sometimes the theme is inspiring and romantic; sometimes it is not. This time I accepted with virtuous resignation. The Kensington War Hospital Supply Depot did not sound in the least romantic or inspiring. Besides, I had a suspicion that I was not by any means the first to be invited. It would be easy enough if you ever were the first.

At the very beginning the secretary presents his paralyzing report; long lists of articles and reeling rows of numerals running into four and five figures, to be "boiled down" for the appeal. When told that you propose to write (besides the desired appeal) something a little more thrilling, more decorative, he says that nothing is easier. Talk of inspiring! By way of inspiration he will tell you how one writer has described his sensations on coming out of the busy High Street into the quiet square, with the trees and the birds and the rest of it, and catching sight of the War Hospital Supply Depot; and of the charming fancy of another—how (talk of romance!) the ghost of a little eighteenth century lady, the guardian of the house, gives up her place to the army of white-robed, white-veiled volunteers, and retires into her powder-closet; and of the happy thought of a third—but I am sworn not to anticipate or give away that happy thought, and I would die rather. So the secretary goes on amiably inspiring till he has taken all the wind out of your sails. It always happens that the best things have been done al-

ready. There was nothing left for me but to become a volunteer and know what it feels and looks like.

That is the way to capture the authentic thrill, the secret of the house in Kensington Square. You do not need any decoration or any little ghost to make you feel it. The reality is even better than that charming dream.

You cannot miss it—the house, I mean. It faces you from High Street. As you go down Young Street you see, first, an enormous "PLEASE," then, over the porch the grouped flags of the Allies, then an enormous "HELP"; then, through the front windows, crowds of women in white overalls and white veils. They might be novices in a convent. There are three thousand of these volunteers. They fill four houses in the square, and one in Kensington Court, and yet another house in Cromwell Road. And in the garden behind there are the carpenters' workshops, where a hundred men volunteers work. The secretary's report tells you that "it is the aim of the council to attain a very high standard of efficiency for all the work carried out by the depots." This is putting it modestly. The work is said to be the very best yet supplied to the hospitals. The experts who control it are always contriving new methods and improving upon old. No process is too laborious that insures perfection.

Take the making of a mere surgical swab. If you ask a trained nurse how to make a surgical swab she will probably say: "Oh, you take a bit of medicated cotton wool and roll it three or four times round your finger, or a piece of antiseptic gauze and fold it till it's thick enough. There isn't time to make them any other way." And you reply proudly, "That isn't the way they make them at the depot." There are two large work-rooms where the volunteers, with all eternity before them, are making nothing else. It is a delicate process that

may take any time from seven to twenty minutes. First, yards and yards of gauze must be folded into squares and cut to regulation size. Then the sheets of cotton wool must be torn and split to a fine web, and the web must be teased out to the fineness of feathers, snowflakes, thistledown, then gathered up and patted into a ball so light that a breath will blow it away; the ball must be placed on the very centre of the gauze square, the corners of the square taken up cross-wise and made fast, the first pair in a single tie that compresses the puff-ball into a cocoon, the second pair gathered together in the centre and secured by a sailor knot; the cocoon is then squeezed back into a ball, a ball that, to be properly absorbent, must have the right degrees of resistance and elasticity and no other. Then, and not till then, you have a surgical swab that is as good or better than any sponge.

Packed by tens in a muslin bag, these swabs go straight from the workrooms into the sterilizers. Nobody is allowed to bring as much as one needle into the workroom, lest it should get into a swab, and thus into a wound. The guarded and perfect thing, that has taken so much time and labor to produce, has a working life of about one second. It may travel hundreds of miles to dab a wound once and be thrown away. For this brief purpose seven thousand will be sent from the depot in a week.

You might think that bandages were a simpler matter. But no; when the stuff is measured out, when two of the nun-like ladies have risen up and engaged with furious energy in the tug-of-war that tears it into strips, each strip must be plucked for the loose threads at either edge, then rolled three times over, first by hand, then on a wooden machine that winds it tight, finally on a metal machine that screws it up to the extreme pitch of perfect tightness. Or so it was until the other day when the head of one of the bandage rooms invented a machine that does away with the clumsy hand-rolling altogether. The stuff is passed on to the bar that rolls it between two V-shaped wooden flaps that hold it absolutely straight and

on the stretch, their tension being regulated by two light spring clamps. You keep the V in the middle of your strip; you turn the handle of the bar; and in a few seconds your bandage is ready for the final rolling. And the thing fascinates you; it tempts you to work overtime; you turn and turn the handle in an ecstasy of increasing speed; you are torn from it reluctantly, and go home dreaming of tomorrow, when you will get back to it. Thanks to its inventor, the depot can now turn out more bandages in a few minutes than it could formerly in half an hour.

And in the carpenters' workshops the hundred are making all sorts of hospital furniture, bed rests and bed tables and cradles and trays and trolleys; and splints, some carved delicately to the shape of a leg or arm—the last word in splints—and crutches, hundreds of crutches. One head of the carpenters' rooms is a barrister, who in his holiday moments will make exquisite jewelry or build a canoe (he would no doubt build a 200-ton schooner if you gave him holidays enough); now, at the War Hospital Depot, "his swift and fair creations issue like worlds from an archangel's hands." The whole band of war carpenters are working as if their lives depended on it. They are at it on Saturday afternoons and on Sundays; they are given over to it with an austere and sacred passion, as if it were golf.

At 20 Kensington Court, another army of women volunteers are turning out hospital garments—shirts, pajamas, pneumonia jackets—and sheets and pillow slips and sandbags—not for the trenches but for the beds. These, made of strong linen or fine canvas, serve to keep at rest a wounded hand or foot or limb when splints are not needed. The two top floors are given up to the slipper makers.

Nothing is wanted at the depot, the "uppers" of the slippers are made out of remnants and scraps of any suitable material you care to send, cretonnes or unglazed chintzes, no matter the gayety of the design. The old linen you send may be full of holes, but out of one worn sheet somebody will make a draw sheet, out of a torn towel a smaller towel, out

of the cuttings squares that the surgeons can wipe their instruments on and throw away. The very ends snipped from the swabs and the loose threads from the bandages are gathered up and saved to stuff pillows with. The German Government could not practice a profounder thoroughness, a more inexorable thrift.

These things go to the Dardanelles, to British East Africa, to Serbia, to France, and Belgium, and all over the United Kingdom by hundreds and by thousands, and the hospitals are asking for more and more.

And eight months ago there was not any depot. Barely eight months ago it began with four persons and three five-pound notes. Then, by some miracle, it grew. And the romance of that miracle would be enough, if Kensington Square had no little ghost in her powder closet to work it. Still, we must not leave too much to the supernatural. A volunteer supply depot is always in need of help—help in money, in material, in volunteers. This is not an appeal; but it is a broad hint.

Washington—and After

By ELLA A. FANNING.

Home! and some tired, I'll allow—
Sort of a buzz in my head!
I've got the old army grit,
Neighbor, or else I'd be dead!

Marched? With the best of them, yes!
Just as I did at Seven Oaks!
Say! when I think of that line,
Somethin' right here kind o' chokes!

Me! keepin' step through them streets,
After th' years that's gone by!
Me! once in army blue brave,
Broad-shouldered, quick, keen of eye!

Seemed like the ghost of myself,
Marchin' with more shadders there!
Just sort o' comradin' on—
Not mindin' how long, or where!

Then came the word, an' we knew
Wilson was watchin' our line!
If we wuz feeble or stiff,
None of us gave any sign!

We just briskened up like young sprigs—
Walked right along with new vim,
Felt that our swing an' our style
Must seem consolin' t' him!

He an' this Nation well know—
Though some wild talk has been said—
If he but needed t' call,
Others would march where we led!

The Soul and Stones of Venice

By Gabriele d'Annunzio

This article, by the poet of belligerent Italy, who is now at the battle front, appeared on Sept. 14, 1915, in The London Daily Telegraph.

IN belligerent Venice, that reinforces her airy arches, her delicate triforae, with rough walls of bricks, cement, and beams; in the Venice which has transformed her hotels, formerly sacred to leisure and love, into hospitals full of bleeding heroes; in the dark and silent Venice, whose soul is in intense expectation of the roar of the far-away guns; in courageous and determined Venice, which hourly awaits the apparition in the sky, where there still linger Tiepolo's and Veronese's soft clouds, of winged death-bearing craft; in the Venice of the greater Italy, the Land of Abraham Lincoln has today an extraordinary representative and admirable witness, whose mission has assumed unexpected importance.

This representative is an American woman, who has consecrated herself to our Saint Francis of Assisi. I like to think of her as one of those saints who bear in the palm of their open hand either a tower or a church or a palace. She was sent to Venice many years ago to execute miniature plaster copies of the most artistic buildings. If the stupid Austrian ferocity should ruin one of St. Mark's domes, a wing of the Procuratie, a lodge of the Ducal Palace, a nave of SS. John and Paul's Church, the choir of the Frari, or the gentle miracle of the Ca' d'Oro, there will remain a souvenir of the beautiful things destroyed in the plaster models of the patient artificeress.

The Venetian knows her well under the name which I myself bestowed on her years ago, the Franciscan sister of the Giudecca. The Ca' Frollo, where she resides, is a yellow structure overlooking a large garden bordering on the Lagoon. A steep oak stairway leads up to the living room. Above the entrance there is an iron shield, with ornamental edges closely resembling a frying pan, which in

ancient times was used to dish out polenta. It is Miss Clara's coat-of-arms.

She comes and meets me smiling on the threshold. On her face a smile multiplies as a ray of sun on a rippled water surface. I have the immediate and strong impression of finding myself before that strange phenomenon represented by a person truly full of life. She wears a bluish cassock, like an artificer. Her hair is white, of the brightest silver, raised on the forehead and thrown back. The eyes are sky blue, shining, innocent, infantine, and in them the internal emotions ebb constantly like flowing water. She has the strong, rough hand of the working-woman.

Her attic is very large. The massive beams fastened with iron are as numerous as the trunks of a forest, moth-eaten, with all their fibres exposed, of a golden brown color. Along the walls plaster casts of architectonic details are disposed: capitals, arches, tailpieces, cornices, bas reliefs. There is a complete fireplace by Lombardo, the very fireplace of the Ducal Palace. There are Madonnas, busts and masks. Suspended on two ropes is a model of an ancient Venetian galley, a hull of which the lines are most beautiful.

"I rescued it at Chioggia with a few cents from a fisherman who was in the act of burning it to cook his polenta," Miss Clara told me.

On one side the windows look out on the Giudecca Canal, which shows the Ducal Palace, the Piazzetta, the library, and the anchored ships, and on the other they look into the garden and the Lagoon. At intervals a rumbling is heard in the distance. Miss Clara sits by the window.

"With the hands of a saint, with religious hands," I tell her, "you have copied the most beautiful churches and palaces of Venice. Now these beautiful things

are threatened, are in danger. We expect to see them in ruin any day. There will at least live the copies that you have sent beyond the sea."

Her blue eyes suddenly fill with tears and the horror of war, the horror of blind destruction, draw all the lines of her face.

"My God, my God!" she murmurs, joining her hands. "Will you allow such a crime?"

"What does it matter," I venture to say, "if the old stones perish, so long as the soul of Italy is saved and renewed?"

She stares at me intently with profound sadness, shaking her white head, over which there plays the purest light of sunset.

"Have you seen the blinded Ducal Palace?" she asks me, meaning the lodges which the curators have had immured.

We have before us the plaster model of the Palace, on which she has been working for several years. With infinite care she has modeled every arch, every column, every capital, every smallest detail. Her work is an enormous toy, built for an infant nation. She removes the roof and bends to look into it, resembling in the proportions the image of a gigantic saint in the act of guarding a refuge which she protects. Nobody knows better than she the structure of the edifice which incloses the blackened paradise. In my presence she dismounts the copy piece by piece, organ by organ; almost, I would say, limb by limb, even as an anatomist would do with the parts composing the human body in order to learn to know their number, their form, their location, and their relation to each other.

As the shadows begin to invade the attic, she lights an old brass lamp with four arms. The wicks crackle, diffusing a smell of olive oil, which mixes with that of the wax. In the attic the prints of the many matrices pile up, and it seems to be as if an impalpable sentiment of vigor rises from the concave matrices whence the copies of the beautiful things emerge.

Miss Clara works there together with a few workmen, who also compose her simple family. She eats with them the

polenta, at the same table. She takes me by the hand and leads me into her kitchen, where there is a single hearth, with a rack full of common but decorated dishes. Truly there breathes the spirit of St. Francis. She is a kind of nun in freedom who has passed from contemplation to action. Before all those beams I think of the worn-out, splintered wood of the Santa Chiara choir. Before the ears of corn which I see in a rustic vase my mind goes to the cluster of brown ears which I saw at the top of the reading desk in the choir of St. Bernardino of Siena.

"I am very poor," she tells me.

Whole treasures of goodness, indulgence, and love shine at the bottom of the flowing waters of her blue eyes. There is in the structure of her head something virile, and at the same time tender, something intrepid and meek. As the lines of her face seem rays, so her work, her solitude, her poverty are transfigured into divine happiness.

"I am very poor," she says, and she shows me her naked hands, strong and pure, the only source of her daily wealth.

I know she distributes all her earnings; I know that on more than one occasion she suffered hunger and cold. To-day she had not even a bag of plaster for her work. Sitting by the window, she talks to me of her perennial joy, of the joy of working from dawn to sunset. Slowly the garden grows dark in the dusk. Night begins to fall on the Venice that no longer lights her lamps, not even the lamps before the Virgins watching over the deserted canals. The nocturnal horror of war begins to expand on the Lagoon. In the distance a rumbling is heard coming, perhaps from Aquilegia or Grado, where they are fighting for redemption. The vast attic illuminated by the four-armed lamp becomes alive with shadows and quiverings.

Sitting by the window, simple, candid, sweet, she searches my innermost soul, then she observes my hands, too white, and my nails, too polished, and, lo! poverty appears to me as the nakedness of force, as the sincerest and most noble statue of life.

"I also work," I tell her, as if ashamed of hands too white and my nails too pol-

ished. Then I speak to her of my discipline, of my nights spent at the desk, of my patient researches, of my constancy in remaining bent over my desk for fifteen, twenty hours at a stretch, of the enormous quantity of oil I consume in my lamp, of the pile of paper, bundles of pens, of the large inkstand, of all the tools of my trade. Then I show her a tangible proof; on my middle finger, deformed by the constant use of the pen, a smooth furrow and a callosity. She is immediately touched. All her face expresses a maternal tenderness. She takes my finger, examines the sign. Then suddenly, with a gesture of human grace which I shall never forget, she gently touches it with her lips.

"God bless you," she says.

The flowing water ebbs between her eyebrows, glittering, rippling, ever new.

"God keep you ever."

My heart is full of tender gratitude.

I am going to the war, and the blessing of this pure creature will bring me back. My hands shall become rough and dark. I shall work for the God of Italy, fight for the God of Italy.

"God keep Italy ever," she adds.

In leaving I stroll by the plaster models of the churches, palaces, lodges, bell-towers. The American nun, holding my hand, escorts me to the threshold. As I descend the oak stairway she vanishes in the shadow.

Night is already falling on Venice as an azure avalanche. As I raise my head to spy the appearance of the first star, I hear coming over from the deserted sky the rumbling of an aeroplane approaching from Malamocco.

"May God keep the stones of Venice."

And it seems to me as if Miss Clara weeps, over there, in her attic amid the images of the beautiful things over which there hangs the threat of destruction.

A Prophet on Bulgaria

By THEODOR WOLFF

In an article which, The London Daily News declares, reveals considerable foreknowledge of what has since occurred, Herr Theodor Wolff of the Berliner Tageblatt discusses the Balkan situation and makes a bid for Serbia's friendship. In view of the author's rather close acquaintance with high diplomatic quarters in Berlin, the article deserves attention. He writes:

Those whose senses are not blinded by prejudice cannot deny that the Serbian Nation has fought bravely, and has given proof of passionate patriotism and tenacious vitality. It used to be represented, in light-minded irony, as an opera-bouffe nation; at its own cost, and, unfortunately, Europe's, it has shown in a very convincing manner that it is ripe for a tragedy. * * * There are but few people who suffer from the desire to see Serbia wiped out from the book of nations. We only need in the Balkans, now and afterward, an unimpeded connection with the friendly Turkish Empire and a pacific consolidation all around, which can best be secured by the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria. Apart from this, most of us know that forcible strangulation and suppression has never yet brought anybody any profit. We wish every nation plenty of breathing air and opportunities for development.

At the same time the Serbian people, and Nicholas Pashitch, who has been directing the storm-tossed boat ever since September, 1912—and has gone through a good deal—must themselves understand the signs of fate. Possibly their soul is still, like the soul of Iphigenia, seeking the land of the Greeks.

Perhaps the wise and discreet Venizelos, leaving aside his honest and pronounced sympathy for the Entente powers, for which we must not blame him, will consider whether he could not better serve his friendly neighboring nation by some other policy than that which seeks a solution of all questions by the sword. The advice of such an experienced statesman might well prove more wholesome than the often incalculable deed.

Is Britain a Degenerate Nation?

By C. W. Saleeby, M. D., F. R. S. E.

This article, by a famous English eugenicist, on Britain's million men rejected for military service, appeared on Sept. 17, 1915, in *The London Daily Chronicle*.

IN round numbers, perhaps three millions of men may have been accepted for British service in the past year, and one million have been rejected. The figure is appalling, not least now, when we should feel happier to know that all those men had been found fit and were serving today. Is it, then, as the Germans and many Americans say, that, in Byron's words, "History, with all her volumes vast, hath but one page," and that, like Babylon and Egypt, Greece, Rome and Spain, we must make way for a "young and vigorous race" across the North Sea or the Atlantic? No instructed German, at any rate, would have the face to suggest that this shocking proportion of defectives is a symptom of national senility, for he would know—and the fact is of good omen for the duration of the war—that his own country's figures are far worse.

Two years ago this month, visiting Munich for Wagner and Strauss, I found what its third most noted product, beer, is largely responsible for. The city is one of clean façades, wide, well-watered streets, clear air, free from smoke, for all the work is done by electricity made by "Iser, rolling rapidly." I wrote home to a contemporary on this cleanest of cities, but noted that I had not looked up its vital statistics. Home again, I did so. They are disgraceful. Consumption stands at a rate almost incredibly high. Just behind those fine places, made for show, are slums and vice and neglected childhood. Like a fine lady of the past, who washed and scented her face alone, but did not know that real cleanliness is of things not seen, Munich and modern Germany in general abound in physical deterioration, of which the first index is a national infanticide twice as high as ours. So much for the "young and vigorous race" theory.

Are our rejected million due, then, to the theory popular among those amateur eugenic societies whose activities are so continually embarrassing—that we have been breeding from our worst stocks, while the good and beautiful and strong have declined the task of parenthood, and are, therefore, somewhat disconcertingly, to be also labeled as selfish and unpatriotic and wrong? Or can that dilemma be avoided, as few advocates of class eugenics are clever enough to do, by saying that the middle classes have been compelled to deny themselves the bouncing boys they would so much prefer to motor cars or spare bedrooms because Mr. Lloyd George has taxed them so abominably for maternity benefit and other inducements to the multiplication of the unfit?

As a lifelong student of the subject, after years of research prepared for by years of training, I wish to announce the important discovery that the rejected million were once younger. It may be that, if we accept this theory, and inquire into their personal history, we shall find the clue to their present state. I well know that I am running counter to the opinion of many public men in this respect. They are quite content to assert that, there being youths of eighteen or so in the country, they should be conscribed, drilled, exercised, and that, if perchance any of them should have lost a molar or two, these would sprout again in a few months. Such men as are now typical of the movement to "take the men before the money" have never, since the Boer war, lent their names or their influence, in Parliament or the press, to anything but the mammon-worship which, selfish of course, is also so colossally stupid as to suppose that you can neglect a living being through all its years of growth and development and then undo all the damage by a little drill.

Let me tell the reader the true history of how the origin of adults was discovered in this country. The rejections during the Boer war were shocking. The late Sir Frederick Mourice commented upon them. A Royal Commission on Physical Training was appointed for Scotland, to find, I presume, the kind of dumb-bell best calculated to restore lost molars and smashed ear-drums. But some one, in the course of its inquiries, asked the question of the answer to which I have hinted. Have not these recruits once been younger, and what was happening then? So my friend, Dr. Leslie Mackenzie, now Medical Member of the Local Government Board for Scotland, was asked to inspect the children in an Edinburgh school. We had had national education for a generation, but this was the first time that a doctor had been employed even to look at the children, let alone treat them. He found the facts too dreadful for belief, but when other schools in Edinburgh, in other Scottish cities, and in England were examined, the same was found.

Hence, directly flowing from the revelations made during our last war, came the medical inspection, and now, to some extent, the medical treatment of school children. The necessary dumb-bells were not forthcoming, after all, and lately, instead, Mrs. Leslie Mackenzie took me over the admirable dental clinic, where the children of Edinburgh are having their teeth saved for the years ahead of them and us.

Those who have fought this movement by every means in their power, the political party on the London County Council which has resorted to every futile expedient rather than establish school clinics, the glass-eyed politicians who,

in all their years of public life, have never said a syllable for better housing, infancy, cleaner milk, or the care of adolescence—such men may be the only seers in our midst today; but if so, the age of miracles is not yet past.

Today we have Sir George Newman, at the Board of Education, issuing his invaluable reports, but who compels the authorities to act? I suggest that there is no more poignant national fact today than this—that those who would most freely spend the men are those who have done least to save the children.

Not much can be done now for the immediate emergency. We may have to use some of our unfit, as Germany has long been using hers. But what of the future? In large measure our million rejected are the results, by simple, inevitable natural causation, true today as then, of our neglect of infancy and childhood round about the nineties.

Two-thirds of the children who first enter our London schools are then suffering from preventable defects. The school child, also, has once been younger. From one to five it was what I desire to call the home child, much neglected by the State hitherto, though the chain of life is as weak as its weakest link, and the future soldier may be ruined because we tempted him with drink and evil books at sixteen, or neglected his measles at three, or let his mother work in white lead before he was born. In our now urgent economies let us be sure whether the money under discussion is to buy life or death. Particularly I plead for the universal adoption of those clauses of the Notification of Births (Extension) act which enable us to do something for the home child.





ALEXANDER ZAIMIS

New Prime Minister of Greece, Succeeding Premier Venizelos
(Photo from Bath News Service.)



ADMIRAL VON HOLTZENDORFF

Late Commander of the German High Seas Fleet, Now Head of the German
Naval General Staff, Succeeding Vice Admiral von Bachmann

(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

Darwinism and War

By Sir E. Ray Lankester

Eminent zoologist and ex-President of the British Association, Professor Lankester speaks with authority on the subject of the so-called warlike proclivities of man and the animal kingdom. The subjoined article appeared on Sept. 14, 1915, in *The London Daily Telegraph*.

DARWIN gave as the title of his epoch-making book, published in 1859, "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life." He explains that he uses the terms "struggle for life" and "struggle for existence" in a metaphorical sense, and that, although there is necessarily a competition inevitably imposed by and following from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase, there is little or no fighting and individual muscular contest. This, indeed, is obvious when we reflect upon the fact that the whole world of quietly growing plants and thousands of weaponless non-aggressive kinds of animals are included in the so-called "struggle," or "competition."

Nevertheless, from time to time, heedless writers, snapping up, as they imagined, the latest scientific pronouncement in regard to their own pet views as to human conduct, have asserted (as I pointed out in my Romanes lecture at Oxford in 1905) that Darwinism justifies violence and brutality on man's part as a law of nature—the survival of the strong. Others again have denounced Darwin for this justification which he never made, but expressly denied. The most flagrantly foolish of these false prophets of Darwinism is the superficial pamphleteer, the German General Bernhardi, who, writing in defense of the aggressive militarism of his master, (the Kaiser,) says: "Wherever we look in nature we find that war is a fundamental law of development. This great verity, which has been recognized in past ages, has been convincingly demonstrated in modern times by Charles Darwin." Elsewhere he says: "The natural law to which all the laws of nature can be reduced is the law of struggle. * * *

From the first beginning of life war has been the basis of all healthy development. Struggle is not merely the destructive, but the life-giving principle. The law of the stronger holds good everywhere. * * * Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is to be decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decision rests on the very nature of things."

There is no basis in fact for this absurd and pernicious statement. It is not true that warfare or any thing resembling it is universal among living things, and that it is the law of nature. Still less is there, as I will show directly, any ground for arguing even if warfare were the general law of animal life that this fact would justify a nation of human beings in carrying on aggressive plunder-seeking war against others, or in adopting the principle of "Might is Right."

I cannot, in passing in review what is known as to animal life, find any instance of habits or procedure on the part of animals which resembles warfare, except the attacks made by certain ants on the nests of other species of ants when they carry off the immature young of the attacked species and rear them as workers in their own habitations. The carnivorous animals, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and worms, which prey upon other species—usually herbivorous creatures—cannot be said to make war on these their natural food, any more than a herbivorous animal makes war upon the grass, shrubs, or fruit trees which it consumes. Frequently the food organism possesses powerful horns or kicking hoofs if an animal, or sharp spines and poisonous juices if a plant, which render the task of seizing and devouring it no easy or simple mat-

ter. There is a natural limit to the destruction of these food species by the predatory species. The supply must not be seriously checked, or the predatory animal would starve. A balance is naturally established which results in many cases in the sickly or feeble members only of a herd being eaten, a result which tends to strengthen the stock by the elimination of weaklings. In much the same way, it appears that in many cases a limit is, in the long run, put upon the destructive action of parasites. In any case, though destruction by predatory animals is one of the "molding" causes among many other dangers and obstacles by means of which selection in nature and survival of the fittest are brought about, yet the destructive agencies, whether predatory beasts or storms or drought or other such dangers, are not parties in the struggle for existence—the keen and close competition which Darwin described. It is the unconscious competition between the superabundant individuals of one and the same species—even of one and the same family—to secure safety, nourishment, and mating, and to be the one to escape the destructive noxious agency, whatever its nature, while others perish, which Darwin spoke of as "a struggle for existence."

Actual combat between individuals of the same species is rare, except in regard to the "mating" of certain species of animals, by no means a majority. Stags fight with their antlers for the possession of the does, the fur seals use their teeth in such combats, and the natural weapons, such as large fangs, claws, and horns, possessed by the males only, in many animals, are used as frequently for duels with rival males as for protecting the female and her young from the attacks of carnivorous enemies of totally distinct species. Even some few male fishes fight others of their own species for the possession of the females. On the other hand, where one species has been brought by human traffic from its own area for that inhabited by another species, and has multiplied and to some extent superseded the original native species, as the Continental sewer rat has multiplied in this country

and is now more commonly seen than the native black rat of barns and old houses, there is no evidence that there has been any "fighting" or warfare between the old species and the newcomer. The same is true as to the various species of cockroaches introduced by shipping into this country. They do not attack one another, nor do they attack the native smaller species. In Australia the thylacine or marsupial wolf has vanished and given place to the dingo, a wild dog brought in by the present "black fellows" in prehistoric times. But there is no evidence of "fighting" or "warfare" between the dog and the thylacine, either in Australia or Tasmania. Peaceful penetration, followed by survival of the fitter species, resulting after a long lapse of time in the complete or, perhaps, only partial dying out from the invaded area of the species less favored by the conditions of that area, is what occurs. There has been "competition" and deadly rejection by inexorable Nature of the less fit, but no "struggle" in the sense of fighting, biting and killing one another on the part of the competitors or "candidates for selection."

We now come to the further question as to whether any behavior of certain animals, if shown to lead to their predominance over other animals and to what we may, without prejudice, call the success and prosperity of certain species or tribes of animals, can and should be for that reason adopted by man. It is asserted, as we have seen falsely, that constant warfare, the subjection and destruction of the weak by the violence of "the strong"—not the variously well-fitted who in thousands of diverse ways find their home in the large bosom of Nature, but the mechanically destructively "strong"—is the law of the living world. Even if this were true, which it is not, there is ample reason for rejecting the application to man of a principle arrived at by the consideration of the behavior of the animal world.

It is true that man has slowly developed from ape-like ancestors, which were not "man," and differ from him as all animals differ from him in the absence of a certain life-dominating mental

quality, which is absolutely peculiar to him. From the earliest days of written history man has recognized this difference between himself and animals—"the brutes which perish." Man does not perish because his tradition, his thought and reasoning are handed on by him from generation to generation by oral or by written word. He is not only observant and inquiring, but he has developed in this way an immense memory, a record of the observation and knowledge of past generations of men—what I have called (in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article "Zoology") the Great Record.

But it is not merely this vast memory and still vaster record which distinguishes man. It is that absolutely peculiar and indefinable activity of the mind which we call "consciousness." Without consciousness memory ceases to have more than a limited significance; without memory consciousness is a momentary fleeting thing of no account. But conscious memory gives to man the sense of continuity and of freedom of choice. It is conscious memory which gives man the power of being at once the actor, the spectator, and the critic. It enables man to distinguish between self and not self, and brings with it the sense of responsibility and of reality. It is this which has created that "moral law" within us of which the philosopher Kant said that it and the starry vault above us were the two things which filled his mind with ever-renewed wonder and awe the more often and the more deeply he dwelt on them. Animals do not possess this consciousness except in the most rudimentary way. We have but little knowledge of its gradual development in our ape-like ancestors, in virtue of which they ceased to be brute beasts, and became conscious men. But in the most primitive of existing savage races of man—the Australian black-fellows—we find it in an imperfectly developed state, imperfect in proportion as the power of memory in that race is defective and undeveloped. On the other hand, we can watch (without at present understanding) its graduated but rapid development in a human infant as it passes from the blank negative condition

of birth to the dawning intelligence of childhood.

The qualities acquired by each individual as he grows up in the community into which he is born, through the use and education of his conscious memorizing brain, distinguish the nationalities of mankind from one another. Man receives no knowledge, and only the most elemental mechanisms of instinct, by direct inheritance from his parents. He has to learn everything afresh. On the contrary, animals are born with elaborate instinctive mechanisms, which work when the appropriate stimulus acts upon them, as do the penny-in-the-slot machines when the penny is applied. The new-born foal runs skillfully round his native field; the human infant has to learn by experimental effort even to walk, and later to run. In man what is inherited, that which we say is "in the blood," determines the quality of the rough material, but "training"—education, whether designed or enforced by environment—is the all-powerful and necessary producer of all mental and bodily characteristics and behavior. On the contrary, in lower animals, and to a very large extent in higher ones, all behavior and habits are inherited. Every behavior and accomplishment which we know in our own experience is for us the result of observation, experience, thought, and choice, is in them inherited unconsciously and ready-made—as a trick or mechanism of which the performer has no understanding, and in regard to which it has no choice.

It is this which renders it impossible to interpret or to justify man's behavior whether of individuals or of nations—by a comparison with the unconscious "instinctive" proceedings of animals. The inaggressive frugivorous apes from which man has sprung have not—emphatically not—transmitted to him a compulsory instinct to destroy his fellow men by warfare, nor, on the other hand, have they endowed him with the love of truth, justice, and beauty. It is his own conscious intelligence which has gradually built up a record external to his bodily substance, which is ever increasing, and comprises the noblest thoughts

as well as the memory of the basest deeds of mankind. The knowledge of this great record is given to each generation afresh by the education administered by its elders and leaders. It is on this, and the reasoning based on it, that man has to depend, and not on bodily inheritance of habits and instincts slowly selected by survival of those endowed with them in the blind competition for survival. The "moral law" is an essential and integral part of the deliberate educative process of man. "It is," as Dr. Chalmers Mitchell writes in his admirable essay, "Evolution and the War," "as real and as external to man as the starry vault. It has no secure seat in any single man, or in any single nation. It is the work of the blood and tears of long generations of men. It is not in man, inborn or innate, but it is enshrined in his traditions, in his customs, in his literature and his religion. Its creation and sustenance are the crowning glory of man, and his consciousness of it puts him in

a high place above the animal world. Men live and die, nations rise and fall, but the struggle of individual lives and of individual nations must be measured, not by their immediate needs, but as they tend to the debasement or perfection of this, man's greatest achievement." The Imperial Government of Germany has, to suit its own ambitious purposes, deliberately directed and perverted the education of the German people so as to implant in them a false conception of duty and a debased morality. Such an influence cannot finally prevail. There is in mankind a sense of obligation (due to age-long experience and tradition) to a moral law founded on truth, justice, honor, and loving kindness, which no system of repression and perverted education can permanently eradicate from a population of seventy millions. It rejects absolutely as a vile thing hostile to human progress and happiness the doctrine that "Might is Right."

German Substituted Foods

(From The London Daily Chronicle, Sept. 24, 1915.)

Something instructive regarding the condition of things in Germany may always be learned by a study of the advertisements in a widely circulated newspaper like the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Let us take the advertisements as we meet them. A wholesale dealer in Frankfort-on-the-Main wants large consignments of wooden boot soles. He will pay cash for immediate delivery. The presumption is that leather soles are growing scarce.

One is surprised at the number of substitutes (*Ersatz*) offered for sale. Artificial jam and marmalade are frequently advertised. A "chemical factory" in Dresden offers to supply fifteen tons of the stuff every week, and seeks travelers to push it. We are not told what artificial jam is. A substitute for "whipped cream" is advertised by another chemical factory in Berlin. The sale of the real cream is forbidden.

When the war broke out beans roasted in a certain way with coffee were largely used as a substitute for coffee. Making a virtue of necessity, the German dealers pointed out how neurotic people might drink a decoction of bean coffee without ill-effects. Now we have a substitute for bean coffee—beans being no longer procurable—called "*Krieg-kornfrank*." A pound packet of it costs only 6d., and it is highly recommended as "going far" and as very cheap. "It is incumbent on us all to be economical," says the advertiser.

"Gondar" cheese, made of skimmed milk, is a substitute for real cheese. One dealer advertises fifty tons of it. It is slightly flat and crushed, a defect which enables him to offer it at 7d. a pound. Gondar cheese, we are told, is excellent for working people and the poorer classes generally, as it has quite a cheesy taste. We have a substitute for oil for polishing oak floors. It is not oil at all, but it gives a high polish. The same dealer advertises substitutes for glycerine and other household oils.

The pity of advertising in Germany a cheap substitute for beer! And yet this is what "*Kulmet*" professes to be. There is no alcohol in it. It has a pleasant reminiscent taste of malt, and is the color of the best Munich beer.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

The remarkable article by J. Ellis Barker on how the United States raised a great conscript army during the civil war, reproduced from *The Nineteenth Century and After*, has received a separate place in this number. But among the reviews of the month are articles by many writers of great distinction, with a good balance between those by advocates of the Entente Powers and those of the Germanic Alliance.

Will the Present War Be the Last?

By Georg Brandes

Dr. Georg Brandes, the noted Danish critic, in "Ukens Revy," published at Christiania, Norway, discusses the European war with main reference to the smaller countries, and answers his own question whether the world war of the present may be the last war. That the author of "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," "Shakespeare," and numerous other works of international renown holds no illusions in that respect may be seen from his article which reads in part:

THE positions of the three Scandinavian countries cannot be considered identical during the unforeseen world war of the present time.

It is quite true that they are neutral, but that is largely because nothing else would do under the circumstances. Participation in the war would at once endanger their very existence, and from no quarter has there been offered them sufficient compensation to risk taking part.

In Norway, where from olden time sympathy for England and France has been pronounced, it is possible that the leaning toward these powers is the most pronounced. Nevertheless, not a few of the intellectuals, whose books are published in German, champion passionately the cause of Germany. That Sweden fears Russia, which has torn to pieces Finland's Constitution and has overrun the Swedish land with Russian spies, is little to be wondered, and the sympathies of Sweden are almost entirely with Germany.

Denmark stays neutral for the simple reason that it is but a short run from Kiel to Danish territory, and we Danes, in case peaceful relations were broken off, might expect the German fleet in front of Copenhagen in a couple of hours.

Only at the risk of committing suicide can Denmark, with its two and a half million inhabitants, challenge a world power like Germany. That stands to reason without any further explanation. And let us not forget that it is just fifty years since Denmark took up battle with the two powers that now, as then, are allies, Prussia and Austria. Denmark fought for half a year without the slightest aid of a single European power. It shows the lack of foresight on the part of diplomatists that England and France permitted Germany to seize the Kiel harbor and to tear from Denmark two-fifths of the country's area without as much as raising a finger to prevent this.

Since then, North Schleswig has been governed as Prussia governs all foreign nationalities—through prohibiting the use of the Danish language in church and school; prohibiting the employment of Danish national colors, even in women's costumes; exiling many; with numerous annoyances that even went so far as to take children away from their parents in case they were suspected of educating the children with a view of making them incline toward Denmark. The German Reichstag has voted considerable sums toward buying up Danish land in Schleswig, exactly as in the case of Polish soil

in Posen. And now the young Schleswigers must fight and bleed in the German ranks of a country by which they are treated as scapegoats.

Strong reasons, therefore, prevent Danish sentiment from being friendly to the German cause. On the other hand, admiration for Germany's efficiency is very great. If it is a fact that the intellectuals are no more inclined toward the Entente Allies than toward Germany, then it is because the allied powers in no wise can be considered an entity, no matter what may be the exertion to disprove the differences that separate them.

The understanding and the intuitive insight of the masses has never been anything but a democratic legend. The masses generally believe anything that is presented in a skillful manner.

Regarding the question whether this is to be the last war, it is of interest to examine the newspapers of France during the war of 1870-71. The striking feature of the journalism of that day was that "it was comforting to know that this war would be the last." Since then have followed a dozen bloody wars, until now the biggest of all wars has lasted for more than a year. And again we

hear the imbecile refrain in article upon article, in country after country, "it is comforting to know that this war will be the last." Therefore, we are to believe that very soon human nature will change entirely; its overwhelming stupidity will turn into quiet good sense, its immense degree of wildness will become co-operative good-will.

The war reveals everything. Beneath the superficiality of civilization is found a wild man who in all essentials compares with what the Stone Age might exact. During the intervals between wars mankind imagines that the world is settled in peace and that wars are no longer possible. Since it is considered necessary to maintain an optimistic attitude in order to endure existence, optimism is made a chief virtue for the purpose of keeping courage and strength alive. Mankind does not seem to desire to look the facts squarely in the face. If, notwithstanding all optimistic denials to the contrary, wars break out, then optimism tries to comfort the battling ones with the words that the present struggle will bring with it the reign of justice and that therefore the war must be the final one.

"Cannon! Munitions!"

By Charles Humbert

IN *La Revue*, Paris, double number for Aug. 15 and Sept. 1, Charles Humbert, Senator from the Department of the Meuse, has an important article, entitled "Cannon! Munitions!" Senator Humbert, as a member of the Senatorial Commission on the Army, was one of the leading forces in changing the policy of the Government from one of concentrating attention on the size of the army to that of bringing its equipment, particularly in the matter of artillery, to a point of superiority over that of the enemy. He says:

The character the present war has taken has been a surprise and a disappointment for many minds, quite particularly for professional strategists. * * * We are past the day of romantic struggles, of the

determining ability of the great captains, of brilliant onslaughts, and the decisive charges in which, formerly, the fate of a country was decided. War has become a colorless and mechanical work, accomplished by its reinforcement of machinery. It obeys elements that no one dreamed of before. * * * Between the battles of the time of Louis XIV., those of the first empire and those of 1870 there is certainly much less difference than between the last named and those of 1914-1915. * * * Every day brings in some innovation. The Germans have recently introduced the employment of flaming liquids and asphyxiating gases, and I see in them no other dishonesty than that of using them after they had engaged themselves not to do so; they are not arms more terrible or more destructive than those that the usages of war have authorized. * * *

It is quite true that in this terrible con-

flict Germany had taken a considerable lead over her adversaries. She believed in the war, because she wanted it, and had prepared for it with minute care. She had certainly understood it better than we, and imaged it to herself with greater exactitude. * * * Since 1911, especially since the events of Agadir, she had been working with a sort of frenzy to renew her heavy artillery completely; she had planned to introduce on the battlefield mortars and long cannon of great range. * * * Happily, despite all her minuteness and foresight, Germany had calculated her aggression badly.

The writer continues by describing the interior policy of Germany after the unexpected check she received in her attack on Paris. Putting herself on the defensive, she gave her main attention to war industries and "by a prodigy of discipline and organization" was able to renew and augment her artillery and

reach a production of shells calculated as being between 250,000 and 400,000 a day! Meanwhile, France had realized that her problem would be the same, but she had done so less clearly. Much therefore remained to be changed after the war was in progress. He adds:

Today the re-arrangement is made, and all our workshops and arms factories, all our accessory industries are awaking as fast as one could desire them to. * * * The coalition of the forces of the countries at war with Germany can leave no doubt of their success, but one must not imagine that the work to be accomplished is a matter of a few weeks. * * * The united metallurgical industries of England and France can assure us a superior production of munitions to that of Austria-Germany. * * * All the trumps are in the hands of the Allies in this terrible game. Only a shameful incapacity could prevent their playing them victoriously to the end.

Reconstruction of Destroyed Cities

By Frantz Jourdain

IT has been claimed for Germany that while the Allies are preparing for further war, she is preparing for peace. In *La Revue*, Paris, Aug. 15-Sept. 1, one of the most distinguished of French architects, M. Frantz Jourdain, shows that in one of the fields in which his country is pre-eminent, France is already thinking out her future. M. Jourdain is President of the Salon d'Automne. He says:

The mystic symbol of the phoenix reborn from its ashes softens despair and rocks human distress as in a cradle. Since death engenders life, since the flowers opening on the tombs drive sadness from the cemeteries, we have the right to think that the frightful cyclone that has prostrated our gentle France can give a new youth to the country, and that this time, once again good will come out of evil.

The dwellings, factories, school houses, and churches must be rebuilt. At first the work seems overpoweringly complex and difficult; it will not be found so if a "clear and rational program" is followed.

First of all, it is a time for us to get rid of the dangerous pedagogy which, for more than a century, has falsified tempera-

ments, reduced imaginations to one level, destroyed initiative, imposed a foreign influence contrary to the instincts of our race and tried to replace originality with the lesson learned by heart. * * * Let us think of our ancestors of the Middle Ages, who went begging neither to Greece nor to Italy when they wanted to strew our soil with the most luxuriant flowers of granite and stone that humanity has ever beheld.

Before the vast problem to be solved the way must be left open for work suited to each of the different localities of France, so different in their characters. No one model should be established, but as much as possible the architects and artisans of each place should dictate the forms. "Centralization, like speculation, would work irreparable disasters."

Our duty will be not only to repair but to prepare for the future. It is here perhaps that we come to the most delicate point in the question, for logic will probably impose some painful sacrifices on archaeology. For example, to widen a road which was more than sufficient for the carts and infrequent carriages of former days, but dangerous for the incessant traffic of automobiles, shall we not find ourselves compelled to suppress a farm, or a cottage whose charm delighted the

tourist? Once more, we shall encounter cases for which our artists will certainly know how to find the happiest solution. * * * They will not wall themselves in, clumsily, with an uncompromising fetishism which would forbid them, against

public interest, to suppress the smallest building-stone, devoid of any aesthetic interest, solely because that stone is old and salt-petered. * * * Let us remember the aphorism pronounced by Michelet, the great French writer: "Evolve or perish."

On the Eastern Front—In Mesopotamia

By H. Denin

IN the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, (Aug. 21,) M. H. Denin, a French traveler who knows accurately the wild country of which he writes, describes at considerable length the commercial and military value of the ancient lands on the Euphrates and Tigris, running down to the Persian Gulf.

* * * If the loss of men, on one side and the other, is very small because of the numerical weakness of the contending armies, (in Mesopotamia,) the importance of the stake is enormous; for it is a question, for England, of adding to the future possession of Arabia, coveted by her: First, the conquest of 55,000 square kilometers of land, which can be brought back to their legendary fertility by irrigation whose estimated cost is 500,000,000 francs, (note, these 55,000 square kilometers make up only about one-tenth of the land England will claim when peace is signed;) second, the exploitation of petroleum wells extending over a length of

more than 400 kilometers and to an average depth of 70 kilometers, the exploitation being subject to; third, the organization beforehand and necessary populating of vast regions which are desert wastes at present. The advantage for the security of India is inappreciable, but it must be foreseen.

* * * Although the fate of this English campaign in Mesopotamia is in no doubt and it is not bold to predict already its successful ending, it will never be more than an operation subordinated to those of Europe. * * * It will show, in any case that: First, legitimacy of possession is refused to peoples who can not or will not make use of their agricultural and mineral resources; they must make way for others in the general interest; second, that the Mussulmans are very much in this state; and third, that a population of 50,000,000 men may live in Mesopotamia, whose inexhaustible food resources are guaranteed by the natural fertility of the soil, and whose buying capacity is assured to its people by the regularity, healthiness, and value that labor will have there.

International Law and Naval Warfare

By E. Bertin

IN the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* for the 15th of August, M. E. Bertin of the Académie des Sciences has a long and carefully documented article on the future of international law. He takes up points in its history relating to naval warfare and considers the effect of the events of the present war on the work of The Hague Conventions.

Among the ruins made by the war, there is one that should be repaired without more delay. It is the ruin of international law, for which the conferences of The Hague worked to raise a monument on the base laid down sixteen years ago by the Emperor of Russia, for the honor of humanity and the common interest of

peoples. The restoration is urgent; it must be made while the cannon roars because it will thus assure to the edifice the solidity and stability it lacked and which—we can say after experiment—the work accomplished during the leisure of peace is powerless to give it. The task of restoration is incumbent on the neutrals, and on them alone. They are the judges of the camp. It is for them to declare what the signatures of nations at the foot of international acts are worth. Their declaration will prevail for the present and the future.

M. Bertin goes on to examine in detail the questions of piracy and of blockades. He reviews the provisions made at The Hague for the visiting of ships

in war time, shows wherein violations have occurred and how the advent of the submarine has rendered necessary the changing of certain definitions and policies of naval combat. He then proceeds to the question of contraband, particularly cotton. For a long time Germany has had to depend entirely on re-provisioning through neutral countries for cotton, from which to manufacture explosives. The international problems resulting from the stopping of such traffic are obvious. Without effective measures to strengthen an international tribunal, the work done at the Congresses from 1899 to 1907 will be lost and its principles will have to be abandoned. M. Bertin believes that the war itself will keep the world from permitting so sombre a misfortune:

If the conventions have succeeded neither in softening the rigors of warfare nor even in keeping it within the limits recognized for centuries, the setback is due solely to their silence on one capital point, that of sanctions. In the eyes of the professional jurist the absence of the sanction may even annul a law. Did the delegates to The Hague fear to raise a doubt of the resolution of their respective Governments to honor their signatures? Such an illusion would have been surprising; it is dissipated, in any case. There will be no more conventions without sanctions suited to make them respected. It is here that neutrals can assure the future by saying their final word now—which they have never said before. * * * Whoever has faith in international law is following with passionate interest the diplomatic duel engaged between Washington and Berlin. (M. Bertin then speaks of the tone of President Wilson's notes with respectful admiration, and sees in his attitude great hope for the future.)

The Trentino and the Northern Boundary

By Giovanni Oberziner

IN the *Nuova Antologia* for Aug. 1, Giovanni Oberziner, who has been studying the questions of the Trentino for more than thirty years, gives the first paper of a series on "The Trentino and the Northern Boundary of Italy."

It is not simply a platonic affirmation of ancient and modern geographers, nor a rhetorical concept of poets, that the high summit of the Alps is, all through the north, the boundary of Italy. But it is now, and was from ancient times so firmly rooted in the popular consciousness, that as long ago as 183 B. C. the Roman Senate, with this in mind, ordered certain barbarians—who had descended from the north and wanted to found a city in the region of Friuli—to recross the Alps immediately. Titus Livius observes, (39, 54,) that the Roman Senate took its energetic decision not because, already, it was afraid of this handful of barbarians, who came in humble mood to seek an asylum, but because it wanted the world to know that in Rome the Alps were considered the true defense of Italy, as a barrier not to be crossed under any circumstances by the peoples living on its northern slope.

There are now, however, points where the natural boundary does not coincide with the political boundary. This is the case in the Canton of Ticino, in Poschiavo, the basin of the Upper Adige, for the Trentino with the contiguous upper

valleys of Cordevale, (Livinallongo,) and Bolte, (Ampezzo,) not to speak of the region of Gorizia and Istria, where regions geographically and linguistically Italian have the grief of being cut off from the body of the common mother.

The writer proceeds to examine, with a wealth of detail, the historical status of the localities above mentioned in ancient and mediaeval times. His second chapter is on the ethnographical aspect of the question, but before touching on this he gives part of a speech made by Mazzini in 1866, observing "current events demonstrate, as nothing else could, the truth in these fateful sentences of the great Genoese thinker":

Accepting then, oh, Italians, the peace with which you are threatened, you will not only place a seal of shame on the brow of the nation, you will not only vilely betray your brothers of Istria, of Friuli, and the Trentino, you will not only cut off for many years any future worthy of Italy—condemning it to be a third-rate power in Europe, not only will you lose all the confidence of the nations and all initiatory influence with them, but you yourselves will hang over your heads the sword of Damocles of foreign invasion. And this sword of Damocles means for you the impossibility of diminishing your army; which brings with the impossibility of

economy the uncertainty of everything, absence of confidence on the part of the capitalists, absence of all peaceful, secure development of industrial life, progressive diminution of credit, progressive increase of disadvantages, impossibility of remedy,

economic ruin and bankruptcy; it means—for not all of you will resign yourselves to this—perennial, increasing agitation; party discord more angry than ever; civil war in a more or less remote time—but an inevitable one.

The Raising Up of Belgium

By Maggiorino Ferraris

IN the Nuova Antologia, Senator Maggiorino Ferraris, director of the admirable review, has an article on "The Raising Up of Belgium." He gives a detailed study of Belgium, its civilization and place in the family of nations, and tells why Italy has an especial sympathy with her.

Emile Vandervelde, the illustrious chief of Socialism in Belgium and one of the greatest personalities of the modern social movement, has made a brief visit to Upper Italy, speaking especially at Turin and Milan. * * *

"We were a small people," Vandervelde said splendidly at Turin, "and in the manner of the happy peoples, we were almost without history. We asked to live in peace, as we had the right to. We had to choose between peace and honor. We preferred honor."

At the beginning of the war, and in spite of the reservedness counseled by neutrality—which our country always loyally kept—the national conscience was almost unanimous in judging Germany's invasion of Belgium as a grave and unjustifiable violation of international law, of the liberty and independence of peoples. Today, while our brave troops are fighting in the Alps by the side of the allied

nations, there is only one sentiment throughout the Italian people as regards this war, from which there should arise for Europe a more intense era of liberty, and law among nations, and social well-being for the peoples. Only at this price should we face to the end the brutal conflict, and on the ruins of imperialism and militarism take up, indefatigable and unremitting, the tormented question of international repairs and the uplifting of the people.

At the head of these noble ideals of right, of civilization and thought stood Belgium, before the war. The small, quiet laborious, housekeeping country seemed to have consecrated its undaunted moral energies and its great material riches to an intense work of labor, peace, and social regeneration. From the fruitful fields, proud of a magnificent agriculture celebrated by Lavergne—the great agrarian economist of our youth—to commerce, to the offices, to the soil furrowed by innumerable railways and interminable canals—all seemed inextricably mingled in a hymn to progress. * * * Such was Belgium before the war, * * * and from the smoking ruins, today, arises—unquenchable—the cry for political and civil redress which our epoch cannot abandon without belittling itself before the greatest and noblest traditions of right and civilization.

Italians and the War

By G. Prezzolini

LA VOCE of Florence is certainly the favorite review of the important group of philosophers, poets, and critics who demand above all progress and independence as the keynote of Italian thought. Sig. G. Prezzolini, one of the most powerful of these writers, has a letter to the editor of La Voce, which is published under the title of "We and the War."

Dear de Robertis:—I write you immediately after reading the last Voce, the same evening. What a fine number, and how much good it did me to read it—in war time! It reminds me of certain people who said to me, "why keep up a literary review in war time, at such a serious moment!" as if art were not a serious thing, and thought—and liberty!

Sig. Prezzolini draws up a list of themes to be dwelt on in the review:

Third Point—To prepare, order, and win

a battle is a work that demands genius, and there is no doubt that a great General is a genius, as a statesman is; but it is well to recall in these times that a great poet, a great critic, or a great painter is not less great or less necessary to a nation than a great General, if it wants to count for something in the history of the world. And these commonsense truths, always true, are so much the more true, I make bold to say, now; because one is more tempted to forget them. Hence the utility of a "literary" review today, and the laudable courage to keep it up in this moment when it is easy to take for lack of patriotism this recalling of superior values.

Fourth Point—Down with the Germans! surely; but let us not fall, as today the French are tending to, into a facile contempt—and let us not throw ourselves into a still more facile driving out—of everything German. I read in a newspaper the letter of a man who wanted German operas taken from our repertory, as the Germans have taken from theirs the works of the Italians—Giordano, Puccini, and Leoncavallo. I don't know that man, but he can have only a mean and low spirit. Such passions, which gross and barbarous nationalists express, are the kind that would diminish us and impoverish our patrimony. Those who harbor them are often the very people who but yesterday were on their knees before "Kultur." These are dangerous phenomena to which

our people, fortunately, does not seem inclined. I do not see bestial hate in Italy. Our war has been the finest one of Europe because it was an act of liberty, of choice, of judgment. It was not born of the drunkenness of pride, like the German war, nor from necessity as was the case in France. We must not let it degenerate. Let us know to distinguish between the bestial Germany of today and the teacher of mankind of yesterday. The thing is elementary. Luther, Kant, Hegel, Goethe, belong to the patrimony of the spirit. We want to kill the Germans. We do not want to kill ourselves. We are forced to fight with our bodies. We do not intend at all to humiliate our minds—nor those of the others either. The war we are carrying on will be of profit to us, and let us hope that profit to Germany will come of it as well. We should hope that she will face about and make amends and return to her origins and re-create herself. * * *

Fifth Point—In the effort for harmony and confidence that we must make, let us take care not to lose certain virtues we have and which some insatiable idiots would have pass for defects; I mean the spirit of criticism and individuality. Yes, I am glad of organization, discipline, &c., but I do not think for that reason that we should lose our right to examine either what the Government has done or what it ought to do. * * *

"D'Annunzio Has Spoken"

By Giuseppe de Robertis

THE editor of *La Voce*, Giuseppe de Robertis, in an article entitled "d'Annunzio Has Spoken," expresses the sentiment of the generation which has outlived the taste for d'Annunzio's style, and reproves the rhetoric he indulged in at the outbreak of the war.

* * * Let us not mention Carducci, who was a master in everything, who spent his life in educating, directing, and forming Italy, and who gave it conscience again and a sense of discipline, which we have put in the scales today, to be weighed. He spent his life in the work and used up so much strength in it that he was sometimes worn out when he turned to his poetry, and so was punished in his art.

Had he not written the great historic odes, we should have known just the same where to find the master of our youth, the man to form our first consciousness as a nation and to give us wise discipline. We should have seen the master through the

example of his life, through his having accepted his place and his part in the world, his having reconstituted the sense of living things—which helped us at that time to recognize ourselves, to discover ourselves as men, as persons present to ourselves with a solid beginning of elementary orientation.

The difference between him and a d'Annunzio is clear to eyes even of blind men. D'Annunzio gives us literary felicity, with less of passion and torment than of grammatical and erudite experience. He was a dandy, and when he wanted to be a barbarian the essential and elementary qualities fled away from him—to the exaggeration of the other more low and degenerative ones. * * *

We knew that d'Annunzio was waiting to come to Italy, almost in triumph. There was lacking to his first day here that solemnity which his pride had perhaps led him to hope for—with the King, Salandra, and all the ancient Senate. But he made up for the humiliation. Instead he talked ten times. He can consider himself satis-

fied—Italy has acclaimed him the poet of her greatest war. * * *

And we wanted to enter it without rhetoric, modestly, without waking the customary ancient memories. We wanted to do it as one who knows he must measure with short steps his patience and sacrifice, gaining ground point by point, conquering by mind more than by heroism. It is a war of intelligence—our war.

We did not expect from d'Annunzio any words like these. We only hoped he would keep silent. A man such as he has nothing to say in such matters, of which he has never known anything. And once again he has forgotten his place—and just to say something, to accompany the events

—like a guitar, with the most banal and hackneyed chords. * * *

He has to go back to the Greeks and the Romans. * * * He recalled the accustomed names, and Garibaldi and the Garibaldians—from whom we are so far in this mathematical war. He called the commonest men heroes. He has denied the best part of himself. * * *

We have become more expert, more precise, we have interrogated ourselves so often; and we have thrown away the things we are through with. We see things in their universal relations. We are fighting not for Trento, Trieste, and all Dalmatia, but for civilization.

Sensitive Holland

By Paul Rache

Paul Rache, who is the Amsterdam correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt, points out in the article translated below wherein Germany has failed to appreciate the position of the Dutch people as an independent nation.

THE expression, "Holland is Dutch," may at first glance look like a cheap joke, or at least seem superfluous. But only at a first glance. It is advisable that we in Germany view Holland as it actually is, and as it wants to appear, and not in the light that we have observed it during the past twenty years.

This would be to our own interest, and to the interest of Holland. Very often the old by-word, which annoys Holland and the Dutch people, no matter how well it is meant, has caused suspicion and caused them to withdraw themselves. The ancient expression about "kindred" Holland, with its language in "reality German," or "as good as German"—which leans upon its big brother—this expression ought to be thrown upon the junk heap. One can do the German cause no greater harm than by reminding the Hollander, as is being done constantly today, that as a matter of fact he "belongs to us."

We can only reach a better understanding with Holland, and Holland will then only approach us in a more friendly spirit, when we accustom ourselves to appreciate better the characteristics of the Dutch people, and to emphasize this; to

accept the individual nationality; to look upon them as Hollanders, and not as Low Germans, or as of German kinship. This may not be so easy. It may go against the German grain. But it is absolutely necessary; it is nothing more nor less than political wisdom.

We must reckon with the fact that just at this time, when German nationalism finds such widespread expression, the nationalistic feeling of others must be considered. We should know why just on this account Holland finds itself injured, when, no matter how well intentioned the purpose, it is looked at in a different light. Holland is, it is true, neither English nor French. But neither is it German. The country is nothing less than Dutch, and that to the marrow.

We must know the Dutch with their justified pride in their glorious past; their great historical rôle, their splendid culture; one should understand how today the national consciousness is so deep-rooted in order to comprehend why they are nothing else than Dutch. Exactly because Holland has ceased to play a conspicuous part in world politics the country lives more in the glory of the past. The people are sensitive when rudely reminded that this is a

changed world. It is necessary to enter into the other's position and feeling to find out why the German approaches do not find the readiest acceptance with the Hollander. It is also essential to take into consideration that there has been entirely too much foolish talk and writing by our nationalists. In illustration of what is being done to injure us can be cited the flood of pamphlets of a certain sort concerning Dutch relations. This, notwithstanding the fact that it has been made public in Holland that in no sense has this kind of literature any connection with Germany's national politics.

To bring about a better feeling between the two countries we must get to know each other better. We must appreciate to a much greater extent than in the past the characteristics of the Dutch; they will then get accustomed to look upon us as we really are. Then there will be no longer any foolish fear of annexation. The outstretched hand will be grasped heartily, and not suspiciously, as now.

It may not be amiss at just this time to call to mind our attitude toward the Boers during their war of liberation against England. We at that time, let it be said, much to the surprise of the Dutch, made the Boers' cause our own, and with our whole soul we threw ourselves into the battles that were fought by General Botha; the same Botha whom the English and the Boers now glorify as the conqueror of Germany's South-west African possessions. That war taught us a great many things; showed us just how far we ought to go with politics built on sentiment. This experience should not be lost on us in our present and future dealings with Holland.

How ill-informed Germany in reality is regarding the attitude of Holland is shown in an article by Julius Bachem in the *Allgemeinen Rundschau*, where it reads that one of the "saddest surprises" for Germany has been the fact that during this war Dutch public opinion has evidenced so little friendliness; in fact, has been quite unfriendly. Here,

again, we may refer back to the old by-word about kinship. In Germany it was taken for granted that Holland, considering the relationship, could not be other than pro-German; hence, the "surprise." There is no present need for recalling what impression was made on Holland when the Germans entered Belgium; an impression that had nothing to do with the campaign of falsification that was being conducted by the English and the French, and which caused the acceptance of every story about German misdeeds.

No, Holland is not pro-German; that is, in so far as it concerns the masses; no more so has it ever been anti-German. And this is something that we always seem to forget. I can only repeat, the Hollander is too specifically Dutch in his nationality to permit his sympathy or antipathies to carry him either one way or another. We should not be misguided because, perhaps, the French war pictures in the moving picture theatres are heartily applauded, or because the handorgans in the streets of Amsterdam play "Tipperary" to the accompaniment of singing or whistling by young girls and boys. Such superficial observations ought not to be considered criterions.

Holland is not pro-German, but, on the other hand, neither is it anti-German; at least the Germans in the country are not aware of the fact. The Hollander knows how to keep his feelings to himself. He is, besides, scrupulous in his idea of what hospitality stands for. Under what may be considered the most painful circumstances, the Dutch Government has seen its way to maintain its neutrality in a most masterly manner. The average Hollander has supported the Government in that respect. This fact must be acknowledged by the Germans. Even if now and then there has appeared a "war party," the Dutch are not inclined that way. It is true that for a while there was some talk in the newspapers whether it would not be just as well for Holland to take an active part in the war as to remain passive until the end and confront the consequences. But now there

is hardly a sound heard of that sort of talk. The people are preparing for the future.

In Germany it is taken for granted that after the war Holland and all Dutch interests will take a more intimate turn

toward the Fatherland. Holland is not quite ready to admit all this, but if we expect to have our desire realized we must first of all begin by appreciating the Dutch nationality, the individualism of the people.

Turkey and Her Partners

Skillful Diplomacy in Constantinople and Berlin

The semi-official Turkish newspaper, Tanin, of Constantinople, recently contained an editorial article dealing with the mutual benefits expected as a result of linking the interests of the Osman empire with Germany. It has been reproduced by the Kölnische Zeitung.

IN sending Prince von Hohenlohe to Constantinople to replace Baron von Wangenheim, who is ill, and also by dispatching the former Grand Vizier, Hakki Pasha, to Berlin, as the new Ambassador, both Governments give positive proof that they attach the utmost importance to having representatives of the first rank in the respective capitals.

At the time the Constitution was introduced in Turkey, Germany's influence met with a considerable amount of opposition. It was not unnatural, considering that previous to the adoption of the Constitution, a close intimacy existed between German interests and those high personalities who, with the deposition of the Sultan, no longer counted. Through this transition, greater importance was given English and French friendship, but, where a clever diplomacy might have brought itself profit by taking immediate advantage of the ticklish situation in the empire, the English preferred to meet the Turkish approaches with cold indifference. Neither did the politics of France tend to improve the opportunity.

A further hindrance to Turkey's friendship for Germany rested in Austria-Hungary's absorption of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Tripoli affair, involving Germany's other partner in the Triple Alliance, Italy, did not help matters. Yet, all these handicaps have been overcome by German friendliness,

until gradually this attitude has won its way and led up to the present alliance.

We regret that this attachment has arrived so late, and are of the opinion that the same feeling exists in both Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Osmanic Government realized fully its precarious position in relation to the two powerful groups in Europe, and it has felt its isolation. This must be assigned as the reason why first it leaned toward the Triple Alliance, then toward the Triple Entente. But as its indecision remained, neither the former nor the latter group looked with any special favor on joining hands with Turkey. It appeared, indeed, as if the Turkish Nation was looked upon as a disturbing element which, under the existing conditions, would prove a burden instead of a benefit to any one entering into a compact. Whatever wish Turkey may have had to connect itself one way or another, the unspoken answer was something to the effect that the time was not yet ripe.

There is no question that, so far as Turkey is concerned, an arrangement with powerful partners has been a necessity. In no other way could it expect to solve the internal problems, to set in order its own house, to gain strength with which to elevate itself. So long as Turkey stood alone it would not be possible to establish needed reforms, to get the money necessary for carrying out its plans. If today the Turkish Nation is

unable to offer its allies the greatest amount of assistance possible, this is because the country has not had the opportunity to get ready. In spite of the fact that Turkey was entirely unprepared to enter the alliance, in four theatres of war it is confronted by close to a million soldiers, and yet it is able to lend valuable aid to the Germans, the Austrians, and the Hungarians.

The time when Germany and Austria-Hungary should have turned to Turkey and reaped the advantage of such a move was when the Balkan war gave the Ottoman nation its greatest trial. Then German and Austrian diplomacy would have amounted to much. But evidently, no one realized the slumbering power inherent in the people. At any rate, no one thought that the Turkey of the future held any promise. When the fateful wars brought the country to its knees no one cared.

All this is now a matter of the past. But the past must teach us how to gain profit from experience. That the affairs of great countries now rest in the hands

of skillful diplomats in both Constantinople and Berlin is a token of the earnestness with which the future is anticipated. It is necessary that we look on this as something of the greatest significance.

When Turkey joined the Teutonic people it had not had the benefit of a long period of peace. But we give readily of what we have to offer now, trusting that when the war is over we also will reap some benefit. To build for the future we must begin now on a foundation that shall strengthen the bonds between the parties. After the war it follows that the economic and financial connections will grow in importance. Let be that Turkey has its own interests in view. It will remain true to its friends and offer itself in the service of them all. It is to be hoped that nothing will happen to shake the mutual confidence of the present. It is a favorable sign that, in the eyes of the Germans, Turkey is now looked upon as an equal in the bond that has been created.

Social Democracy and the Great War

By Gustav Bang

Belief is strong that Social Democrats in all countries will reunite quickly following the present conflict. Gustav Bang, writing in *Social-Democraten*, the official mouthpiece for the party in Denmark, tells what ought to be done to conserve the interests of Social Democracy in Europe, now and later.

THE period that sets in with the closing of the war will exact much of Social Democracy in the now warring countries, as well as in those maintaining their neutrality. Greater problems than any that have heretofore confronted Social Democratic parties will then have to be met and solved.

It is to be observed that in many and different directions opportunities will present themselves for a strengthened, a suddenly developed social, political, and cultural advance in close agreement with the interests of the working classes, the aims of Social Democracy. It is easy to name three widely separated is-

ues where such development may be expected. It is beyond dispute that militarism, which during recent decades has sucked the very life blood of the European nations, will be greatly limited, and, if not at once, in a not far distant future, will be completely eliminated. There can be no denial that not only must Russian autocracy—that fastness for all reaction in Europe—at last go down, but that elsewhere in the European countries constitutional rights must be thoroughly democratized and political influence placed squarely in the hands of the common voter. Again, it is indisputable that among those people where united action among the proletariat is as yet a

new thing there will arise a critical examination of present methods of production, and a strong respect for, a lively sympathy with, Social Democratic ideals undoubtedly will assert themselves.

In all these directions are visible manifold possibilities. But each such step ahead brings with it consequences the effects of which no man can foretell. We know, however, that the working classes must gain both moral and material benefit from that which is in prospect, and that the class system cannot prevail against such assembled forces.

But let us not forget, all this is but a tendency; possibilities, realization of which depends upon the efficient work, the amount of energy, solidarity that Social Democracy will be able to marshal when this war comes to an end. No historical development ever took place automatically, but through the carefully planned, secure aims of individual classes that knew what they were after. Development creates at various periods a more or less favorable condition for the advancement of ideals. To what extent a condition may be made use of depends on the amount of material and moral strength that the class in question can command. Immense opportunities will be at the disposal of the masses at the end of the war, opportunities for the workers in all fields and in the direction of politics, economics, and education. But, if at the last moment the commonalty halts, if it stands hesitatingly weak and vacillating, because of inner differences, the chances will be lost. What Social Democracy must do while the war lasts is to make ready for the greatest possible development and assertion of its power after the war.

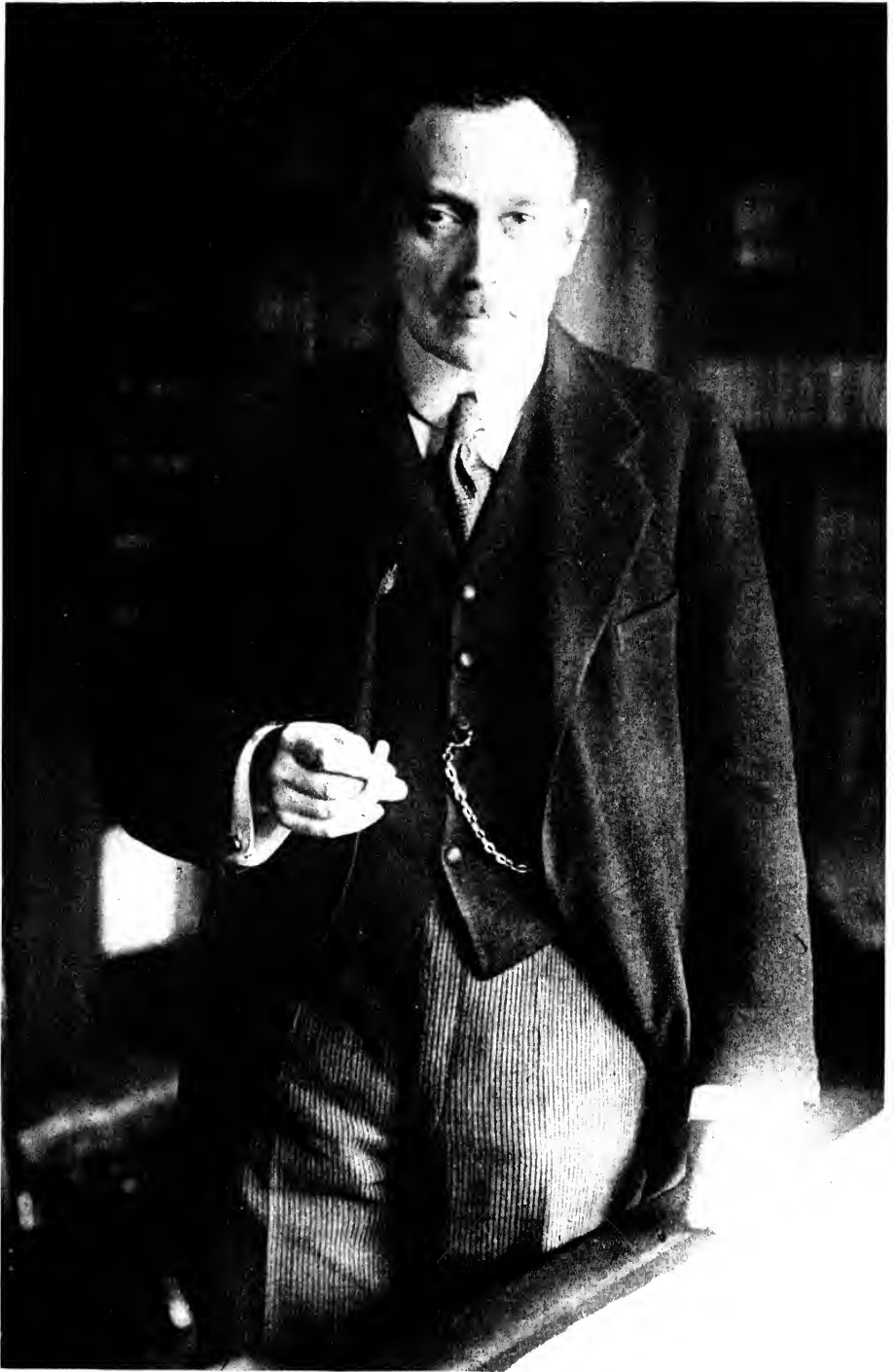
The first essential that, with no uncertain sound, calls for notice, is the re-establishment of international co-operation between the economic and political organizations in the different countries. Of course, only at the conclusion of the war will it be possible to gather the torn strands. But wherever it is possible to keep the common interest alive this ought to be done. It is the duty of Social Democracy in all the neutral lands to prepare the ground for a quick and com-

plete reuniting among themselves and the countries at war and between the warring nations themselves.

It is to be granted that there will be difficulties in the way for the re-establishing of the relationships that existed before the war, but we must not overestimate these difficulties. Instead of the artificial nationalism that this war has created, class distinction will come to the fore. Without regard for country, workers everywhere will be compelled to stand shoulder to shoulder. Chauvinistic sentiment may get time in which to spend itself, but in so far as it concerns the great majority of the working people, the moment they are confronted with problems that concern them alone all interests will centre in the battle for existence.

It is not so impossible that even while the war continues, that is, when the outcome will become somewhat better visualized, the position of the proletariat will undergo a change in the one or other country now party to the struggle. This has happened before. Take the war of 1870. In the beginning the war was popular among the German working people. In France, the workers and others with liberal tendencies appeared cool to the demands for a great war. But the moment the French Empire fell and Germany no longer hid its plan to annex Alsace and Lorraine, sentiment on both sides of the Rhine changed about. The French workers entered with enthusiasm in the struggle for the defense of their country, while, on the part of the German workmen a strong protest arose against the continuance of the war. Similar changes are not at all impossible while the present war is on.

At any rate, it is misleading to say that because of what happened to the old "Internationale" after the Franco-German war we also ought to conclude that the identical fate awaits similar organizations of the present day. When the International Workingmen's Association wrote *finis* to its existence at The Hague Congress of 1872, this was not due to the preceding war, but as a result of the internal dissolution that a long time before had set in owing to the gradually



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF DR. KARL HELFFERICH
Secretary of the German Imperial Treasury, Who Negotiated the Third
German War Loan

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



GENERAL VON EICHHORN

Of the German Army Staff, Who Assailed the Forts of Kovno on the Dvina
Line

(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

increasing differences between Socialists and Anarchists—a dissolution which pointedly showed that this form of organization had seen its best days and had fulfilled its mission. The aim of the old "Internationale" was to awaken the workers in the various countries to the meaning of class distinction, to an understanding of class consciousness. When this problem was solved the organization simply went to pieces of itself. The new movement, however, is an outgrowth of the working people's need to stand together for strategic purposes. Its roots lie deep down in the proletarian cause the world over. Steadily the tree has grown during the first twenty-five years that have passed since the International Workingmen's Congress. Not even a hurricane can tear the tree from its foundation.

Not only outwardly—in its relations to the fellow-workers in foreign countries—will Social Democracy immediately upon the conclusion of the war stand confronted with great issues. Internally, in each country where inner politics are at stake, a variety of questions will ask for answers the nature of which may mean exceedingly much to the communal life. Here Social Democracy must proceed with the greatest energy to take advantage of every opportunity. We have already mentioned the question of militarism, what should be done toward strengthening constitutional privileges; whether it may not be well to preserve some of the features for supplying the populace with food articles, methods that have proved so valuable while the war is on. The new taxes that will be demanded to cover direct and indirect losses due to the war will be burdens for the workers everywhere to consider. Let no one imagine that such taxes will be of only temporary character. The war tax placed on coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., here in Denmark to cover the expenses of the war of 1864 did not disappear until the change in the customs law in 1908. Social Democracy should have a say in whatever new tariffs are to be established to make good the financial losses brought about by this great war.

The organizing of many new workers

that will enter the industrial and transportation fields at the close of the war will call for great efforts. It is a historical experience that after every war there follows a period of great activity. There will be violent rises in productivity and consumption to make good the losses created by the destructiveness of the conflict. The great industrial upward movement during the first half of the seventies, it is true, was not produced exclusively as a result of the Franco-German war immediately preceding, but it is a fact that it was greatly accelerated through this war. Not only in Germany, where the French milliards gave the industrial movement a special feverish character, but everywhere in Europe, even in France, was this revival of marked effect. Lafargue speaks of the French industrial development in the years following the war as follows:

The mechanical industry which, since the treaty with England in 1863 had grown but slowly, suddenly took a colossal upward swing. * * * In all parts of the country factories shot up like mushrooms, destroyed the smaller industries, and thus created an industrial proletariat. * * * Ten years after the war the whole of France had become an industrial proletariat.

After every war participated in by the European nations following the Franco-German struggle similar movements have been noticed. The present world combat may be expected to give the fullest expression to the tendency making for increased trade and production. But while the necessity for such expansion is unquestioned, we must also expect a reaction within not many years after the period immediately following the war calls for feverish activity in all branches of endeavor. The subsequent economic crisis, then, is what must be guarded against.

Demand for wage earners is sure to come with the signing of the peace agreements. This demand will continue for a time, there will be a rise in wages, while it is probably also true that whatever may be the increase in earnings will be more or less offset by the increased cost of living. It is possible that there will be a turning of many agricultural workers toward the cities, for the reason that farm

products are likely to be among the first articles to reach a normal level with the coming of peace in Europe.

The Social Democratic elements in all countries will have to meet all these problems face to face. Social Democracy gained its first real advantage at the conclusion of the Franco-German war. From a number of weak and narrow groups,

often quarreling among themselves about trifles, the Social Democratic followers almost in the twinkling of an eye were transformed into a strong and big party, increasing in power year after year. The conditions that will be present when this world war ends will permit of further advances and influences leading up to final victory.

Critical Moments

By L. Slonimski

In Wjstnek Europe (The News of Europe) for July L. Slonimski, one of Russia's most widely read authorities on international problems, publishes an article entitled "Critical Moments," in which he considers the attitude of the Allies to Germany.

IT is quite clear that the war was deliberately prepared by the German leaders, and that Germany has been and is still in the exceptional position of occupying herself at once with culture and with armament.

What other countries considered an inevitable evil, forced on them by international relationships, Germany considered as a very important problem, an object of great anxiety, whose interest lay in itself. The other countries did not notice sufficiently what was going on in Germany, her militaristic tendencies, and how for forty years she was perfecting an organization equipped with the most modern and scientific arms known to warfare.

Other nations were forced to arm, but Germany alone aimed for the active preparedness that would permit her to attack her neighbors at any moment. This was something the other powers of Europe did not expect. They considered German militarism as something extraordinary, indeed, but to be disposed of by the matter of fact explanation of traditional custom. But what was looked on as part of a political system developed, to the surprise of the rest of Europe, into a system of war. The spectacle of Germany's preparedness was the first lesson

of the war. We found out then what Germany, armed for attack where others were armed for defense, had accomplished without one of her neighbors being aware of it. It is only now that we realize that it was for the purposes of her Generals that Prussia expended 480,000,000 marks on her railways in 1912.

The most notable feature of Germany's preparedness, however, was her production of arms and ammunition. In this she had no rival among all the other nations, and it is now our task to catch up with her on her own lines. With sufficient stores of ammunition in the hands of the Allies, the war would quickly be transferred from their territory to that of their enemy—and ended there.

Germany set aside her people's money before the war, and stored up her ammunition before the war. The Allies have to answer their questions of finance and armament with the war actually in progress—their success will depend entirely on the effort they can put forth to arrange these essential matters under redoubled difficulties.

At the beginning of the war the importance of these material problems was not sufficiently realized. The press was mainly occupied with analyzing and examining the ethical causes of Europe's unexpected catastrophe. On this account the discussions of foreign and Russian writers concluded with the idea that the Allies would win through the strength of their righteousness. * * *

Emil Bodrero, the philosopher, predicts the fall of Germany on historical

grounds. "Germany is doomed because her mission in the history of civilization is ended. The quota of her great services to humanity having been completed, she must yield her place to others. Not only militarism will perish, but the entire era will take on a new aspect—the down-trodden masses replacing the men who hold the power in our civilization today. From this broader viewpoint, then, let us

not desire the downfall of Germany, remembering that to the minds of her patriots the work of England and France is as much ended as we think hers is." Each nation naturally exaggerates its ethical superiority over the others. We are no exception to the rule, and one of our great problems for the future must be the abolition of narrow-minded nationalism.

Warsaw and Kovno

By K. Shumskavo

As an example of the type of war correspondence published in Russia, we give an extract from an article in No. 32 of Neva, (The Field,) a weekly of Petrograd. K. Shumskavo, the author, is Neva's special representative at the front.

AS is well known, the fortress of Warsaw was vacated almost immediately after the Japanese war, and to have defended the old fortress at present would have been utterly disadvantageous for us.

When the enemy reached a point seven versts from Warsaw he began to bombard the city. Prince Luitpold of Bavaria commanded the German forces. On our side a decision was quickly reached that it would be better not to defend the capital than to suffer the damage it would incur from prolonged shelling.

So the evacuation of Warsaw was begun. The departure of our troops was extremely difficult, as the northern German army was hurrying down from Lomsha and Ostrow. The southern army, headed by Mackensen, rushed on to Brest. Our rear guard fought stubbornly against enemies attacking from both north and south. Meanwhile a new line of defense was calmly being formed between the Niemen and the Bug, with two strong supporting points on the wings. Brest on the left wing and Kovno on the right wing.

When the enemy pressed on toward the new line to surround the Kovno region, he met with vigorous resistance and

was stopped. It then became evident that Germany's one means of succeeding was to storm Kovno itself. The adventure was a serious one, for Kovno is a fortress of the first class, and the number of lives it cost the Germans was enormous. Nevertheless they did take the chain of forts surrounding Kovno, though the weakening of their field armies which this necessitated was attended with grave consequences for them. It is evident that the wider the circle of forts the more troops must be sent to surround them. Hence a violent effort was made by the enemy at Kovno to narrow the ring, as he was continuously subjected to attacks from Novo Georgievsk and Brest.

A few words will make clear the reason for the final abandonment of the fortress of Kovno. If the commander cannot preserve the forts from destruction, it is more reasonable to preserve the garrison at least for the field army, and not allow a siege in which the garrison might be lost, as in the case of Przemyśl, where 170,000 Austrians were forced to capitulate.

A fort has to hold out at least till the return of the field army. When the latter shows no sign of approaching in time, and the fort is bound to fall, strategy demands the evacuation of the fortress and the garrison retreats. In general, one of the questions which modern military art has to consider most carefully is that of continuing the defense of a fortress or of withdrawing its garrison in time.

"The Balkan Bag"

The difficulty of getting articles showing the true state of feeling among Russians is caused by the censorship of the Russian press, which goes to lengths of repression and to severity of punishment unknown in any other country. We accordingly give an article published by the Nowe Miere, (New World,) one of the most important Russian journals of America. "The Balkan Bag" is an editorial which appeared on Oct. 9, 1915.

NOT long ago a conference of representatives of the Social Democrats of all the Balkan States was held in Bucharest. In brotherly agreement, though debating with great animation, they defined the best plan for development among their nations. Among the Balkan peoples, they affirmed, there is no enmity. They have no reason for war among themselves, except those furnished them by the treacherous politics of the classes who try to make the Governments extend their boundaries over the land of their neighbors. And even this only occurs through the submission of the Balkans to the shameful yoke of the great European plunderers. This is the true voice of the conscious proletarians of the Balkan States.

Bulgaria betrayed unhappy Serbia with hellish cold-bloodedness. But at the same time she betrayed her own national weakness: the inability to resist the greedy appetite of the great plunderers. The Balkan Social Democrats had that in mind when they said that the politics of the dominating classes was treacherous. Did the Bulgarian Nation do this? Does it sympathize with the politics of treason? Once for all—no. The power of the King and that of the reigning party of the capitalists are responsible. It is quite consistent for the desires of the capitalists of Bulgaria, making for economic superiority, to be so in harmony with the plans of King Ferdinand, who dreams of ruling the Balkan Peninsula. The small nations will not be able to resist their destruction, as the selfish aims of the dominating classes separate them into hostile camps. It is the rivalry of these nations (which should be allies) which throws them together like cats in a bag—to destroy one another.

In this darkness there is only one possible ray of light: proletarian self-consciousness. Between the persecuted, between victims, there can be no enmity. The proletarians of the Balkans said so on the very eve of the war.

The Opponents' Losses and Gains

In an article on "High Finance and a Premature Peace," appearing in The Nineteenth Century and After for September, Edgar Crammond says:

AT the end of twelve months of war the central powers find themselves in the following position:

- (a) They have occupied 70,000 square miles of enemy territory.
- (b) They have captured 7,000 to 8,000 guns and 2,000 to 3,000 machine guns.
- (c) They claim to have captured 1,695,000 prisoners of war, (in all probability a great number of civilians are included in this total.)
- (d) They have inflicted losses upon the

enemy aggregating about 5,800,000 men, including prisoners of war.

On the other hand, the Central Powers

- (a) Have lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners at least 5,700,000 men.
- (b) They have lost the greater part of their Colonial Empire aggregating 1,000,000 square miles.
- (c) They have lost their entire Overseas commerce.

We know the distress and agony of mind caused in our own immediate circles by the death and maiming of our loved ones. We also know that the British losses up to July 18 aggregated 329,895. Allowing for the difference

between the population of the German Empire and that of the United Kingdom with the Overseas Dominions, the German losses are about eight times as large as the British. It is impossible to believe that these frightful losses are not having a terrifying effect upon the mind of the German people. They are learning in blood and in tears that war is bad business. In addition to the loss of 3,000,000 men and the destruction of her Colonial Empire Germany has pretty well used up the war material accumulated during the past forty years. She has added already £1,000,000,000 to her national debt. She has aroused against her the active and abiding hatred, so far as this generation is concerned, of nearly one-third of the people of the world. This hatred is certain to find expression in the restriction of future trade with Germany. Above all, the central powers, after making all these sacrifices and incurring such frightful losses, have not been able to obtain a decision in any theatre of the war, and they find ringed around their frontiers many millions more armed men and better equipped men than they had to contend with at the end of the first month of the war.

The prolongation of the war through another Winter will destroy Prussian militarism. Germany's supplies of raw materials for her manufactures are approaching exhaustion at the same time

that her supplies of certain indispensable war materials are running out. Her reserves of men of military age are also within sight of exhaustion. When the facts of the situation are realized by the great mass of the German people the whole economic fabric, which is based upon belief in the success of German arms, will collapse, the war spirit of the German people will be broken, and there will be an economic upheaval in Germany such as the world has never witnessed.

The rulers of Germany are not fools. They recognize the danger of her position. They are past masters of the game of "bluff," and they are trying to "bluff" the world. They know that it would be against the interest of "High Finance" that Germany should be crushed, because many profitable channels of intercourse between the different countries of the world would be eliminated. For these reasons I am convinced that "High Finance" will exert all its influence to prevent Germany from being completely crushed.

In order to show the suffering and destruction which Prussian militarism has already brought upon the world I have prepared the two following tables. The first shows the estimated number of killed, wounded, and missing, including prisoners, in the first twelve months of the war, and the second table shows the losses and destruction in terms of money during the same period:

ALLIED POWERS.

Power.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing and Prisoners.	Total.
Russia	900,000	1,600,000	1,000,000	3,500,000
*France	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000
†Great Britain	69,713	196,994	63,188	329,895
Belgium	47,000	160,000	40,000	247,000
Serbia	64,000	112,000	40,000	216,000
Italy .....	.....	.....	.....	60,000
Total for Allies.....	1,480,713	2,768,994	1,443,188	5,752,895

CENTRAL POWERS.

Power.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing and Prisoners.	Total.
Germany	900,000	1,800,000	400,000	3,100,000
Austria-Hungary	600,000	1,100,000	800,000	2,500,000
Turkey	46,000	100,000	30,000	176,000
Total	1,546,000	3,000,000	1,230,000	5,776,000
Grand total	3,026,713	5,768,994	2,673,188	11,528,895

*Figures based on official appeal of the French Relief Society.

†Official figures, including navy lists, Aug. 22, 1914—July 18, 1915.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT COST OF WAR JULY 31, 1914, TO JULY 31, 1915.*
(In thousands of pounds, 000s omitted.)

Power.	Direct Expenditure of Govern- ment.	Destruc- tion of Property.	Capitalized Value of Loss of Human Life.	Loss of Production and Other Losses.	Total.
Belgium	£36,500	£250,000	£40,000	£200,000	£526,500
France	568,900	160,000	348,000	625,000	1,701,900
Russia	600,000	100,000	404,000	400,000	1,504,000
Italy	253,000	.....	.....	200,000	453,000
British Empire	700,000	.....	300,000	250,000	1,250,000
Total	£2,158,400	£510,000	£1,092,000	£1,675,000	£5,435,400
Austria-Hungary	562,000	100,000	435,000	600,000	1,697,000
Germany	1,026,000	.....	1,014,000	740,000	2,780,000
Total	£1,588,000	£100,000	£1,449,000	£1,340,000	£4,477,000
Grand total, both groups.....	£3,746,400	£610,000	£2,541,000	£3,015,000	£9,912,400

*Vide paper on "The Cost of War" read before the Royal Statistical Society, March 17, 1915.

In twelve months Prussian militarism has caused the death or maiming of nearly 9,000,000 of men and the destruction of about £10,000,000,000 (\$50,000,000,000) of the world's wealth. If Germany had been the winner of this war she would have known how to make the losers pay. The question which it is very much in the power of the British people to decide is whether Germany is to be punished or whether she is to be allowed to escape the penalty of her crime against the world because her punishment cannot be accomplished without inflicting further enormous losses upon

certain great financial interests. It is our duty to sweep aside all influences and considerations which stand in the way of the destruction of Prussian militarism. At an immense cost we have transformed our industrial organization from a commercial basis to a war basis, and we are only just beginning to reap the full benefit of this tremendous effort.

Our greatest danger now is that we may allow ourselves to be "bluffed" into a premature and inconclusive peace. We hold the winning position, and all we have to do is to stand fast with our allies.

A Year of War's Emotions

By Simeon Strunsky

(From The Atlantic Monthly for October.)

IF I were to attempt anything like a formal account of the first year of the war, the subject would naturally fall apart into campaigns and "phases," bounded by dates of day and month more or less precise. It would be the campaign in the west and the campaign in the east, the war in Belgium, the invasion of France, the battle of the Marne, the Russians in East Prussia, the Russians in Galicia, the Germans before Warsaw, the Germans across the Vistula, and so on, in orderly textbook fashion. But when I think back upon the past

months as a man and not as a war expert, the chronicle does not present itself as a succession of events and phases, but as a succession of moods and states of mind. The record I most clearly visualize is less of what was going on in Europe than of what was going on in me, and millions like myself, in reaction to the news from the battlefields and the capitals. It is a record of what people in this neutral country thought and talked about, the fluctuation of their hopes and fears, their pities and indignations, their speculations of the world-issues at stake, and their

wagers as to whether the war would end before November, 1916. For a review of this kind, maps and charts, names and dates, are of little help, though the concrete event and time underlie, of course, what may be called the psychic chronicle of the war. Such a psychic record, too, falls apart into phases and movements, but they are not always chronologically definable.

The first of the mental periods we lived through was the period of Belgian achievement as distinguished from the period of Belgian suffering. To the extent that chronology can bound a psychological state this phase ran for something like four weeks, from the first gun at Liège to Cambrai and St. Quentin. It was a time when men's hearts glowed with the vision of righteousness apparently prevailing against might, and of the unconquerable soul of man. During the first three weeks of August, it seemed as if David and Goliath had returned and the colossus of Europe had been shattered by a pigmy. * * *

There followed a period of severe psychic reaction which I think of as the Sayville or von Kluck period. After four weeks of isolation, Germany was in touch with her wireless towers on Long Island, and the first news she gave to the world was that force, after all, was having its own way against righteousness. Already we knew that Brussels had fallen, but that, we said, was largely for strategic reasons, or, at worst, because of a delay in the approach of French and British reinforcements. We had some hint, too, that the French were not doing as well as they should have done, measured by Belgium's showing, but we were not yet adept in translating the official language of the dispatches, with their vague regroupings and retirements and their confused geography.

Then, in the last days of August, Germany, by way of Sayville, announces victory on every hand—victory in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Belgian Luxemburg, victory at Charleroi, and at Mons. The iron ring is drawing tight around France, and von Kluck shoots up in the headlines. For two weeks after that the world re-

echoes to the iron-shod tramp of von Kluck. The Uhlan of the early Belgian period retires into the background and the invincible right wing sweeps on toward Paris. * * *

I think of the period which followed as the Time-against-Germany period. By this time people were aware that the work of von Moltke and Bismarck was not undone, that the German Army was what forty-five years of preparation should have made it, that the Germans were apparently winning. Only they were not winning fast enough. Time ran against the Kaiser, and we spoke of the Russian steam-roller. The Russian steam-roller came to grief in the mud of the Masurian Lakes; and, after a painful process of extrication, started lumbering back to the Niemen. But just then came the battle of the Marne, and in a trice we were again portioning out the German Empire and exiling the Kaiser to St. Helena. The formal history of the war may yet show that at the Marne the German cause failed definitely, and that the swift rebound of spirits that followed the "strategic withdrawal" of the German right wing was justified. * * *

Up to the fall of Antwerp we had not lost our faith in the human quality as against the Krupp quality. Those were the days of Joffre and Sir John French and the beginning of the four weeks' race between Joffre and the Germans for Antwerp and the shores of the North Sea. Like a child stringing beads Joffre strung territorial battalions and cavalry brigades in a chain that seemed destined to reach the Belgian fortress before the heavy German guns.

But the German guns won the race, and for months after that we were under the shadow of the 42-centimeter. German generalship had been outwitted, but German brute strength was in the ascendant. Sixteen-inch guns, caterpillar wheels, motor traction, we saw little else. Just as during mobilization days the imaginative correspondents saw endless lines of troop trains pouring across Cologne bridge or shunted back to East Prussia, so now they followed the itinerary of the Krupp howitzers. Where the guns came they would conquer. How

soon would the Germans have them before Verdun? * * *

While Kitchener was gathering his millions for the Spring drive and the armies lay watchful but inert in the ditches, the deadlock gave us leisure for a campaign which I believe has impressed itself on the mind of the world more vividly than the strategy and casualties of Galicia and Flanders, and which to a great many of us will be the real war years after dates and names have sunk into obscurity. Who now can place Liaoyang and Mukden within their month or even the year? Who was Kodama? Who was Nodzu? Who, to answer instantaneously, was Kuroki? But we still remember Samurai and Bushido, Japanese loyalty and superstition, hara-kiri, Emperor worship, Elder Statesmen. So in the present war what will be longest remembered, I dare say, are not the battles and campaigns, but the passions far behind the battle line. While Kitchener was drilling his men there raged the Battle of the Multi-colored Books—white books, yellow books, orange books, blue books, green books, red books—these being the Truth as revealed to the Foreign Offices of the various nations. * * *

Simultaneously with the battle of the books there raged the battle of the professors and the poets. In this Kultur campaign the Germans displayed their characteristic organization, discipline, and determination, but on the whole it was a defensive fight. The assault was delivered by the Allies. It was they who began the attack on Kultur after Louvain, and Professors Ostwald, Haeckel, attacked. The allied bombardment was attacked. The Allied bombardment was first directed against Fort Bernhardt, as I have shown in a former article. When that position was in a fair way of being demolished and the paper editions of Bernhardt, as I have pointed out, were selling as low as 10 cents, the allied fire was trained against Fort Treitschke. The Germans in Fort Treitschke held out rather well, but the Allies masked that strong position and concentrated the fire of their batteries on Fort Nietzsche. That position is still under siege. * * *

It was sapping tactics that were chiefly

brought into play by the Allies in the battle of Kultur. The entire German position was undermined. "Let us see," said the allied scientists, professors, historians, scholars, "what are the real claims of these German professors, technicians, text-editors, dictionary-makers, and coal-tar specialists, whose authority we have hitherto acknowledged without question, and whose example we have humbly tried to imitate." And it at once appeared that German science and learning, was a Kultur of mediocrity, a middleman, parasitic, sweat-and-grub Kultur, which made its profits by working over the tailings thrown up by the pioneer delvers of other nations, which rushed in its disciplined Teuton hordes only where some great alien had shown the way, which originated little and borrowed everywhere. The roll of the great discoverers and inventors was called, and nearly every time it appeared that it was an Englishman, or a Frenchman, or an Italian, or even a Russian, to whom we owed the basic ideas of progress. All of German progress was coal-tarred with the same brush of imitation. Bacon, Harvey, Newton, Descartes, Lavoisier, Faraday, Pasteur, Becquerel, Benedetto Croce, Mendeleef, were found to be the real foundation of German greatness. * * *

As I write, phase after phase of the great conflict suggests itself, almost without end, and always they are phases of emotion, phases of mind, attitudes, hopes, fears, exultation, depression. There was the period when Germany was to be starved into surrender, and the period when England's empire was on the verge of ruin. There were months when neutrality held us absorbed, the neutrality of Rumania, of the Balkans, of Italy, of the Balkans again, of Rumania once more. There were the days when we lay under the pall of the Lusitania, as dry-wrung of emotions as no event to come can conceivably leave us; it will not yet bear thinking about or writing about. There is the phase which is dominant at this moment of writing—the munition phase. * * *

But there is one psychic phase of the

war which rose to consciousness after the first weeks, which maintained its poignancy throughout the vicissitudes of months, and which, though not so often talked about now or written about, needs only be mentioned to reassert its grip on our hearts. This is the sorrow of Belgium. Though the end of the war may bring about the reconstruction of Europe, though empires may fall and nations lose their existence, the great chapter in the chronicle as it will present itself to the men of the future will be the story of how Belgium suffered. After a year of war, and 10,000,000 men in the casualty lists, and dramatic swayings of the battle line across ruined countrysides—Flanders, Galicia, the blood-soaked plains of Champagne; after Zeppelin and submarine, yes, even after the *Lusitania*, which to so many of us came as a lurid precipitant of doubts and opinions, one need only mention Louvain to find the emotional centre of this dreadful year. The treaty of peace may perhaps bring about a clearing of judgment on all other questions, an agreement of minds, a dissipation of misunderstandings. Peace will come presumably on the basis of give and take. But there is

one clause on which there can be no compromise between the German mind and the mind of the world, and that is Belgium.

What many of us have said about the limitations of German imagination may be wrong. But the behavior of the German mind with regard to Belgium is something which can never be disposed of in any reconciliation. We may put aside and forget the one mad act in a clean life, the one puerile weakness in a great mind. The invasion of Belgium might be such an act of aberration if it were not for the persistent German apology for the treatment of Belgium. Only it is not apology: it is a sort of puzzled wonder on the part of Germany why the world should feel as it did, as it does, about the sufferings of a nation. The invasion of Belgium and the violated scrap of paper might have been forgotten and forgiven, but Germany's persistent plaint that she has been misunderstood about Louvain, misunderstood about *francs-tireurs*, about ransoms of cities, cannot be forgotten. If by this time the German mind cannot understand the world's feeling about Belgium, it never will.

Areas Conquered by the Germans

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington Sept. 22, 1915, said:

A German estimate of the physical results of the first year of the European war was received by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce today, in a report from the American Association of Commerce and Trade of Berlin. The report said:

"It is of interest at the close of the first war year to record the amount of hostile territory occupied by the belligerents. In regard to prisoners taken only German data are available. The territory occupied by the Allies consists of: In Galicia, 3,861 square miles; in Alsace-Lorraine, 405 square miles; a total of 4,266 square miles. This territory is about the size of the State of Connecticut.

"The territory occupied by the central powers consists of: In Belgium, 11,197 square miles; in France, 8,108 square miles; in Russia, 50,197 square miles; a total of 69,502 square miles. This territory is about the size of the State of Missouri and about one-third the size of the German Empire."

The estimate fixed the number of prisoners taken by the central powers at 1,694,869, of which 8,790 are officers, and the number of guns captured at 8,000 field pieces and 3,000 machine guns.

The Spirit of Russia

By M. Rodzianko, President of the Russian Imperial Duma; P. L. Barck, Russian Minister of Finance, and M. Goremykin, President of the Russian Council of Ministers

The subjoined addresses made at the last convention of the Imperial Russian Duma were translated in The London Times of Sept. 18, 1915. Referring to them editorially, The London Times said: "All these utterances recognize the difficulties with which Russia is faced in her hour of supreme trial; all pay touching and well-earned tribute to the noble self-sacrifice of the armies and fleets of the Czar; all breathe the same quiet spirit of confidence in the ultimate success of his arms. More particularly we would direct attention to the speech of the President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, which should be read and pondered by all who wish to understand the spirit of the Russian people. The war, which has inspired many noble utterances from the statesmen of the allied nations, has produced none more lofty than this. As a masterpiece of unstudied eloquence, not even the magic oratory of M. Viviani has surpassed it. But it is more to us than a great emotional appeal to the members of the Duma, and through them to all the subjects of the Czar, whom they represent. It is more than a message of serene confidence to us and to our other allies. It is a manifestation, a revealing of the innermost heart of Russia, an unfolding of the psychology of the people, in which all who have understanding may read the reasons—those qualities of heart and head which led to the discomfiture of Napoleon, and that long line of tyrants before him, who sought to enslave a great, free people, and which will as surely lead to the overthrow of the Kaiser and his grandiose schemes of conquest."

Russia's Heart

By M. Rodzianko

President of the Imperial Duma

Opening the Imperial Duma on Aug. 1, 1915, M. Rodzianko made this address:
Members of the Imperial Duma!

TODAY has passed a year of most sanguinary war, replete with arduous sacrifices. The bloody conflict of the nations has not yet ceased and nobody yet can know when it will cease. This war is unprecedented in difficulties and sacrifices, but the greater the danger the greater grows our determination to carry it to the only possible conclusion—our decisive victory over the foe. For the solution of this problem is now demanded from the entire country the utmost exertion of strength and complete unity.

In these days of unrest and danger our great Emperor, meeting this entire national need half way and wishing to listen to the voice of the Russian land, has commanded the Imperial Duma to be convened, with firm faith in the inexhaustible strength of Russia. His

Majesty expects from Government and public institutions, from Russian industry, and from all the loyal sons of our native land, without distinction of views and position, united harmonious labor for the needs of our valiant army. On this sole all-national problem, as written in the Imperial Rescript, must hereafter be concentrated all the thoughts of a Russia united and invincible in its unity. In the complete and clear understanding of the profound meaning of this great imperial summons, the Imperial Duma embarks upon its responsible labors.

To the reconstructed Government you will speak your truthful word, which will be indispensable for the elucidation of the facts, and all our debates, perhaps even stormy ones, will lead to a salutary end—the elimination of difficulties that have arisen. And in our most heated discussions I am sure we shall not forget that there on the field

of battle, the living sword of our native land, menacing the foe and humble before God, in all its majestic tranquillity stands the Russian Army, harmonious, strong in will and spirit, and that it will not permit the Russian soil to be defiled. Our brave fleet will not yield to it in this. Let our antagonists know of this and let them not console themselves with transitory successes. For an entire year, without leaving the battle line, the rain of shells and the hail of bullets, the army has proudly borne aloft the sacred Russian standard, and with its blood is defending the honor of our native land under the onslaught of the foe. Stand fast, our dear warriors, for the faith, the Czar, and holy native land, and let our prayers and blessings be with you. The crafty and heartless foe well appreciated your might and power and, now directing the principal portion of his hosts against us, knows no bounds to his malicious inventiveness in the means of destruction. But you have not been intimidated by these infernal efforts, and more than once already have given brilliant proof of this. Profound reverence to you, our own brave warriors!

Greetings also to you on today's anniversary of the war, our faithful allies! Twelve months of war have still more closely consolidated our friendship and strengthened our trust and mutual understanding. We send the salute of the Russian land also to our new ally, the heroic Italian people. May success and glory accompany them in the field of battle and may their standards be crowned with the unfading laurels of victory!

It is also our duty to send words of sympathy and consolation to our brother Poles, who have received to a considerably greater degree than the inhabitants of other regions the blows of the cruel foe. Deprived of their dwellings, ruined and reduced to beggary, remaining true to their great Mother Russia, with redoubled energy they are helping our valiant troops wherever they can. It is our duty, gentlemen of the Duma, to note this civic valor and to tell our brothers in blood that the shocks and horrors of the war borne in fraternal unity have united

us strongly together and that we shall help the Government in every way in those measures which shall make them forget the grief and suffering undergone.

The war through which we are passing is no longer a duel of armies, but imperatively calls for the participation therein of all our people. And in their common endeavor and harmonious, united organized labor lies the pledge of the success of our troops over the insolent foe. Holy Russia has lived all this year with a single desire—the desire for a living and indissoluble tie with the army which has drawn fiery inspiration therefrom. The work of our public efforts for the past year, intense but restricted within certain bounds, was favored with notable appreciation from the summit of the throne, and if these labors have actually lightened our army's difficult task of conflict with a cruel antagonist, then it must be said here with pride and a feeling of profound satisfaction that for this difficult and responsible time the public forces of Russia have indited a splendid page in the history of their national existence. But these, their efforts and labors inspired with love for native land, are still far from sufficient. The needs of the war are constantly growing, and from the summit of the throne has resounded afresh the summons to increased labors and new sacrifices. Our duty, sparing neither strength nor time nor means, is to set to work without delay. Let each one give his labor into the treasury of popular might. Let those who are rich, let those who are able, contribute to the welfare of the whole country. Both the army and the navy are setting us all an example of dauntless fulfillment of duty; they have accomplished all that was in human power; our turn has now arrived and the now united public strength, working ceaselessly, I am sure can supply the army with all that is necessary for its further martial exploits. But for the success of these responsible public labors, in addition to the benevolent attitude of individuals, placed at the head of departments, a change of the spirit itself and the administration of the ex-

isting system is necessary. I firmly believe, gentlemen of the Imperial Duma, that at the present arduous time the reconstituted Government will not hesitate to place at the basis of its activity a trustful and responsive attitude toward the demands of public forces, summoning them thereby to common harmonious labor for the glory and happiness of Russia.

Gentlemen of the Imperial Duma! Such are the great tasks which have risen up before us in their full stature. Do not forget that upon the issue of our labors for the assistance of the army depends the greatness of independent, absolute, and resuscitated Russia, while in the event of their failure, both grief and humiliation may threaten her. But no, our great Mother Russia will never be the slave of anybody! Russia will fight till the last, till the complete downfall of the contemptible foe. The foe will be defeated, and until then there cannot be peace. Gentlemen, national representa-

tives, at this great and terrible hour of trial we here must display the mighty national spirit in all its greatness. The country is awaiting a reply from you. Away with unnecessary doubts! We must fight to the end and to the last soldier capable of bearing arms. We must be strong in profound faith in the mighty Russian warrior.

We trust in thee, Holy Russia, in thy inexhaustible spiritual resources, and let this encouraging voice of the entire Russian soil penetrate thither into the glorious Russian Army and into the midst of the gallant fleet, and let our glorious defenders, the army and navy, know that Russia, harmonious, united in one with her army, burning with a single wish and a single thought, will oppose to the hostile attack the steel breasts of her sons.

Gentlemen of the Imperial Duma! Here among us are present the hero leader of this war, the valiant, revered by all, Adj. Gen. Ruzsky, and many wounded heroes.

The Trials of the War

By M. Goremykin

President of the Russian Imperial Council of Ministers

At the sitting of the Imperial Russian Duma on Aug. 1, 1915, M. Goremykin delivered the following address:

GENTLEMEN of the Imperial Duma, his Imperial Majesty has graciously commanded me to appear before you in his name with greetings and the wish for the complete success of your forthcoming responsible and important legislative labors for the welfare of our deeply-loved Russia.

At these words the members of the Imperial Duma rose in their seats and the strains of the national hymn filled the hall.

On the proposal of the President, the Imperial Duma unanimously resolved to send his Imperial Majesty a telegram with the expression of its loyal feeling.

The President of the Council of Ministers continued:

The day of the renewal of your labors

coincides with the anniversary of our declaration of war. On the occasion of the prorogation of the labors of the Imperial Duma, at the beginning of the year, till November, the Government foresaw that in accordance with the course of events, the convocation of the legislative institutions might prove indispensable before that date. The time for the same has now arrived. The trials sent us by the war have torn you from your service in the army, from work in the Red Cross, public activity in the provinces, and, in short, from your private affairs. We will look the truth squarely in the face and frankly recognize that the war threatens to be protracted and requires ever fresh efforts and sacrifices. Having decided without any hesitation to make them, the Government, nevertheless, deems it its duty and feels the moral need finally to select

this path in complete accord with the legislative institutions. This need, besides all other grounds, explains your summons now, in order to inform you of the true position of affairs and together with you elucidate all methods for the speedy subjugation of the foe.

Since the time of the national war (1812) Russia has not undergone such days. "A ferocious, bloody, ruinous war, * * * in magnitude of armaments and in vicissitudes of circumstances unlike any of the wars hitherto known in history." These words of the historic manifest of Emperor Alexander I. might relate in their entirety to our own time. Then—the year 1812—opened for Russia, after unprecedented shocks, also new and unprecedentedly wide paths to life and glory. The subsequent course of the present war and its end are as yet hidden from us, as from the whole world. Nevertheless, true to the great past of Russia, we gaze into the future with tranquil firmness. The present situation is only a moment of our history.

But, besides firmness and tranquillity, the course of the war requires from us a tremendous, an extraordinary, uplifting of the spirit and strength. The war has shown that we had insufficiently prepared for it in comparison with our foe. Having accumulated, under the treacherous guise of friendship and peace, illimitable stores of military equipment, he threw himself upon us at the most convenient time for himself in the panoply of war technique. Our allies are mighty, but, like ourselves, are peace-loving powers, who have gone far beyond us in the sphere of industrial technique, and yet they, too, proved to be taken unawares in this stupendous conflict. The complete exertion of the national forces is indispensable in order to repulse and crush such a foe. That which we have hitherto succeeded in doing is insufficient. Fresh efforts, the efforts of the entire people, are necessary, and, in the imperial words, the whole country is now summoned to intense public labor. To your consideration the Government, in its turn, will submit only measures evoked by the needs of the war. Remaining legislative proposals, large and small,

whose object is the improvement of the peaceful conditions of Russian life, are temporarily set aside.

The first of these measures relates to the conscription of the *opolchenie* of the second category—a measure adopted by all the belligerent countries, and one which, under the existing extraordinary circumstances, is only natural. If we have not hitherto had recourse thereto, this is but an extra proof of how great are yet the stores of our human strength. The second measure also evoked by the war and the endeavor to reinforce us for a long struggle relates to the expansion of the note-issuing powers of the State Bank. The third measure has for its object to unite in a single institution and materially to extend the share of the representatives of the legislative assemblies, public institutions, and Russian industry in the business of supplying the army with munitions, the guarantee of industrial fuel, and the co-ordination of measures for the feeding of the army and the country. Experiments have been made in such enlistment of public forces for the task of defense, and have proved their vitality and suitability. This has moved the Government more extensively and strongly to weld the internal forces of the country in the task of guaranteeing the military equipment of our army and the organization of our rear. At the present time, gentlemen, there is no more fruitful task; we must all become worthy of our great, heroic army.

In this sphere, which now forms the very heart of State labor, extensive activity is assured us hereafter. Even heretofore many of us have been giving our strength to the service of the army, but only as separate individuals. Hereafter the members of the legislative institutions, elected and authorized by the Imperial Council and the Imperial Duma, are summoned to constant direct labor in the strengthening of defense through the equipment of the army, the support of industry, measures for dealing with the cost of living, i. e., to a business constituting the greatest and—for the time of war—in fact, the sole task of authority.

For routine speeches on general poli-

tics this is not the time. Work for the betterment of the peaceful conditions of Russian life lies ahead, and it will be accomplished with our direct participation. I deem it my duty today, however, to refer only to one question which, as it were, stands on the boundary between the war and our domestic affairs; this is the Polish question. Of course, this question also can be settled in its entirety only after the war. Poland now awaits first of all the emancipation of her soil from the heavy German yoke. But in these days it is important for the Polish people to know and believe that their future organization was conclusively and irrevocably predetermined by the proclamation of the Generalissimo announced with the imperial consent during the early days of the war. The knightly noble, fraternally faithful Polish people, steadfastly enduring in this war innumerable trials, evoke in our hearts the most profound sympathy and a tribute of respect which nothing can obscure. His Majesty the Emperor has deigned to authorize me to announce to you, gentlemen of the Duma, that his Majesty has commanded the Council of Ministers to draft a bill to confer upon Poland after the war the right of free organization of her national, cultural, and economic life on principles of autonomy, under the autocratic sceptre of the Russian rulers, and with the retention of a single imperial authority.

But in the composition of the great empire with its many nationalities not alone the Poles have displayed in this year of war and general trial loyalty to Russia, and in reply thereto our internal policy must be imbued with the principle of impartial and benevolent attention to the interests of all true citizens of Russia without distinction of race, language, and religion.

Let us then unite in one common labor to which in these days of military menace our Autocratic Head summons us. Let us all think of one thing—the expulsion of the enemy from our territory and his defeat, to the glory of the Emperor and Fatherland. And that victory sooner or later will be ours the Government unfalteringly believes, and this belief you share, as do all beyond the walls of the Tauris Palace throughout the expanse of illimitable Russia.

The commencement of war operations was signalized here within these walls by a general outburst of enthusiasm and unprecedented unanimity. The days which have now dawned, the Government is convinced, will still more closely and deeply unite us all. May there be in Russia for the entire time of the war no parties save one—"the party of war till the end"—no program save one—to conquer. From you, gentlemen of the Imperial Duma, history awaits the answering voice of the soil of Russia.

Russia's Economies

By P. L. Barck

Russian Minister of Finance

At the sitting of the Duma on Aug. 1 the Minister of Finance, P. L. Barck, delivered the following speech:

THE past year of the greatest conflict of nations in world history clearly convinces us that success in this struggle rests upon two fundamental bases—on the valor of the army and navy, which with unlimited self-denial are de-

fending the honor and destiny of the fatherland and of the entire civilized world, and on the strength of the national and State economies necessary for satisfying the diversified material needs of each of the belligerent powers.

These needs include not only the principal and primary factors of equipment and supply of the army, but also the

extension of aid to the families of reservists left without their breadwinners, the treatment and general care of sufferers in the war, and the relief of the more acute wants of the population of localities which have experienced the destructive force of the war. At the same time, the various requirements and demands of State life have to be maintained as far as possible in normal channels.

The successful fulfillment of these varied demands, in view of the unprecedented numbers of the armies in the field and the exceptional intensity with which the conflict is being conducted, imposes upon all the nations participating in the present war enormous financial burdens, and involves a series of profoundly difficult and complicated problems which their Governments have to solve in the search for indispensable resources. We succeeded, however, not only in solving these problems, but also in finding in sources of popular labor an abundance of means for the replenishment in the State budget of the shortage caused by the surrender of one of our largest classes of State receipts—the liquor revenue—a surrender which, following the magnanimous call of our Emperor, we made calmly and without doubts, firmly believing in the inexhaustible working power of the Russian people.

Let me first of all present you data regarding the scope of the demand for money called forth by the war, in finding which there were not, and could not be, either hesitation or insuperable obstacles.

Our appropriations for military needs from the commencement of the war operations to July 15 (28) of the current year amount to 6,971,000,000 rubles (£735,000,000); there has been expended of these appropriations up to July 1 (14), according to preliminary calculations, 5,456,000,000 rubles (£576,000,000), or on an average at the rate of 15,700,000 roubles (£1,657,000) actual outlay per day, while in the future we shall have to reckon on a daily expenditure of not less than 19,000,000 rubles (£2,000,000).

The war, which has caused this previously unknown extraordinary outlay, could not but cause an appreciable reduction in the receipts of revenue. In the fulfillment of the State budget for 1914, notwithstanding the curtailments effected under expenditures, an excess of expenditures was shown over receipts to the amount of 478,200,000 rubles, or £50,000,000, (covered by the free cash reserve,) without, of course, counting the outlays evoked by the circumstances of war time which are effected by special arrangement.

The deficit of revenue for the past year, in comparison with estimate proposals, amounts to 673,600,000 rubles (£71,000,000). The figures are enormous. Nevertheless, a big budget deficit for the time of the war has become the lot of all the belligerent powers.

The largest share of the deficit in 1914, amounting to 432,800,000 rubles (£45,600,000) against the estimate proposals, relates to the receipts from the State liquor operations. As the result of the measures adopted during the first half of the past year for the inculcation of temperance among the population, the liquor revenue, instead of its usual rapid growth, showed a reduction for the first six months of 1914, while the complete suspension of the sale of State liquor on the commencement of the war necessitated almost the entire exclusion of receipts from these operations from the budget. The principal portion of our deficit was thus the consequence, not of elementary causes, but the fruit of conscious will—a deficit the appearance of which under such conditions cannot and must not disquiet us.

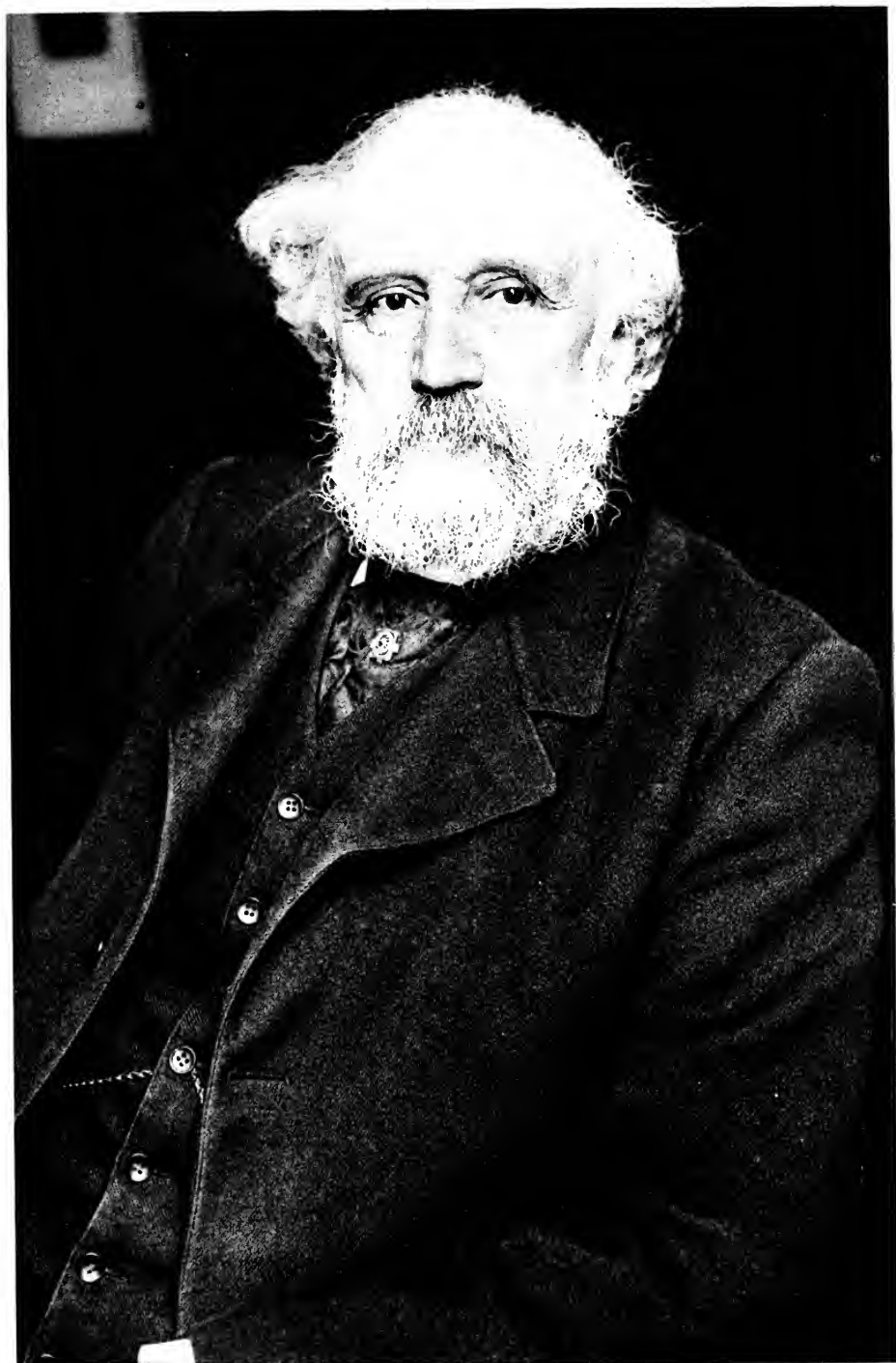
The effect of the same factors lowering the receipts of ordinary revenue of necessity asserts itself during the current year also. In drafting the budget for the present year there was discounted, on the one hand, the increase of revenue from taxable resources, and, on the other, the expenditures were computed with special reserve, thanks to which, for the balancing of the budget, both under ordinary and extraordinary heads, it was necessary to assign 60,800,000 rubles, (£6,417,000,) on account

of credit operations. For the first third of the present year the receipts of revenue amounted to 753,000,000 rubles, (£79,450,000,) or 31 per cent. less than during the same interval of the preceding year. The figure includes 79,000,000 rubles from the introduction of new and the increase of existing taxes. The receipts from other sources amounted to 674,000,000 rubles, (£71,150,000.) Taking into consideration that the receipts for the first third of the year ordinarily constitute about 29 per cent. of the annual total, it may be assumed that for the entire year the receipts from previous sources will amount to about 2,308,000,000 rubles, (£243,617,000,) or 89 per cent. of the sum computed for the State Budget of 1915, while the receipts of new taxes will reach 488,000,000 rubles, (£51,510,000.) Thus we may expect a total of 2,796,000,000 rubles (£295,021,000) of ordinary revenue for the current year, 336,000,000 rubles, (£35,466,000,) less than was entered in the budget. It should, nevertheless, be noted that of this anticipated deficit 160,000,000 rubles (£16,888,000) falls to non-receipts of revenue from the State liquor operations and the liquor excise. But since to cover the deficit for 1914 a balance of 81,000,000 rubles (£8,550,000) for 1915 was carried forward from the free cash reserve, while of the ordinary expenditures in the 1915 budget 496,000,000 rubles, (£52,354,000,) for the feeding the army and navy is now assigned to the War Fund, on the basis of expected revenue, the ordinary budget for the present year may conclude without a deficit and even perhaps give a small balance. Thus by means of credit operations will be covered the outlays on the maintenance of the army and navy and on other war needs.

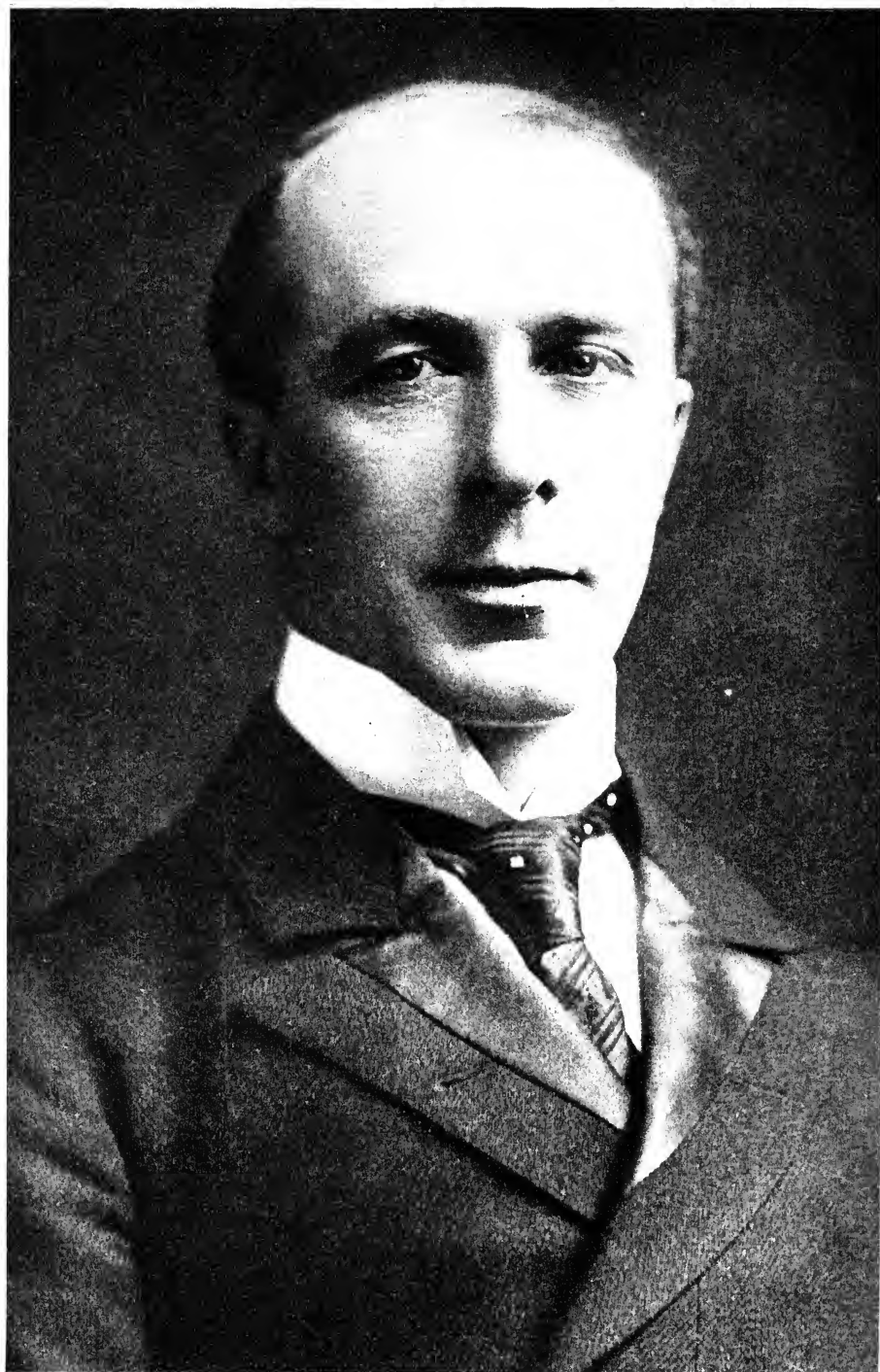
As regards forthcoming war expenditures besides those already effected, with the constant numerical growth of the armies and of the outlays on replenishment, and the creation of new means of material equipment of the armed forces, both our allies and foes and we ourselves will have to experience a further increase of the demands made upon the State Treasury. Under such conditions

our war expenditures from June 1, 1914, till the end of the current year, according to an approximate calculation, may amount to 4,066,000,000 rubles, (£429,188,000,) and a total of 7,242,000,000 rubles, (£764,233,000,) for 1915, or with the addition of the disbursements already effected, more than 9,500,000,000 rubles, (£1,002,700,000.)

Our financial mobilization was undertaken calmly. Having at our disposal a stock of free cash exceeding half a milliard rubles, (£53,777,000,) amassed during years of peaceful prosperity, we were able to cover the expenditure required to place the army on a war footing and then to undertake the creation of extraordinary resources for the satisfaction of the continuously growing State outlays. The foremost place in the ranks of these measures belongs to credit operations, since the steps simultaneously made in the direction of the curtailment of the granted appropriations and the increase of customary receipts from taxable sources necessarily acquired preponderant importance as means to cover the deficit in our revenue budget. The effected reduction of credits sanctioned by the budgets of 1914 and preceding years and the most careful possible computation of the expenditures under the budget of 1915 were nevertheless inadequate to square without a deficit a budget which contemplated peace time expenditure. It was necessary to reckon with an unavoidable deficit in our receipts, chiefly owing to the surrender of the liquor revenue. To make good this deficit the simplest method was to have recourse to State credit. Preserving, however, our accessible sources of borrowing for the satisfaction of our military needs, we sought means for the reduction of the deficit under the ordinary budget in the increase of receipts from taxable sources, with the conviction that to the call to such sacrifice—a call which in war time both we and other States not infrequently have been compelled to address to the population—the Russian Nation would respond, as always, calmly, in entire readiness to serve the welfare of their native land. The Government had in view the fact that this sacrifice



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
Finance Minister of France



REGINALD McKENNA

British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Who Reported to Parliament the Greatest
War Budget of History of \$7,950,000,000

(Photo from Bain News Service.)

for the bulk of the population would be lightened, thanks to the retention among the people of the milliard rubles, (£107,550,000,) which was formerly paid to the Exchequer in the form of liquor revenue.

In resorting to the utilization of taxable sources for the increase of the resources of the Treasury we had necessarily to forego the idea of combining the execution of this work, urgent as it was, with the simultaneous introduction of fundamental amendments into our system of taxation.

The measures urgently introduced in war time and of necessity adapted to the existing taxation system are not free from defects, and can retain their effect only until we are able to replace them with a more complete and full taxation reform. The Ministry of Finance is now drafting proposals for the reform of our taxation system, but in order to bring them into force it is essential that the legislative institutions should definitely declare their attitude toward the income tax, a bill for which was introduced into the Imperial Duma in 1907. The Ministry of Finance considers that the income tax must be the cornerstone of taxation reform, the lasting foundation whereon must be reared the more complete edifice; without this foundation, the Finance Department is convinced, no serious reform can be effected.

[The Minister then proceeded to give an account of the credit operations effected—short-term Exchequer bonds and long-term bonds.]

Let me dwell upon the growth of deposits in the savings banks. The growth of deposits in the State banks, (on account of monetary deposits and interest-bearing paper of depositors,) for the year of war amounted to (in millions of rubles):

Monetary Deposits.		Interest Bearing Paper (Securities) of Depositors.	
1914.	1915.		
July.....	— 41.7	Jan. + 55.9	} Jan.-May 82.7
Aug.....	+ 10.9	Feb. + 44.5	
Sep.....	+ 29.5	Mar. + 46.0	
Oct.....	+ 26.2	Apr. + 47.8	
Nov.....	+ 38.8	May + 50.8	
Dec.....	+ 44.8	June + 55.0	
	+108.5	+300.0	+82.7
		+382.7	

+491.2+85.6 per cent. added to deposits=576.8

The average annual growth for the last

decade amounted to 48,300,000 rubles, (£5,098,000.) The growth noted during the war is undoubtedly the result of the establishment of temperance among the people. If we compare the decline of the liquor revenue with the growth of deposits in the savings banks for the six months of 1915, we obtain the following figures:

Liquor Revenue. (In millions of rubles.)	Growth of Deposits in Savings Banks. (In millions of rubles.)
In 1915 less by—	1915.
January ... — 77.6	+ 55.9
February .. — 77.0	+ 44.5
March — 53.5	+ 46.0
April — 66.8	+ 47.8
May — 69.8	+ 50.8
June — 61.1	+ 55.0
Total —405.8	+300.0
Interest paper from Jan. 1 (14) to July 1, (14,) 1915.....	+ 82.7
	+382.7

If savings continue on the same scale we shall have for the year a growth of between 600,000,000 and 700,000,000 rubles, instead of the usual 40,000,000 to 60,000,000 rubles. With the object of further attracting popular savings into the State savings banks and their further rapprochement with the population, we have in view at the present time, with the expansion of the scope of the banks' operations, a considerable increase of their number. The principal measure in this respect must be the opening of postal institutions under volost boards, invested with the functions of savings banks.

Let me recall that in my explanations of the budget in April, 1914, I noted the tasks of the Ministry of Finance for the fulfillment of the imperial rescript of Jan. 30, (Feb. 12,) 1914, concerning the establishment of temperance among the people, in the following words: On Jan. 1, (14,) 1914, we had 8,500 savings banks and 25,300 State wineshops. The Ministry of Finance will exert all its efforts to close the wineshops and in their place open savings banks. And when the ratios are reversed 25,300 savings banks, with the same animated monetary turnover as in the wineshops, and 8,500 State wineshops, then the problem set before us will have been solved.

By command of his Imperial Majesty, all the State wineshops are now closed, and here we see what a sober Russian people means: the country is unrecognizable; shirking has diminished in the mills and the working capacity of the employes has increased; in families where not infrequently the reek of intoxication used to manifest itself in the most horrible forms the inmates breathe freely; crime has diminished; an entire revolution has taken place in the popular psychology. The greatest reform achieved by command of the Czar must now be strengthened by an entire series of measures of an ethical character in the spiritual educational sphere, where the measures of the Government, however, can bring benefit only if public institutions and organizations extend to it support in this sacred cause.

Upon the Ministry of Finance devolves the duty of guarding as far as possible the foundations upon which our pecuniary savings rest. The principal one of these is indisputably our gold security. For its protection, following the example of the majority of the belligerent States, during the first days of the war we suspended the exchange of credit notes for gold. Sight was not lost of the necessity of promoting the further attraction of gold into the coffers of the State Bank. To this end were adopted such measures as the sale of foreign exchange on easy terms by the Special Chancellory in the credit section in case of payment for the same in gold, and also measures for the facilitation of the influx of gold coin from circulation into the State Bank.

Concurrently with the above the Government entered into consideration of the question of the possible encouragement of the extensive development of our gold industry by means of the grant of tax exemptions, the facilitation of the acquisition abroad of the necessary implements for obtaining gold, and the creation of easier conditions for occupation in this industry in comparison with those under the existing law. In particular, the State Bank ameliorated the conditions of credit for gold miners. Further, an imperial ukase of Nov. 15, (28,) 1914, established material restrictions, and by a

succeeding provision of the Ministers of Finance a complete embargo was imposed upon the export of gold in popular circulation.

The influx of gold into the coffers of the State Bank for 1914-15 was as follows (in millions of rubles):

	From Jan. 1 to July 8, 1915.	From Jan. 1 to July 8, 1914.	Balance for 1915.
1. By assignment	5.7	13.6	- 7.9
2. Ingots from private banks—			
(a) Acquired	11.5	1.2	+10.3
(b) Accepted for safe- keeping	9.3	....	+ 9.3
	<u>26.5</u>	<u>14.8</u>	<u>+11.7</u>
Receipts of coin in ex- change for foreign currency and from circulation	4.0	....	+ 4.0
	<u>30.5</u>	<u>14.8</u>	<u>+15.7</u>

[The fall in the exchange value of the ruble was next discussed by the Minister.]

Foreign trade forms the Gordian knot by which is constricted the fate of our exchange question. To find a sword to sever this knot is not so easy, and only the resumption of normal conditions of international trade can unravel it. This, of course, does not absolve us from the necessity of adopting all accessible measures for the amelioration of the unfavorable state of things created in this sphere which, nevertheless, does not constitute the lot of Russia alone in this war. The measures which we have adopted for the possible mitigation of this phenomenon—for the satisfaction of the demand for foreign exchange—were directed to the acquisition of the greatest possible stock of currency by means of the realization of a series of loans on foreign markets to an amount exceeding one and a half milliard of rubles, (£158,330,000,) which were applied to cover payments on account of military orders and foreign loans, and also for the satisfaction of the needs of trade and industry.

Moreover, with a view to the speediest redemption of the ante-war indebtedness of our private credit institutions and commercial and industrial enterprises on the Paris money market, our State Bank

entered into an agreement with the Banque de France for the opening by the latter of credits amounting to 500,000,000 rubles (£52,770,000) in favor of our private credit institutions and individual commercial and industrial enterprises. A similar agreement for the opening of credits for the needs of trade and industry up to £10,000,000 was reached with the Bank of England also.

Such are the totals of what has hitherto been done in this sphere. We were able to attain these results thanks to the close financial unity which was established between the powers of the Quadruple Entente and strengthened by the agreement which took place in January this year in Paris between the Ministries of Finance of the three allied States. Postulating the common principle that all three allied powers, while availing themselves first of all of their own resources, must come to each other's help wherever this is most necessary, with the assets of which each country disposes in the greatest degree, the agreement opened for us a path for the utilization of credit in France and England, with a view to the unhindered execution of orders essential to national defense and for settlements on account of the indebtedness of our trade and industry.

The unity of aims and interests of the allied powers and their readiness to meet each other in the task of mutual support, which have found expression in the Paris agreement, serve as a pledge that in future we shall find in our allies complete preparedness to extend us useful co-operation in the business of satisfying our demand for the means of payment abroad.

Nevertheless, we also on our part must apply all measures not to increase orders abroad without extreme necessity. Unfortunately, our industry is not yet sufficiently strong to serve all our military needs, and for the fulfillment of the latter we are compelled to appeal to foreign markets. But, concurrently with this, in the huge sphere of private demands we are accustomed to buy a great deal abroad, and among the latter a large quantity of articles are far from being

of primary necessity. Now, during the heavy labor of war, every extra ruble spent abroad aggravates our payment balance, increases our foreign indebtedness, and weakens the foundations of our currency. We must remember this, and in every way strive to obtain at home in Russia all that we Russian people require. But in the task of satisfying our demands with the means available inside the country it is necessary at the present exceptional time to observe the utmost thrift. I cannot refrain from recalling the words of the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, who appealed to his fellow-citizens in private life to observe persistent thrift just now. If such a summons has resounded in England, a wealthy country, where for centuries have been amassed large stores of private capital, then all the more necessary is this summons among us in Russia, a land poor in capital. Let us be thrifty at home, let us remember that all means must be directed to one end—to create everything indispensable to crush the foe encroaching upon our native land.

In dwelling upon another phenomenon which is engaging public attention in the sphere of economic interests, the rise in prices, it must be pointed out that the increased cost of the bulk of commodities under the influence of the war constitutes a phenomenon common to both the belligerent and many neutral States. In England the prices of grain products have risen 55 to 80 per cent., sugar 72 per cent., and coal 50 to 80 per cent. In France the price of cereals has risen 9 to 42 per cent., sugar 35 to 50 per cent., and meat 20 to 30 per cent. Even in the United States grain products have gone up in price from 30 to 85 per cent., copper 44 per cent., and sugar on several markets almost to 50 per cent. The explanation of this universal phenomenon of contemporary economic life, especially as regards the belligerent States, must be sought primarily in the disturbance of commercial transactions and industrial activity under the influence of the war in general and, in particular, owing to those extraordinary measures which the belligerents are obliged to adopt for the uninterrupted equip-

ment of their armies. These causes have exerted their influence among us also; nevertheless, the rise in prices observed among us on the whole does not exceed the bounds with which our allies are required to reckon. Besides the aforesaid natural, elementarily operating, and insuperable factors which are evoking this phenomenon, it is also developing under the influence of several artificial causes the necessity for the abrogation of which is an object of the special attention of the Government, whose measures, however, can lead to definite results only in case the Government finds the friendly support of public institutions and organizations.

In adopting measures for the discovery of means indispensable for the satisfaction of the demands called forth by the war, the Government must at the same time concern itself with the extension of suitable credit aid to trade, industry, and agriculture, in the shape of support of the economic life of the country in war time.

[Having referred to the operations of the State Bank, the Minister proceeded.]

Special financial measures were required for the maintenance of the productive capacity of the population of localities directly subjected to the influence of the war. In addition to active support in the way of food, seeding, and the repair of destroyed dwellings, a special organization was created to render pecuniary aid to the inhabitants of the Polish provinces and contiguous districts in order to restore the husbandry destroyed by the war. For this cause the sum of 50,000,000 rubles (£5,280,000) was assigned from the Treasury on easy, but strictly credit terms, and the State Bank was also allowed to open supplementary credits on easy terms for credit institutions of the Polish and contiguous provinces.

Attention must also be paid to the task of utilizing the curative properties of many localities of our Fatherland so lavishly endowed in this respect, principally for the treatment of sick and wounded soldiers. Besides the issue of means for the equipment of State sanatoria and the grant of loans to private

companies and individuals to encourage the development of the existing and the construction of new sanatoria, it was proposed to enlist also the loan capital of the land banks and the resources of urban and Zemstvo credit.

If to what has been said is added reference to a series of measures for the creation of easy conditions in the payment of rates and taxes for the men enlisted, and for the population of the localities suffering from the war, the establishment of reduced railway tariffs for the conveyance of military freight, the families of reservists, the removal of inhabitants of the affected localities and laborers to regions requiring the same, a general idea will have been given of the scope of the assistance extended by the State to the popular economic needs arising out of the war.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from mentioning the allowance received by families of reservists called to the colors.

The law of June 25, (July 8,) 1912, placed the care of soldiers' families upon lasting foundations. Not only the family of the enlisted man, his wife and children, but also his near kindred, father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, brothers and sisters, if they have been supported by the labor of the recruit, enjoy a monetary guarantee to the extent of the cost of the food required for normal and healthy subsistence.

Since the beginning of the war up to July 15, (28,) of the current year, about 500,000,000 rubles have been disbursed from the resources of the Treasury on alimentary aid, and careful observation testifies that, thanks to extensive State assistance proceeding hand in hand with special solicitude for recruits' families displayed by the public, inspired by the lofty example of her Imperial Majesty the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, who personally directs the activity of the High Council for the care of sufferers from the war, and their families, and of other members of the imperial household, the dependents of our soldiers, who with unexampled heroism are shedding their blood on the battlefield, are not experiencing privation.

Many other responsible tasks will be

brought to the fore in the economic sphere by the war with all its varied influence on the domestic order and the external relations of our economic state. Their fulfillment lies ahead. At present we may note with satisfaction that, however onerous the trials to which the war has subjected our peoples' husbandry, these trials have not ruptured our material forces, which in the forge have only been tempered and strengthened.

It is impossible to doubt that the Russian people will be lacking in good-will to come to the aid of the State with their resources in the hour of difficulty. There is no need to remind you that upon each of us who remain in the rear of our brave army and with trepidation follow

its martial exploits, lies the sacred duty of serving the common cause according to his strength and intelligence. But one method of serving this cause is open to the majority of us. Without hesitating to restrict personal needs and requirements, oblivious to luxury and comfort, let everybody lend his savings, however small they may be, to the State, remembering that the means confided to the Treasury in small streams will flow into a wide current from which will be drawn forces for the maintenance of the martial might of our warriors. Subduing self, subordinating personal aims to the benefit of the State, we will conquer the foe who has encroached upon the honor and majesty of our native land.

Germany's Ten War Loan Commandments

A new set of ten commandments, compiled for the encouragement of actual or potential subscribers to the third war loan, has appeared in the chief German newspapers. The commandments run as follows:

1. Thou shalt let no day pass without reflecting that money is needed to carry on the war.
2. Thou shalt not forget that thy brothers in the field, who are shedding their blood for thee, have the right to demand that thou shalt make their victory easy.
3. Thou shalt constantly remember that victory can only be won if the State be freed from all pecuniary anxiety.
4. Thou shalt bear in mind that the duty to pay is the lightest sacrifice called for by the war.
5. Thou shalt be thankful that the State offers thee in return for thy money so valuable a consideration as the 5 per cent. war loan.
6. Thou shalt bear well in mind that a 5 per cent. bond of the German Empire represents a rare opportunity, for the like of which thou wilt have to pay a much higher price later than during the period ending on Sept. 22.
7. Thou shalt appreciate the fact that with the German Empire as debtor the security of the war loan is guaranteed, and that there is no stronger guarantee in existence.
8. Thou shalt preserve the conviction that the power of the empire and its economic strength form the unshakable foundations of its credit.
9. Thou shalt make thy resolve the easier by the certain knowledge that in subscribing to the new war loan thou art not compelled to hand over any ready money.
10. Thou shalt leave thy money at the Post Office, or with some deposit or savings bank, earmarked for the war loan, and shalt thereby discover how simple a process it is made for every German to have his share in the subscription.

Latin America as It Is Today

By Julius Moritzen

WHETHER for peace or war, all signs point in the direction of co-operative measures between the republics of the Americas.

With the strengthening of the commercial bonds a new political relationship is already in sight. Subjoined will be found various expressions by leaders in their respective countries and spheres of influence. Europe's position today, as contrasted to what obtained before the war, also is brought out by what leading publicists abroad have had to say about the entrance of the United States in the world markets opened up south of the Panama Canal.

While for the present intercourse between Germany and South America has come to a standstill as a result of the European war, and the consequent disappearance from the two oceans of German warships and merchantmen, there is accumulating evidence that Germany has no intention to let go a trade which has been won through hard work only, and in the face of great competition.

One of the best evidences that at the end of the war Germany expects not only to regain its former foothold, but will strive to enlarge its field of operation is contained in the reports that come from such commercial centres as Hamburg and Bremen. In Berlin, likewise, there is considerable activity in the direction of keeping South American customers of Germany interested until the close of the war, when the Germans expect again to purvey on a large scale in tropical America.

German optimism regarding its foreign trade following the titanic struggle that centres around the continuance of Germany as a world power with colonial ambition is fairly well expressed by what Dr. Herbig, an expert on international commerce, recently wrote in the *Koelnische Zeitung*, as follows:

OPTIMISM PREVAILS.

Germany's economic outlook after the war will be far better than any of her

enemies will admit or expect it to be. While there is great suffering at present through the loss of life and the destruction of material values of tremendous importance, the Fatherland will emerge in a far better condition than any of the other belligerents.

No one can interfere with the wonderful German organization and discipline which have always been the parents of German success in every field of human activity, despite the effort of England to destroy them. But these efforts will fail, for the same forces will continue to work and advance in the ways which England wanted to bar.

Before the war we saw the course of our economic development rising steadily. All that is needed is that the same conditions should continue in order that our development should proceed in the same way and more rapidly than that of our English cousin, who saw in the encircling policy and suppression by military force the only means of stemming the expansion of Germany.

HAMBURG EXPORT TRADE.

Regarding exports to South America, Hamburg admits that business has been reduced to nil. The *Berliner Tageblatt* discusses the situation frankly in the following manner:

In times of peace the Hamburg exporters were very free in the giving of credits; as a consequence, capital is locked up in the belligerent hostile countries or in neutral countries where a moratorium has been declared. Many Hamburg exporters are, therefore, short of working capital.

It is difficult at present to judge the prospects of the export trade. Export circles in general are confident that after a certain period—though it may be some years—Germany's export will not be much worse off than before the war; in other words, that the exporters will be able to renew their old relations. In the transition period the export trade will have to contend with difficulties.

In judging the extent of the turnover after the conclusion of peace a distinction will have to be made between the products which other countries urgently require from Germany—such as dyes, Kali, sugar, semi-manufactured goods, &c.—and articles which can partly be produced elsewhere.

It may further be taken into account that consumption in all countries is restricted at present, and that on the conclusion of peace, England and North America will not be able to rely on their own productions. The sale of German machinery may be difficult for some time to come, especially in English territory. However, against eventual losses a compensation will be found in the fact that probably exports to the East and the Mohammedan world will be more extensive than before. In South America, economic conditions are gradually being restored.

COMPLAINT OF ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

Advices reaching the Berliner Tageblatt from its correspondent in Rio de Janeiro are to the effect that since the organization of the "Liga Brasileira pelos Aliados"—Brazilian League in Favor of the Allies—marked hostility has been shown German residents who have not heretofore felt themselves wrongly placed in the capital, which, generally speaking, is in favor of the Quadruple Entente. It says:

The well-known Brazilian politician, Ruy Barbosa, is at the head of this Brazilian anti-German league. He, with Irinen Machado, have made themselves the mouthpieces for the public opinion of Brazil. They have seized upon the visit of the special commission headed by M. Baudin of France as an occasion for making an accusation against Germany. It may be added that the mission, according to German-Brazilian newspapers, was far from being the success that the French papers made it out to be.

During one of the sittings of the commission from France the following was stated and sanctioned by the "Liga Brasileira pelos Aliados": The German Government violated the neutrality of Belgium; destroyed churches and libraries; levied tribute on cities; shot prisoners of war; massacred old men, women and children; has sunk merchantmen.

The Liga further accepts as fact that while Austria and Hungary and Turkey are fellow-conspirators with Germany, the latter is chiefly to blame for all that is taking place. It advises all neutrals to line up with the allied powers.

The Liga must shoulder the responsibility for these accusations. It will hardly succeed, however, to convince the public, which is now receiving the real facts about the war through daily wireless messages.

BERNHARD DERNBURG ACTIVE.

By combining the German-Argentine Central Association with the German-

Brazilian Commercial Association, the German Economical Association for South and Central America has been created as a most striking evidence that German commercial interests propose to keep up their fight for a conspicuous place in "the sun" of tropical America.

According to the Amsterdam correspondent of Reuter's, as telegraphed to London, the speech of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, when elected President of the German Economical Association for South and Central America, was in part as follows:

At the present time Germany has but a few friends in the world. Sentiment in South America is divided, and the real neutrality of North America is doubtful. It is not uninteresting to remember that Viscount Haldane, then Lord High Chancellor, explained to the merchants of Manchester that now was their chance to snatch from Germany forever commercial supremacy.

Continuance of the war will compel us to find new openings, for the commercial recapture of markets, now lost, will become more difficult. Without coal and iron South America will always be dependent on industrial States. Therefore, the investing of more capital in South America would be well worth while with a view of gaining lost ground. Besides strengthening our economic, it would be important also to obtain the moral, influence, which hitherto has been greatly underestimated.

We have failed to understand not only the sentiment in Southern America, but even that of other peoples, and, therefore, find few friends among the neutrals. This is greatly the fault of the Germans, who must learn to understand peoples and to introduce German achievements in science and technics among them with more discretion than heretofore. Only too often the German merchant shows the lack of friendly disposition toward merchants abroad, which is of special weight with the Southern peoples.

Bearing on the same subject, Herr Maschke, President of the German-Brazilian Association, said that the new enterprise was intended to prepare during the war for future developments, and that Germany's connection with South and Central American countries, which played a most important part in the nation's commerce, would be closer rather than otherwise after the war.

South America, as United States Consuls View the Situation

THE improvement in United States Consular representation which has been noticeable within recent years, as a result of the greater efforts put forth by the State Department, has proved of exceptional value touching the Latin-American republics, where European competition in past times has been a considerable handicap to the gathering of correct information concerning business matters. The great war abroad, however, found American Consuls in South America fully equipped, and statistics now regularly furnished Washington may be relied upon to show with measurable exactness just how conditions are shaping themselves in the southern republics.

Recent reports to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce are subjoined:

Consul General L. J. Kenna, Valparaiso, Chile.—The past week recorded the first sale of any importance of Chilean nitrate in which payment was accepted by the producers in New York exchange. The sale, to an American firm, represented 4,000 tons of nitrate, and the draft on New York in payment was in the neighborhood of \$155,000 United States currency. London exchange has always been the preferred exchange in the nitrate fields, because it was the custom, because it is regularly quoted, because nitrate freights are quoted in English currency and are payable in London exchange, and all market prices of nitrate are quoted in sterling. The war has, however, made possible the exchange of bills on New York in payment of some nitrate purchases.

Consul Homer Brett, La Guayra, Venezuela.—That Venezuelan merchants are adapting themselves to changed commercial conditions is evidenced by the fact that while the imports at La Guayra for the last six months of 1914 were only 7,169,990 bolivars—a bolivar is equal to

\$0.193—for the first six months of 1915 they amounted to 16,000,000 bolivars. For the first-named period merchandise to the value of 3,237,129 bolivars came from the United States, while the corresponding value for the second period was only slightly less than 10,000,000 bolivars. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915, 160,606 sacks of cocoa and 141,793 sacks of coffee were exported from La Guayra.

Consul General Goding, Guayaquil, Ecuador.—Ecuador has a timber area of about 90,000 square miles, 10,000 of which are on the west slope of the Andes and below the 5,000-foot elevation. The total area of the republic has been estimated at 116,000 square miles—equal to the combined area of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The average price per thousand feet of the common lumber, such as roble, laurel, suche, figuerosa, &c., in Guayaquil is from \$40 to \$50 in United States gold.

Consul Madin Summers, Sao Paulo, Brazil.—As rice and beans are the most common articles of food in the Sao Paulo section of Brazil and might be called the national dishes, the crops of both have received special attention from the agricultural authorities. The present rice crop in the State of Sao Paulo, however, appears to be very short, and there is a possibility that large quantities will have to be imported from abroad. The municipalities producing rice, in order of their importance, are Iguape, Monte Alto, Taubate, Barretos, Guaratingueta, Franca, Igarapava, and Pindamonhangaba. The average prices are as follows: No. 1 Agulha, (needle,) clean, \$8 to \$9; No. 2, \$7 to \$7.50; No. 3, \$6.50 to \$7; Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Cattete, same as Agulha, possibly a little less.

Consul General W. Henry Robertson, Buenos Aires, Argentina.—The Bureau of Agricultural Statistics and Rural Economy of the Ministry of Agriculture has issued a new estimate of the production of wheat, flax, and oats for the season 1914-15. The yield is a total of 4,585,000 tons of wheat, 1,125,500 of flax, and 831,000 of oats. The yield is given in metric tons of 2,204.6 pounds each. Compared with previous forecasts for this same year, the estimate indicates a decrease in each case, due to heavy rains and inundations in various parts of the grain belt, which very seriously retarded thrashing operations as well.

Consul William W. Handley, Callao, Peru.—Boilers of practically every well-known class and make are employed in Peru by the several breweries, sugar industries, ice plants, gas and electric plants, and public buildings of various kinds. The Cochrane vertical cross-tube appears to be the type most commonly found for the smaller installations, while the Lancashire model is most extensively used in the sugar refineries and similar large plants. The water-tube boilers in sections are commonly demanded in the mines and interior places by reason of the mule and llama back mode of conveyance that has to be provided in certain out-of-the-way parts of the republic. The Babcock and Wilcox and a large number of upright boilers are also employed. The size and working pressure called for vary according to the indi-

vidual requirements along these lines. Boilers, without distinction of classes, &c., are admitted into Peru free of duty.

Consul Ross Hazeltine, Cartagena, Colombia.—The establishment of a Pan-American literature exchange, sufficiently equipped and carefully organized, would no doubt prove to be a commercial as well as an artistic success. Such an exchange would mark a distinct advancement in the cultural relations of the United States with Latin America, constituting a co-ordinate step with the exchange of professors and students, and ultimately leading to a more sympathetic understanding between the republics of the Western Hemisphere. The temperament and natural instincts of the Latin Americans are essentially artistic. The percentage of potential writers, orators, and artists is very high. This continual striving, especially in the field of literature, occasionally produces a work of unquestioned merit, of which little or nothing is known in English-speaking countries. This is, for obvious reasons, more often the case with fiction and poetry than with the drama. The contrasts between the character of North American and South American literature are notable, but the appreciation on both sides is keen, even if not widespread. Acquaintance with Spanish literature in the United States is, on the whole, decidedly limited. It is perhaps confined to such well-known writers as Cervantes, Calderon de la Barca, Alarcon, and Quevedo.

Argentina's Neutrality Plea

In its effort to maintain strict neutrality the Argentine Republic has had the co-operation of the leading political and economic organizations. The Museo Social Argentino, including in its membership many of the most influential men in the country, has placed itself on record by issuing the following manifesto, framed as a communication addressed to Dr. José Luis Murature, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

THE exercise of the right to destroy or capture merchant ships under an enemy's flag in a state of war which comprises so many nations leaves American commerce exposed to unforeseen dangers of great magnitude, since a great part of such commerce is done

in foreign vessels, necessarily and unavoidably.

It is not sufficient for its security that neutral freights be exempt from confiscation, since delays and transshipments, together with the damages incurred, would occasion losses which, at

times, would be irreparable, to say nothing of the increase in freights, insurance and other shipping expenses.

There is no reason whatever why the inter-American commerce should be obliged to suffer the contingencies emanating from these circumstances, because they are not a necessary and inevitable consequence of the war itself. Traffic taking place between American ports exclusively in reality does not harm nor favor the belligerents. It may be stated from a military point of view they can have no actual interest in destroying the vessels under an enemy's flag, and still less in taking possession of their neutral cargoes, which they must restore to their owners in accordance with the principles of international law.

Such vessels are not giving any direct or military service to the country whose flag they carry; they are occupied in a neutral service, so that their destruction does not respond to the immediate necessities of war, but rather to the purpose of inflicting upon the enemy a more remote and indirect damage, by the loss suffered by the respective merchant marines.

Based on such considerations, the Museo Social Argentino considers that it might be indispensable to promote

what might be called the pacific isolation of America, requiring the recognition of a new formula of international law, which might be expressed in the following or similar terms:

1. The maritime commerce between the American countries shall be considered as inter-American coasting trade, providing it be directly effected between the ports of non-belligerent American countries, and that the vessels do not depart from routes to be determined within the continental waters of America. 2. The merchant vessels which are occupied in inter-American coasting trade must be considered as neutral, although they may be sailing under the flag of countries which are in a state of war.

To recapitulate: The Museo Social Argentino desires to obtain the adhesion of the Government, of the press and of the United States to the idea of proceeding in accord with the other American States to demand from the belligerents in the present European war the strict observance of the principles and conventions which guarantee the liberty and safety of the maritime commerce of neutrals in general. And to procure the recognition of a principle guaranteeing the neutrality of inter-American coasting trade for the benefit of peace and commerce of our continent.

Latin-American Brevities

THE Government of Argentina estimates receipts and expenditures for 1916 at \$144,876,786 in cash and \$849,200 in bonds and obligations. As against the budget for 1915, a saving of about \$17,000,000 is expected next year.

The schools of the American Institute at La Paz and Cochabamba, Bolivia, are modeled after the preparatory schools for boys in the United States, and have literary societies, athletic clubs, Boy Scouts, &c. The Directors are George M. McBride at La Paz and John E. Washburn at Cochabamba.

A wireless telegraph station is under construction at Durango, Mexico, with equipment sufficiently powerful to communicate with wireless stations at Torreon, Saltillo, Mazatlan, Juarez, Chapultepec, and the City of Mexico.

The excellent showing of the Argentine Republic at the Panama-Pacific Exposition is due in large measure to the liberality of the South American Government, which appropriated \$1,700,000 for the purpose of adequately displaying the country's resources.

With the Hon. W. Cameron Forbes receiver for the Brazil Railway Company, the affairs of this enterprise are expected to advance, following the recent statement given the bondholders in England and in the United States.

During the last fiscal year 40,530 immigrants entered Cuba. Of the total, 31,821 came from Spain. The cash brought into the island by the new arrivals amounted to \$1,073,070.

President Manuel Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala has appointed the following to act on the boundary commission with Honduras: Claudio Urrutia, Chief Engineer; Felipe Rodriguez, Domingo; Conde Florencio Santizo, Salvador Castillo, and Eugenio Rosal, assistants. Marcial Preu is legal adviser.

Santiago, Chile, is making preparations toward the organization of a Latin-American workmen's congress. Labor organizations throughout South and Central America have been notified, but no exact date has yet been fixed for the gathering.

The Congress of Costa Rica has decreed a new national holiday, April 11, in honor of the patriot, Juan Santamaria, and in remembrance of the important battle of Rivas.

A new Colombian city is to be built on the Girardot railway line near Esperanza station. The city is to be called La Magdalena, and the location is considered one of the most advantageous, both from a commercial and hygienic standpoint.

Following a recent consignment of 6,000 steers to packing houses in St. Louis, Mo., ranch owners in Honduras

are getting ready to export cattle on a large scale.

Japanese exporters, with the assistance of the Japanese Government, have established a permanent trading exposition in Santiago, Chile, with a view to capturing the German business in the republic. The prices are made so low as to meet competition from any quarter.

Buenos Aires newspapers take considerable interest in the visit of the Argentine Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Romulo S. Naon, who has been named as a possible candidate in the next Presidential election.

San Salvador, capital of the Republic of Salvador, has elected a new Mayor in the person of Dr. Enrique Gonzales Serrano, one of the progressive men of the country, who considers it essential that trade relations with the United States should be increased.

The three important packing establishments in Paraguay are located in the Department of Concepcion, in the centre of a district with 2,000,000 head of cattle. The La Fonciere ranch has over 100,000 head on its grazing lands.

The University of Havana has appointed Dr. Antonio S. Bustamente and Dr. Fernando Sanchez de Fuentes to represent Cuba at the Pan-American Scientific Congress, to be held at Washington from Dec. 15 to Jan. 8, 1916.

A new executive decree of Peru provides that in order for a trademark or label to be entitled to national registry a part of the inscriptions or legends must be in Spanish and the name of the factory be shown.

Mexico and the Land Problem

By Luis Cabrera

In view of the fact that General Venustiano Carranza has won the recognition of the United States and the Latin-American Governments concerned in the conferences having to do with Mexican peace, the following statement by Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Government, contained in an address, has a peculiarly significant and timely bearing on the situation in the neighboring republic.

MEXICO has a population of 15,000,000 inhabitants, 15 per cent. of which are Indians, 75 per cent. mixed or "mestizos," and 10 per cent. of European descent. Each one of these groups presents different characteristics, and even the mestizos cannot be said to be homogeneous, since there are various racial types among them.

Mexico, however, has no real race problem. Properly speaking, there are no insoluble conflicts between the various elements of the nation, because the Indians are easily assimilated by the mestizos, and, as a matter of fact, when the Indians receive education or mix with the mestizos they immediately become identified with them. A full-blooded Indian who has received a certain amount of education is always sure to keep it, and he never shows any retrogressive tendencies, so that we can say that the effects of education upon the native Indians of Mexico are of a permanent character.

On the other hand, the mestizos element of the population of Mexico intermarry very easily with the Europeans, particularly with the Spaniards and French, and as soon as they have received a proper education or have acquired some economic welfare they can be considered on practically the same level as any of the European residents.

The principal causes of revolution in Mexico are undoubtedly of an economic, and chiefly of an agrarian, character. The colonial policies followed by the Spaniards when they conquered Mexico consisted in taking possession of the greatest part of the lands of New Spain to grant them to the Spanish conquerors. Extensive land concessions were granted, now in favor of the Church, now in favor of the Spanish soldiers, leaders, chieftains, or mere settlers.

Together with each one of these large concessions granted in favor of the Spaniards a large number of Indians were also assigned to them, with the apparent object of educating and Christianizing them, but with the real purpose of obtaining slaves, or land serfs, to cultivate and develop the lands granted.

INDIANS IN BONDAGE.

With regard to the Indian towns already existing at the time of the conquest, they were theoretically respected, together with their lands. New towns were also laid out as Indian reservations, providing them with sufficient lands, which were called "egidos" and "proprios," for the common use of all the inhabitants. The colonial policies of Spain resulted, therefore, in the formation of a wealthy class of landholders, as against the Indian population, which found itself either assigned to the estates as land serfs or concentrated in Indian towns.

In 1810 the freedom of the slaves and Indians was officially decreed by Hidalgo, but the independence of Mexico having been accomplished by the wealthy landholders, the situation of the Indians was not materially changed, and the lower classes still remained in a state of actual servitude, although, theoretically, slavery had been already abolished.

We can safely say that up to 1856 the only real estate property of any importance which was not in the hands of the Spanish great landholders was the property of the Church and the "commons" of the Indian towns.

The Church had been acquiring large territorial property, obtained either by direct concessions from the Government or by donations and foundations from private sources.

The towns still were owning their communal lands, granted to them, as stated

above, for the purpose of grazing, timbering, farming, and watering, and which were called "egidos." The characteristic aspect of the agrarian questions in Mexico was for nearly two centuries the obstinate defense made by the towns against the great landholders who always tried to invade the communal lands. From 1856 to 1859 certain laws were enacted, and the liberal administration of Juarez, for political reasons, was compelled to deprive the Church of its properties and to begin to appropriate them to private individuals who wished to acquire them at low prices. As a consequence of the laws, the "egidos" of the towns began to be divided up and apportioned in small parcels among the inhabitants, for the purpose of creating small agricultural properties, but through ignorance and lack of means those lands were immediately resold to the great landholders whose properties were adjacent to the "egidos."

LARGE LAND HOLDINGS.

About 1876, at the beginning of the "Porfirista" régime, the real property of the Church had already passed into the hands of private individuals, and the communal properties of the towns were beginning to be divided among the masses. There still remain, however, large estates owned by old wealthy families of Spanish origin, and which are now responsible for the present agrarian conflict.

The "Porfirista" régime—the administration of General Porfirio Diaz—can be defined by saying that it consisted in putting the power in the hands of the large landholders, thus creating a feudal system. The political, social, and economic influence exerted by landholders during General Diaz's administration was so considerable and so advantageous to them that it hampered the development

of the small agricultural property, which could otherwise have been formed from the division of ecclesiastical and communal lands.

The communal lands, or "egidos," used to be a means to ease to a certain extent the conditions in which the small agriculturists found themselves, by affording them the opportunity of increasing their income out of what they could get from the use of the commons. But the condition of actual servitude in which the peon has always been was accentuated and aggravated when the "egidos" disappeared, because, on the one hand, he was no more in a position to resort to the products of those communal lands, and, on the other hand, the great influence of the landholders was used as a political means to make peons work on the haciendas and keep them in an actual state of slavery.

The largest part of the inhabitants of towns where "egidos" have disappeared, being necessarily compelled to live on the wages they get from working on the farms, and these wages being not enough to cover their expenses, it had become the common practice to advance money to the peons as a loan on account of future wages. This system of lending the peons small amounts of money had resulted in accumulating huge debts on their shoulders. These debts were used as a pretext to keep the peons always at the service of the land owners, and the peon himself has been under the impression that he was legally bound to remain on the farm as long as he had not paid up his debts. These debts, as a rule, were transferred from father to son, thus creating in the rural population of the farm, not only an actual condition of slavery, but the moral conviction among the peons themselves that peonage was a necessary evil which the laws authorized.



Germany's England

From the "England-buch" of the Taegliche Rundschau

- I. Vice Admiral Kirchhoff: England's Policy of Plunder
- II. Professor Dr. W. Dibelius: The Shopkeepers' War
- III. Dr. Otto Kuntzemueller: The English, God's Chosen People

I.

England's Policy of Plunder

By Vice Admiral Kirchhoff of the German Imperial Navy

IN the third part of Alfred Stenzel's "History of Maritime Warfare" the concluding views of the War of the Spanish Succession, two hundred years ago, from 1702 to 1713, are introduced with the following words: "Thus the Peace of Utrecht was primarily a great success for England, whose position as a world power was now firmly established; England was now the sea power, the world power." A consideration of the manner in which England has kept this position in the last two hundred years should be very opportune.

Even while the peace negotiations were going on at Utrecht, England, the ally of Holland, by whose potent aid she had crushed her chief adversaries, France and Spain, showed herself in her true light; that is, faithless and ruthless in all and every relation. From now on England became Holland's keenest antagonist, the Dutch fleet having been almost destroyed in the long war. The Dutch had learned too late that only those could safely ally themselves with England who are sufficiently powerful to stand up against her effectively at any moment. England had finally accomplished the weakening of all her rivals on the sea, her tyrant fortresses (Gibraltar, later Malta, Aden, and so on) soon dominated every part of the world, her policy knew thenceforth only one goal, openly and secretly, by any and every means, to prevent the rise of a second strong sea power. Now, after

two hundred years, it will be seen whether this most insatiable of all countries is at last played out, as far as concerns her dominance on the sea.

The perpetually ambiguous system of England made its appearance in the Baltic as early as 1720. The English squadrons brought it to pass, at the end of the long northern war, by skillful underhand management, that neither of the chief adversaries, Russia and Sweden, was in a condition to crush completely or to annihilate the other. The northern war is a particularly illuminating example of the complete dependence of military aims in sea warfare upon political aims.

A few years earlier an act of unexampled arbitrariness had been carried out by the English fleet, in the Mediterranean, when the Spanish fleet was annihilated by Admiral Sir George Byng at Cape Passaro, at the southwest corner of Sicily, on Aug. 11, 1718. Although there had been no declaration of war, and Admiral Byng's instructions read, "In case Spain sets foot in Italy, if circumstances demanded it, he should intervene with armed force," Byng engaged the equally strong enemy fleet as soon as he approached it, and annihilated it, thus finally disposing of an enemy that might possibly become dangerous later on. In this way England's naval supremacy in the Mediterranean was once more made secure.

Hardly a century later England, with

the help of France and Holland, in time of peace, brought it about that the maritime ambitions of the German Emperor Charles VI. should come to nothing. The Ostend Company, founded by him in 1722, with its headquarters in Antwerp, which had already sent nearly a score of ships to Eastern Asia, and had there established many settlements, he was first forced to suspend in 1727, and five years later was compelled to dissolve it. In a single day its shares fell from 1,228 to 470.

From 1741 to 1748, during the War of the Austrian Succession, as well as before it, a series of acts of English ruthless arbitrariness follow each other: English smuggling in the West Indies, the destruction of Spanish galleys in a French harbor in the Mediterranean, although there was no open state of war; the dispatch of a squadron of English ships against Naples, the four months' blockade of a Spanish fleet in Toulon Harbor by the English fleet, without a declaration of war between France and England, and so on.

In the Seven Years' War, which soon followed, England for the first time successfully introduced in a brilliant manner her future policy of intrigue, inciting the chief Continental powers against each other, while she herself annihilated her enemies on the sea, and continuously enriched herself by maritime warfare, while the great land war was frightfully wasting the wealth of the Continental powers. Her great Prussian ally was the first who had to experience this, as the dispatch of small squadrons to the Baltic would often have been of the greatest advantage to him. But at the same time England, without any justification, permitted attacks by privateers on Prussian merchantmen. In the great war, with the exception of a brief apparition at Hastenbeck at the beginning, England sent no land forces to the Continent, for the first time, but contented herself with supporting the land fighting of her allies with money; the maritime war she kept exclusively for herself. As a result, her commerce flourished everywhere, and for this rea-

son she remained indifferent to the main question in the Baltic.

In the Russo-Turkish wars, from 1768 to 1774, and 1787 to 1792, England was once more successfully employed, in Southern Europe, in preventing any of the combatants from becoming too powerful. The Black Sea also remained a *mare clausum* like the Baltic Sea.

The great "League of Armed Neutrality," which came into existence in 1780, brought up new and important questions for England to solve. The definition required by it was taken up with great reluctance, and thwarted by every possible means, because English privateering suffered greatly through it.

During the American War of Independence, in the years 1774-1782, the neutrality of foreign States was repeatedly violated by English ships. Thereafter the first period of the coalition war against the French Republic, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is extremely rich in violations of right of every kind. In every direction England seized islands belonging to foreign countries, and points of support, beginning with many islands in the West Indies. The English were continuously successful in injuring the war navies and commercial navies of foreign countries, even of neutrals and allies, while English privateers and cruisers carried on their operations more successfully every year. And in spite of all considerable losses, England's navigation and commerce developed brilliantly, becoming more than 100 per cent. greater than in the preceding time of peace. Smuggling was very cleverly carried on, and where on foreign coasts it brought England profit it was not only tolerated but was successfully promoted. England grew fat on maritime war, while the great war on land wasted the strength of the Continental powers, as before. For England began the period of her monopoly of sea power, which has been unassailable for more than a century.

One of the most notorious violations of right of all time was England's action toward Denmark in the year 1801 and later in 1807. At present many hypo-

critical voices in England try to show that our action toward Belgium is a far worse case of violation of neutrality; history has already pronounced judgment on this.

The "armed neutrality" was revived in a new form at the end of the eighteenth century, because of far more serious arbitrary acts of England toward neutral shipping, so that England was compelled to reform. Denmark's sharp measures taken against the right of visitation of convoys claimed by English warships led finally to a break. The State which Kant called "the most powerful, the most ambitious, the most provocative State," went ruthlessly forward, primarily against Denmark.

By what silken threads Nelson's victory in the battle of Copenhagen Roads on April 2 was suspended, only recently investigations have revealed. The Danes, although the final victory would undoubtedly have belonged to them, allowed themselves to be completely deceived and fooled by Nelson's conscious speeches in his two truce letters.

Even more ruthless was the removal of the Danish fleet in 1807, after Denmark's resistance had been broken by a several days' bombardment of Copenhagen. During the latter more than 1,600 inhabitants of the city were killed by the shot of "humane" England, and more than 1,000 wounded. Let us recall the outcry of England when we bombarded Paris in 1871.

The energetic war which England waged from 1805 to 1810 against the commerce of the whole world was throughout not only the consequence of Napoleon's Continental system. To the tyrant of the sea all means and all ways were now right, if only they were profitable. Smuggling once more burst forth into brilliant bloom; England's shopkeeper spirit and unscrupulousness showed themselves in ways that defy imitation. False flags, false ships' papers and bills of lading, pretended seizures by bribed French privateers, all these means were employed in order to gain a permanent hold of commerce.

The English showed themselves very inventive with the so-called license sys-

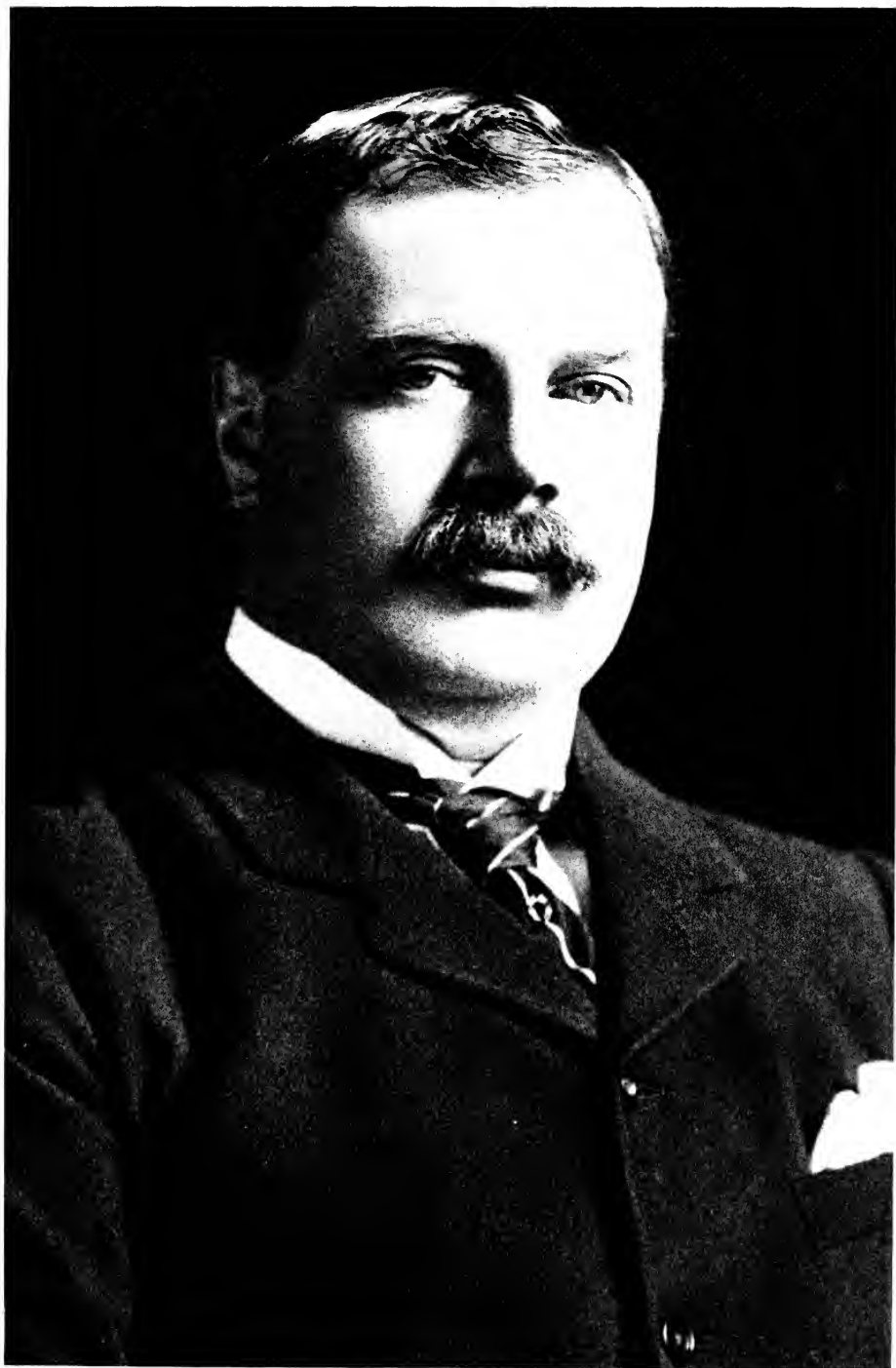
tem, under which foreign ships were permitted to trade in English wares on payment of permit money, thereafter remaining secure from English cruisers and privateers. In 1810 the number of licenses rose to 18,000.

To relate once more how England managed, during the war against Napoleon, to erect her tyrant fortresses in every corner of the globe, and to appropriate the best lands as colonies, for the most part with unbounded arbitrariness, equally whether belonging to friend or foe, would be to "carry owls to Athens," (Malta, Heligoland.)

How England was further able to deprive Prussian Germany of the due reward of victory need only be mentioned here to complete the subject. A hundred years ago the dominion of the world fell unconditionally to England, with the uncomprehending help of all nations, "which saw in England the champion of the rights and independence of Europe, while England never defended any rights but her own," as Goethe strikingly expressed it. During the naval war England injured neutrals and her allies, appropriated large territories, and gained a formal monopoly of commerce and industry. The mighty influence of sea power, which slowly manifested itself, grounded on economic fact, was as yet recognized by no one. Naval warfare remains far from most people, its immediate traces are only casually remarked by the inhabitants of coastal regions. It is otherwise now—steam and telegraph have worked a transformation. We Germans of today know what constitutes England's being and power up to the present; but the recognition of this came to us very late, after the appointed men finally opened our eyes to it.

An attempt which England made in January, 1807, to remove the Turkish fleet as she had removed the Danish, miscarried completely. Admiral Duckworth, after a short bombardment of Constantinople, withdrew through the Dardanelles to the Aegean Sea in ignominious fashion, which bordered on cowardice.

In like manner England's war against the United States, which broke out in



THE EARL OF DERBY

At the Request of Lord Kitchener He Has Assumed Direction of Recruiting
the British Army

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



SIR PERCY SCOTT

Appointed to Take Charge of London's Defenses Against Aircraft Attacks
(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

1812 because of acts of unexampled arbitrariness by the commanders of English ships, who impressed sailors from Americans ships, turned out unfavorably for her.

England's action during the war for the liberation of Greece took peculiar forms. Enthusiastic friends of Greece, with Byron at their head, had driven the Government to active intervention. From a great naval demonstration suddenly developed the battle of Navarino Bay, on Oct. 20, 1827, in which the Turco-Egyptian fleet was completely annihilated by an Anglo-Franco-Russian fleet. The despotic action of Admiral Codrington serves as a fascinating example of the peculiarity of English esoteric policy. A storm of indignation was raised in the country and in Parliament, but this was principally from fear of Russia.

During the second Turco-Egyptian war the arbitrary and tyrannical action of the English Commodore, Napier, was successful in robbing the victorious Mehemed Ali of all his gains. The energetic with its brilliant results was finally recognized by all the powers. A rare example of extraordinary arbitrariness of a subordinate commander in naval warfare. But—it happened because of the Turkish fleet of the enemy, therefore, as always, England alone got the benefit of it.

Soon after the war against the French Empire, England began a course of action in Africa, East India, and Eastern Asia, which was ruthless and filled with self-seeking, often taking the mask of a champion of Christian culture and humanity, a line of action which has been profitable in many ways. Especially were English ships active continuously against the slave trade; but England never for a moment relaxed her efforts to extend still further her territories everywhere on the globe, and laid hold on everything she could, in order to enrich herself and strengthen her power. Among her baser actions, carried out like all the rest, under a mask of false piety, was her repeated action against China in the opium question. But it is just to admit that England, by putting down piracy in every port of the globe,

by the many battles of her ships against Moorish, Central and South American, Chinese and Malay pirates, has accomplished much for the navigation and commerce of all peoples, but always only because her own interests were primarily furthered thereby.

How England showed herself hostile to Germany in the two German-Danish wars is generally known and has been repeatedly explained. This was the occasion of Palmerston's arrogant words concerning the new German fleet in the North Sea.

The Crimean war introduced the new international law of naval warfare, from the acceptance of which England at first expected to profit. But when she saw that this was not so, even that the effect of her own fleet was substantially narrowed by it, an effort was made to render it nugatory. In just the same way England has not yet been brought to recognize the last Declarations of London. From this time forward, the keywords, prohibition of privateering, neutral property, neutral ship, effective blockade and so on, are constantly heard; England explained them all in a sense favorable to herself. These questions form a specially large section of English arbitrary action, as in the present war we must experience anew every day.

England received the first painful blow as a result of her action during the American War of Secession; her dealings with both parties were regardless of justice and insidious, according as English separate interests seemed to demand. England did not show herself sensitive about declaring that the Union must not fit out any privateers, but that such abstinence could not be expected of the South, since this was one of her principal weapons. Commentary is superfluous! The open support of the privateers of the Southern States England was compelled to pay for, to the Union, as the result of a subsequent arbitration award, an evidence that the evil deeds of England also are punished.

In the second German-Danish war England tried several times, by diplomacy, to interfere vigorously, but without success so far as the two allied great

powers were concerned. The most arrogant proceeding was the demand addressed to Austria, that the latter's ships should not sail into the Baltic, but should only guard the German coasts of the North Sea. Consider that this was the definite demand of a neutral State! A quite unheard-of interference with rights! The battles of Dueppel and Alsen made a difference!

From this time forward the unrelaxing efforts to prevent the growth of Germany's commerce and navigation, and, later, Germany's naval growth, began.

While England ruthlessly subjugated one extra-European people after another, her missionary societies scattered millions of translations of the Bible and tracts broadcast among these poor non-Christian peoples, and the English preachers babbled about the blessings of peace. So it came that, during Queen

Victoria's long reign of over sixty years, there was not a single year in which England's mercenaries did not rob and plunder in the most barefaced way. The fundamental impulses of English political action have always and everywhere been the same, and remain so today. Might goes ever before right and justice.

How England proceeded in the case of India and the lands near it; how she appropriated Egypt and won Cyprus for herself; sowed discord openly and secretly in the Balkans; how she attacked the Boers, whose final conquest was attained only by bribing one of their leaders; how England brought the quarrel between Russia and Japan to open hostility; all this lives fresh in our memories.

This short summary of England's arbitrary actions during centuries should show that England's time is come. For the first time she now has an opponent who unites insight, will, and power.

II.

War of the Shopkeepers

English Piratical Attacks on the Economic Life of the Germans

By Prof. Dr. W. Dibelius

SINCE the beginning of the war our enemies across the Channel have been employing every possible means for injuring German trade. German mail sacks have been dropped into the middle of the ocean; German patent rights have been declared valueless; payments due German firms are not allowed. In all earnestness the hope is uppermost that Germany, with the end of the war, will be pushed out of the ranks of leading commercial and industrial nations.

Especially significant, as indicating the purpose of using every agency at the command of modern barbarism, is a series of articles in the English periodical, *The Engineer*, a leading technical journal devoted to industry on a large scale, and which has standing, not only in England, but throughout the world.

The author hopes that as a result of this war, Germany's political and industrial power will be reduced to nothing. He is quite convinced that following this war, no such Germany as now exists will be in evidence. "Humanity," he says, "has decided that this must happen, let the cost be what it may, and the German people, likewise, will never again consent to be governed as has been the case for the last thirty years."

Probably Poland will once more rise up as a vassal to Russia; Bavaria, Hanover, and other German States of lesser size will enter a new phase of their political history as independent countries under international protection! With the destruction of political Germany, Germany as a factor in trade and industry must fare similarly. This will have the

effect of purifying the entire commercial atmosphere, for Germany has not gained its world position through its own efforts, but by employing many sorts of methods of the basest kind. Typical of the German system were "long credits and low prices, diplomatic coercion, bribery of the press, false invoices and a systematic campaign of lies against all competitors." In passing it may be remarked what a wonderful combination is here presented; to the author low prices and long credits apparently are on a par with questionable methods like falsifying and bribery when it comes to opposing British competition.

In the course of the investigation other standpoints are to be considered about the purpose to blot out German industry, and these are entirely Great Britain's concern. The author continually complains, in language replete with touching words, of the backwardness and deficient energy of his own country. The English plants are on the whole too small; labor costs too much, and they give themselves unnecessary competition. Of course, he will not recommend the "unmoral methods of the German syndicates that mainly aim at getting bigger prices from the consumers; nevertheless, this matter is worth the attention of the English."

The Germans, further, proceed in a much more systematic fashion abroad. Their diplomatic representation, their big banks, and the industrial corporations work in unison; while only recently in England the Government began, to a very limited degree, to support the industrial enterprises away from home, while the banks waved aside every effort for working together with industries. At home, in fact, the Government is nothing less than the enemy of the local industry, because, owing to the lower prices, large orders go to Germany, and because, entirely aside from the damage done home production, there is introduced systematically a whole army of spies, ostensibly employed in the delivery and setting up of machinery, &c., but who in reality get opportunities for spying out England's means for defense.

Above all, the author does not tire of

blaming his countrymen for their ultra-conservatism. All innovations for improvement are spurned by them. Every time it is a question of far-reaching enterprises abroad, English capital excuses itself; money only becomes available when the sums asked for are comparatively small, and when the prospects for a big profit are seen in the immediate future.

All of these complaints have been heard again and again during the last ten years. They have become typically English; but typically English also is the complete incapacity to arrive at the correct conclusion regarding the matter. When the English industrial methods have become back numbers; when English capitalists no longer feel like taking chances; when diplomacy, finance, and industrialism fail to co-operate, it follows as a matter of course that England finds itself superseded by Germany abroad. However things stand, Germany is once for all the land of brilliant organization, and our industry and our financial circles, with due regard for being cautious, know how to venture as must be the case when a new rival tries to gain for himself a place in the world market.

Here will be found the reason for Germany's success; a success which, nevertheless, has not been so great that England need fear for its own existence. The average Briton, however, does not understand these very simple reasons, but listens to wild stories about German espionage and German badness, when, as a consequence, every little incident of the past is magnified out of all proportion, and the big planks in their own eyes, as against the splinters in the eyes of their brethren, are entirely forgotten.

The series of articles in *The Engineer* carry a twofold appeal to the English people. The author proposes that immense capital shall be got together for the purpose of completely modernizing English industrialism. But as he fears that the absence of the spirit of venture characteristic of English capital will again dispel the beautiful dreams of the one making the proposal, he concludes

with an idea that should not be overlooked.

"There is a way," he says, "that is very simple. It consists in the well-planned, organized destruction of German industries, big and little, and in this organized disturbance the German iron and steel works must share. The occupation of German territory by the allied troops must be accompanied by the destruction of all important industries in the occupied land. We may believe that when it becomes known here and in France that such a plan for organized destruction is to be put in motion, then capital will flow in the direction of home industrialism. What the Germans have done to the towns and villages in France and Belgium has aroused public feeling and thus blazed the way for making this method a legitimate weapon in the hands of industrial warfare and a powerful instrument for justice and retribution."

It would seem that such an appeal to man's baseness would be enough, but one more word appears to be essential. It is markedly evident of the honorable author's hypocrisy that he adds: "We do not wish to associate ourselves too rigidly with this proposal. Not alone for moral reasons may it be necessary to do this, but in the hope that in time Ger-

many's big economic interests may be affected thereby. It may also be that the destruction of German industrialism will follow of itself as a result of the war alone, and this may prove enough for the English purpose."

Therefore, the iniquity of this proposal does not give the author concern, yet he hopes that it may be possible to reach the goal along some other channel. Should this not be feasible, then—one can read between the lines—the first mentioned method for organized destruction must be employed. Any one who can even propose such a mean thing should be responsible for his action.

We know now to what lengths the English will go in this trade war. We know now that where it is possible for this Englishman to say what so many of his countrymen are thinking, then the English troops will act as incendiaries and destroyers in Germany. Maybe they will still remain gentlemen and we Huns.

We can only be thankful to the author of the articles in *The Engineer* that he has lifted the veil. Fortunately, our arms still have the last word, and the question of destruction touching German industrialism along the Rhine and in Upper Silesia is therefore not a pressing one.

III.

The English As God's Chosen People

By Dr. Otto Kuntzemüller

IN his book, "The Foundation of the Nineteenth Century," published in 1899, Houston Stewart Chamberlain makes reference to the devastation of Israel's kingdom by the Assyrians in the year 720 before Christ, and the carrying into captivity of the inhabitants who "in a short time became intermixed with the natives and as a consequence disappeared entirely."

In a footnote he adds: "They vanished so completely that many theologians even in our century are bothering their

heads with the question what has become of the Israelites, since they cannot believe that the five-sixths part of the people whom Jehovah had promised the whole earth should have disappeared without any ado. A shrewd mind even gathered from this that the ten supposed lost tribes are the English of today! He was, besides, not at a loss to account for this discovery; this is the reason why five-sixths of the earth's surface belongs to the British; the balance to the Jews."

Chamberlain points to two English

works treating of this question—"H. L. Lost Israel, Where Are They to be Found?" and "Our Israelitish Origin," which are responsible for the fact that there are Anglo-Saxons who trace their genealogy back to the time of Moses!

Chamberlain has known how to relegate this theological chimera to the realm of nonsense. And it is also nonsense that in England this should be taken for gospel truth.

To what an extent this has been the case the writer of this experienced during his stay at Cairo toward the close of 1887. Here the well-known Arabian courier, Mohammed Hassan, showed him a letter that he had received from an English manufacturer of armaments, George Nelson Walsh, of Sheffield. Mohammed Hassan had served this Englishman during the latter's stay at Cairo, and, following his departure, had written him a letter which Mr. Walsh answered and which contained, among other things, the following:

"Now I will tell you something that concerns in particular the future of the Arab and the Englishman.

"God—Allah, as you call Him—is so good that when He saw how the world was being ruled by badness He grieved very much. He decided to show humanity the good and right way. For this purpose He chose Abraham, one of the best persons that ever lived, and commanded him to teach men to love God, to neither lie nor cheat nor act dishonorable in any shape or manner. Abraham did his best—but what can a person do in a world full of bad people?

"God now decided that Abraham's descendants should be charged with teaching His will. Among other sons, Abraham had Isaac. And God commanded that Isaac's descendants should be teachers. Isaac had two sons, Esau, from whom all the Arabs have descended, and Jacob. God decreed that Esau and his kin to come should continue to live a free, unrestrained life in the desert and be under no ruler. But Jacob was to be the teacher of righteousness.

"Jacob had twelve sons. All became teachers and all their offspring became

teachers of God's will. These twelve sons, again, had large families, that increased to such an extent that from each family sprang a people, and in this way there came into existence twelve peoples. Ten of these twelve peoples withdrew from the others, and called themselves Israel. The other two combined and called themselves Judah. In this way there came about two peoples, those of the kingdom of Judah and those of the kingdom of Israel.

"These people were destined by God to teach all mankind to love God and to treat their neighbors honorably. But instead of doing the will of God, they became bad and cruel, and while God sent many prophets they did not want to give up their sin.

"Then God became very angry. He drove the people of the Kingdom of Israel into captivity and declared that in the course of time they should forget that they were the children of Israel. He did promise them, however, that He would not entirely withdraw His favor from them. He would send them on wanderings and lead them to an island where they should find their home. After they had reached this place they would become the mightiest people on earth, learn to love God, and teach the same to other nations. And then He would reveal to them, that they were the long lost people of the ten tribes of Israel.

"The other kingdom, composed of the two tribes of Judah, were just as godless as the people of Israel. For that reason God sent the Romans to punish them and destroy Jerusalem, with its magnificent temple. More than a million Jews, which is the name borne by the people of the Kingdom of Judah, were killed. The remaining were sold as slaves throughout Europe. But God promised them that after a while they would once more be restored to Syria and Palestine.

"And now comes the remarkable part of my story. Scholars who have searched the Book of Daniel and other books where all these things are written, have found that the time for the realization of this is nigh. They have discovered that the English, as the great teachers of human-

ity, are the true and rightful descendants of the ten tribes of Israel; that they live on an island; that they are the mightiest nation on earth, as had been prophesied would be the case. It reads further in the book of which I speak, that so soon as those of the Kingdom of Israel assume another name and drop the former—as was prophesied and has happened; namely, the term ‘English’—they should reveal themselves to the effect that they are the descendants of Israel and the brothers of Judah, and that they would then take steps to regain Palestine. And as soon as they had obtained it they would have their brothers, the Jews, taken back to Palestine, and then the Jews and the English would become a great nation and would rule the world, and justice and righteousness would be spread unto the ends of the earth.

“The beginning for this wonderful change on earth is already made. England obtained its protectorate over Palestine nine years ago; then that over Egypt. Within a few years, perhaps in two or three years, it will have the ownership of Egypt and Syria. A great war will take place in Europe through which all nations except England will

suffer. The Jews will be driven from all countries and will place themselves under the protection of England. The English will receive them with open arms as their long lost brothers; equip them with everything, and send them to Palestine in large ships for the purpose of having them establish themselves in their own land. And God has said that after they have once returned to their country they will never again be driven out of there.

“In those days—remember the time is near—the English, together with the Jews, will rule the whole world, and honor, peace and contentment will be everywhere present. The Jews will be the first to rejoice through their connection with the English, and the Arabs the next.”

The writer has had occasion to discuss with many Germans married into well-known English families, as well as with English acquaintances, this remarkable letter of Mr. Walsh, and he has had confirmed that there is a general belief that the English are the descendants of the lost people of Israel and that they are God’s people, chosen to rule the world.

Alarum

By JOHN B. KENNEDY.

Out of the East the trumpet comes,
And the roll of drums—the dreadful
drums;
Cries of glory and heroes’ crowns;
Choking smoke of the tortured towns;
Wails of women, and children’s screams;
Tales of terror unknown to dreams;
The halitus of the corpse-clad waste;
A death-dish cooked to the devil’s taste.
Above the havoc of matter and mind,
As the fathers curse and the mothers weep,
The soul of the dead men charge the
wind,
Whisper: “We see, but ye are blind;
We are awake, and still ye sleep!”

The eagle mimics a dream-drunk dove
And coos of love—illusive love;
Ink-thumbed soldiers and paper guns;
Barnyard battles and ceaseless suns;
Naughty navies to rule—the ink
(Yet the coast-lines will never shrink;)
Saucy armies to welcome war
(Still we wonder what strength is for;)
Purse-proud power to play Mars’ tricks
(Was there ever a “Seventy-six”?)
Mark the meaning of Europe’s fall;
Asia still has a truth to tell!
Cease for a moment the caterwaul,
Heed for a moment the future’s call—
Cain still grins in the core of hell!

Tsing-tao Under the Japanese

A German View of the New Regime

In the subjoined article a correspondent of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* sends his impressions of the former German colony in China since Japan took possession.

THE situation in Tsing-tao since it fell into the hands of the Japanese is not any too promising. Even seen from the outside the defects are very pronounced. As for the streets, that used to be so well kept, there are deep cavities in many places, caused by the bombardment. In addition, the heavy rains during the Summer of 1914 brought more damage to the thoroughfares, which was not attended to. What the Japanese have done to make good in that respect amounts to almost nothing.

This can be said for everything else they have undertaken to restore in the colony to what it was before the siege. It may be a fact that the plans of the Japanese are on a big enough scale, but they lack the means with which to accomplish anything worth while. There is not wanting the desire to have the place put in order. But at times they have not had enough money with which to pay the wages of the men. It is taken for granted that in such circumstances there can be no progress. And standing still means nothing less than going back.

It really amounts to this—that the military in charge of affairs at Tsing-tao have their hands tied. It is a fact that some of the officials are quite anxious to go ahead and have made valuable propositions for the improvement of the place, but the instant Tokio is informed about what is wanted, the reply is in the negative. Every such proposition is looked upon in the capital as a friendly act toward the Germans. The leading men in Tokio are so thoroughly guided by what England wants that there is an effort to annoy and embarrass the remaining Germans in Tsing-tao just as it has been done in Hongkong.

On the other hand, it is known that a portion of the influential Japanese in Tokio do not look with favor on pro-

ceeding too antagonistically against the German interests. They are afraid that before they know it Japanese influence will wane and that Tsing-tao may become some kind of English sub-station in that part of China and thus endanger Japan's prestige in the whole of Shantung Province. Not alone that the Japanese may have some secret desire to show the civilized Western nations that she can be magnanimous in her victory, but that there are real economic reasons for her attitude of going slow against the Germans. Somehow there is a feeling that England has some design not yet expressed; apprehension is there, and the shrewd Oriental wants to be on his guard.

The military supervision of Tsing-tao and the ruling officials in Tokio confront each other like opposite poles. The remaining Germans in Tsing-tao are made to suffer through this pulling apart. About 200 Germans are still in the place, mainly women and children, and the main reason for their stay is that they are holding on to their properties. The leading merchants, as well as most of the less important traders have gradually disappeared, either of their own free will, or as a result of mistreatment at the hands of the Japanese, some even being taken to Japan in view of their military fitness. It is natural, therefore, that almost all commerce has come to a stop. The Chinese have also left the place, while threatening that they will remain away. Japan's attitude toward China since last January has not helped in the situation, and the feeling of distrust has spread throughout the province. The railroad that runs through Shantung is for that identical reason becoming of less and less importance. Whatever business goes over the line at the present time is only a trifle as compared with the former traffic.

The many Japanese that came streaming into Tsing-tao after its fall and expected to find a rich harvest ready for them have been sadly disappointed. Many of them are in great distress. A considerable number of criminals have also sought the place, and public security has been threatened by their presence. The reputation of the place has suffered so severely that there is fear that Tsing-tao will lose its importance as a seaside resort.

In Japanese capitalistic circles the opinion seems to have been fixed from the start that Tsing-tao would prove a costly prize and an experiment, and that it would not for long remain a possession of Japan. The solution of the problem cannot come until after peace is declared, and China and Japan settle the question. But whatever may happen, the Japanese have made a good beginning just the same. They showed considerable acumen in selecting the future residential quarters between the Chinese town of Tapau-tau and the former German section near the harbor, where trade was getting to be quite

flourishing. The Japanese quarter has the advantage of easy access to all the most important trading points; the Chinese stores in Tapau-tau, the European houses in the business centre, the large and small harbor as well as the belt railroad.

It is still a question whether Tsing-tao has much of a future before it. There are signs in plenty that trade is going to Tien-tsin, and also to Tschifu. In the latter port they are working with feverish haste to complete the connecting railroad lines. Here the English are laboring incessantly, and it may be noted that they do not at all mind that their own plans run counter to those of the Japanese. In case the activity at Tschifu continues and Tsing-tao remains as it is for any length of time, the prospects for a restoration of the latter to its former greatness are but slight. Whoever will be the future master of the place will have to make enormous sacrifices in order to give it back its recent importance. Although its loss may be a big blow to the German interests, there is the gratification that nobody else will derive any profit from the place.

To War Bards

By ELIAS LIEBERMAN.

Please note, my friend
Of lyric trend,
That cannon "boom"
To "gloom" or "doom";
But when they "roar"
They roar of "war";
That balls will "burst"
To rhymes like "curst";
That men will "fall"
When countries "call";
That flowing "blood"
Suggests a "flood";
That "hopes of peace"
Will go with "cease."

But try to sell
The stuff, and—Well,
You'll know instead
What Sherman said.

Dual Nationality in Time of War

By Richard W. Flournoy, Jr.

Mr. Richard W. Flournoy is the Chief of the Bureau of Citizenship in the Department of State at Washington, but this expression of his views on the interesting subject of dual nationality, printed in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* of Sept. 12, is not an official declaration. Mr. Flournoy is giving his opinion in his personal, not his official, capacity.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT has contributed to the June number of *The Metropolitan Magazine* an article entitled "When Is an American Not an American?" in which, with characteristic ardor, he has undertaken to censure the Department of State because of statements in its letter of April 2, 1915, to P. A. Lelong, Jr., of New Orleans, concerning his citizenship and liability in France for performance of military service. He goes so far as to characterize the department's letter as "dangerously close to treason to the United States."

This is surely a serious charge to make against the Department of State in any case, and especially so in such serious times as these. The fact that this criticism was made by one who has held the highest office in the Republic and published broadcast throughout the country surely warrants a careful consideration of the question.

Mr. Lelong, in a letter of March 27, informed the department that he was born in the United States on June 18, 1880, of a native French father, who had emigrated to this country when he was about 20 years of age, and he inquired whether, in case he should visit France, he could be held liable for military service in that country. The Department of State, without entering into a discussion of the moral rights of Mr. Lelong, replied briefly concerning his apparent legal status as follows:

Under the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, all persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. Section 1, Article VII. of the French Civil Code states that the following are Frenchmen: "Every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad."

It thus appears that you were born with

a dual nationality and the department cannot therefore give you any assurance that you would not be held liable for the performance of military service in France should you voluntarily place yourself within French jurisdiction.

It will be noted that the department did not discuss the question of the right of the French Government to summon Mr. Lelong from this country to France to serve in the army, but merely stated the position in which he would find himself in case he should voluntarily enter France. Moreover, the department did not say that no action would be taken by this Government to obtain Mr. Lelong's release in case he should be actually held in France for military service, under the conditions stated. It merely informed him that, as he was born with a dual nationality, (French under French law as well as American under American law,) the department was unable to assure him that he would not be held liable in France for military service under the law of that country.

It appears that the use of the term "dual nationality" found peculiar disfavor in the eyes of Colonel Roosevelt. This simple legal term, which has been innocently used by writers on international law from time immemorial to describe the actual status of persons born in certain countries of parents who were citizens of other countries, Colonel Roosevelt has not only relegated to a position of contempt, but he has found the words so ugly that he is determined to abolish the term altogether. He says:

I hold that it is the clear duty of the National Administration, speaking for the American people, immediately to repudiate the doctrine thus laid down by the Department of State that there are in our country citizens—and as a matter of fact this ruling would apply to millions of citizens—who are "born with a dual nationality."

It seems incredible that the Department of State can promulgate the doctrine of dual nationality promulgated in its letter above quoted.

The United States cannot with self-respect permit its organic and fundamental law to be overridden by the laws of a foreign country. It cannot acknowledge any such theory as this of "a dual nationality"—which, incidentally, is a self-evident absurdity.

Colonel Roosevelt seems to be laboring under the impression that the term "dual nationality" has recently been coined by the Department of State, and he appears to be unaware of the fact that the term is not only recognized and used by all of the leading writers on private and public international law, American as well as European, but has been recognized and used by the Department of State for many years, and notably during his own Administration.

The peculiar condition of dual nationality is the unavoidable result of the existence of two distinct principles upon which the nationality laws of different countries are based. According to one principle a person is born a citizen of a country because of the fact that his father is a citizen thereof. This is known as *jus sanguinis*, and was embodied in the Roman law.

According to the other principle a person is born a citizen of a country because of the mere fact of birth within its territory and jurisdiction, without regard to the nationality of his parents. This was the feudal principle and is known as *jus soli*.

It is difficult to say which principle is the more reasonable or which has prevailed to the greatest extent. The great jurist, Vattel, held the *jus sanguinis* to be the natural and right principle, but this is a matter of opinion. The *jus soli* prevailed in Europe long after the feudal system had ceased to a great extent to exist.

The *jus sanguinis* was adopted in France in 1807, through the Code Napoleon, and later adopted in the other countries of Continental Europe. The *jus soli* remains to this day the basic principle of the British law of nationality, although the other principle was partially engraft-

ed upon the British law as long ago as the year 1350.

The original British law of nationality (*jus soli*) was inherited by this country, but it was not until the passage of the Act of Congress of April 9, 1866, that the matter was fixed by statute as follows:

All persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States.

Later the following statement was included in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

Meantime, on April 14, 1802, and Feb. 10, 1855, Congress had passed acts embodying the principle of the *jus sanguinis*.

The eminent Judge who delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the well-known case of the United States vs. Wong Kim Ark, the leading case on native American citizenship, said that "it is the inherent right of every independent nation to determine for itself, and according to its own Constitution and laws, what classes of persons shall be entitled to its citizenship," (169 U. S., 649, 668.) This is simple enough, but how to accommodate the conflicting claims of different countries to the allegiance of the same persons is a matter which has never been satisfactorily settled, and can only be settled through international conventions.

John Bassett Moore, whose pre-eminent standing among the authorities on international law needs no comment, makes the following statement in his monumental "International Law Digest" (Vol. III., Page 518):

The doctrine of double allegiance, though often criticised as unphilosophical, is not an invention of jurists, but is the logical result of the concurrent operation of two different laws. In the absence of a general agreement for the exclusive application according to circumstances, of the one or the other of such laws, the condition that actually exists is described by the term double allegiance. An undisputed example of it is furnished by the case of a

child, who, by reason of his parents being at the time of his birth in a foreign land, is born a citizen of two countries—a citizen of the country of his birth *jure soli*, and a citizen of his parents' country *jure sanguinis*.

A conflict, however, is obviated by the rule—which is indeed but the practical formulation of the doctrine itself—that the liability of the child to the performance of the duties of allegiance is determined by the laws of that one of the two countries in which he actually is.

Oppenheim, in his recent work entitled "International Law," makes the following observations in his chapter headed, "Double and Absent Nationality," (Vol. I, Pp. 363 and 364):

An individual may own double nationality knowingly and unknowingly, and with or without intention. And double nationality may be produced by every mode of acquiring nationality. Even birth can vest a child with double nationality. Thus, every child born in Great Britain of German parents acquires at the same time British and German nationality, for such child is British according to British, and German according to German municipal law.

Individuals owning double nationality bear in the language of diplomatists the name *sujets mixtes*. The position of such "mixed subjects" is awkward on account of the fact that two different States claim them as subjects, and therefore their allegiance. In case a serious dispute arises between these two States which leads to war, an irreconcilable conflict of duties is created for these unfortunate individuals.

Oppenheim closes this chapter by observing that difficulties arising from "double nationality" can be done away with only through the adoption of a proper international convention.

To come to Colonel Roosevelt's own Administration, it may be observed that those who served under him as Secretaries of State innocently used on various occasions the expression which is now the subject of his most severe criticism. For example, Secretary Hay, in an instruction of Feb. 23, 1904, to the Minister at Montevideo, said, the reference being to a work by Van Dyne:

The question of granting passports to persons having a dual allegiance is treated in Chapter XI., Page 42 et seq. of the same work. (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1904, Page 854.)

Acting Secretary Bacon, (later Secre-

tary of State under President Roosevelt,) in a note of Nov. 20, 1906, to the German Ambassador, inclosed a memorandum prepared in the State Department, of which the first paragraph reads as follows:

Assuming that Alexander Bohn never became a citizen of the United States, Jacob Bohn was born of German parents in the United States. According to the Constitution and laws of the United States as interpreted by the courts, a child born of alien parents in the United States is an American citizen, although such child may also be a citizen of the country of his parents according to the law of that country. (Foreign Relations, 1906, Page 657.)

On July 3, 1906, Acting Secretary of State Bacon, upon the recommendation of Congress, appointed a board composed of James B. Scott, Solicitor of the Department of State; David Jayne Hill, Minister to the Netherlands, and Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Passport Bureau, to inquire into the laws and practice regarding citizenship of the United States, expatriation, and protection abroad, and to report recommendations for legislation to be laid before Congress. The report, which covers 538 pages, and is a most valuable work, was sent to the Speaker of the House with a letter from Secretary Root of Dec. 18, 1906, in which he said:

I beg to commend it to the consideration of the House as a very clear and thorough exposition of this most important subject, upon which it seems to be generally agreed legislation is much needed.

The report of the board, excellent and carefully prepared as it was, did not cover in its recommendations every phase of the intricate subject of citizenship, and did not prescribe a plan for settling questions of double nationality, beyond recommending a statute requiring persons born abroad of American citizens, who should elect American citizenship rather than that of the country of their birth, to make a formal declaration to that effect before an American Consul upon reaching the age of 18 years, and to take the oath of allegiance to the United States upon reaching majority.

The report, approved by Secretary Root and presumably by President Roose-

vult, did, however, contain the following statement:

Inasmuch as our Government declares that all persons born in the United States are citizens of the United States, and also recognizes, as well as adopts on its own part, the rule that children of citizens resident abroad are citizens of the country to which the parents owe allegiance, there arises, as will be seen, a conflict of citizenship, spoken of usually as dual allegiance. (House Document 326, Fifty-ninth Congress, Second Session, Page 74.)

It might be considered strange that Colonel Roosevelt, while President, allowed his Secretaries of State to use so freely the now objectionable term "dual allegiance," and, stranger still, that he failed to avail himself of his unusual opportunity to abolish not only the term but the "self-evident absurdity" which it describes—that is, the condition itself.

Colonel Roosevelt is surely not ignorant of the fact that the law of the United States contains a provision very like the provision of French law under which Mr. Lelong was born a French citizen. He must realize that a person born in France of American parents is born an American citizen, although under certain conditions he may be claimed under French law as a French citizen. In his wide and varied reading his eyes surely must have fallen upon the provision of the Act of Congress of 1855, which, as embodied in Section 1993 of the Revised Statutes, reads as follows:

All children heretofore born or hereafter born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or may be at the time of their birth citizens thereof, are declared to be citizens of the United States; but the rights of citizenship shall not descend to children whose fathers never resided in the United States.

Under this statute the Department of State almost daily issues passports to persons born in France. If Colonel Roosevelt, just prior to the birth of his youngest son, had gone to England with his family, and his son had been born there, that son might have been considered an American citizen under American law, as well as a British subject under British law, whether or not the British Government would afterward have actually claimed his allegiance.

Senator Lodge in his letters to the

Department of State of June 5 and June 16, 1915, concerning the detention in Italy for military service of Ugo da Prato, used practically the same arguments as Colonel Roosevelt used. Ugo da Prato was born in Boston, Aug. 25, 1895, of Italian parents, and went to Italy in 1912, that is, when he was 17 years old, to study architecture.

The department asked Senator Lodge to send proof that young da Prato's father had been naturalized as a citizen of this country before the birth of the son, in order to show that the latter was not born with a dual nationality and could not be claimed as an Italian subject under the law of Italy. Senator Lodge sent the proof, but argued that it was superfluous, denying the possibility of dual allegiance and contending that da Prato could not have been claimed as an Italian subject even if his father had not been naturalized in this country before his (the son's) birth.

The department replied at some length in a letter of June 9, which was later given to the press, and Senator Lodge again presented his views in a letter of June 16, which has also been given to the press. In this letter the Senator, referring to the conflicting nationality laws of Italy and the United States, said:

But the fact that there is a conflict of laws is very different from admitting that the law in conflict with our own is valid.

The solution of the conflict of laws proposed by Senator Lodge has the merit of simplicity, it must be admitted, but, from an examination of the works of Story, Dicey, and other writers on the intricate subject of conflict of laws, it does not appear that they have found this solution entirely satisfactory. It is indeed a simple matter, when a law of a foreign country conflicts with a law of the United States, for this Government to decline to admit the validity of foreign law. But suppose that the foreign country insists that its own law is valid, and suppose that the person who is the subject of the controversy is at the time actually within the territory and jurisdiction of the foreign country—what then?

The conflict still exists, and something more than a mere flat denial of the validity of the foreign law is necessary. The contention of this Government, to be of any avail in a given case, must be based upon the ground of natural right and justice, or what appears to be such, and certain peculiar facts and circumstances in view of which American law should prevail, particularly the fact that the person concerned is domiciled in this country and, having reached his majority, has made a practical election of American nationality.

Various solutions of the problem of double nationality have been suggested, and some of them are embodied in the laws of various countries. Some day, it is to be hoped, the matter will be settled through general international conventions. A simple and, apparently, satisfactory rule would be that a person born with a dual nationality shall, after reaching majority, bear the nationality only of the country in which he is domiciled at the time of reaching majority, or, if domiciled in a third country at such time, he shall bear the nationality of that one of the two countries claiming him in which he last had his domicile. Such a rule would obviate the necessity of a formal declaration.

It is unfortunate that Colonel Roosevelt undertook to discuss in his article on dual nationality the provision of the German law of nationality of Jan. 1, 1914, under which Germans who acquire naturalization in foreign countries may, under certain conditions, retain their German allegiance. The impression has been given, whether intended or not, that this Government concedes that Germans and other aliens who are naturalized in the United States may retain their original allegiance and thus have a "dual nationality."

This is quite untrue. The Government of the United States has made no such concession. In its letter of June

9 to Senator Lodge the Department of State said:

The cases of persons born in the United States of alien parents should not be confused with the cases of persons born abroad who have obtained naturalization as citizens of this country. In the former cases the department is obliged to recognize now, as always heretofore, that the persons concerned are born with a dual nationality. In the latter cases the department does not recognize the existence of dual nationality in view of the fact that persons who obtain naturalization as citizens of this country are required to renounce their original allegiance.

Senator Lodge's attention was also called to printed circulars of the Department of State, issued during and since the administration of President Roosevelt, in which naturalized American citizens are informed as to their status in their countries of origin. Particular mention was made of the circular entitled "Notice to American Citizens Formerly Subjects of Italy Who Contemplate Returning to That Country," and especially to the following statement contained in it:

Naturalization of an Italian subject in a foreign country without the consent of the Italian Government is no bar to liability to military service.

The final paragraph of Secretary Lansing's letter of June 9 to Senator Lodge contained the following general statement:

In closing allow me to say that this Government has not receded from the position taken many years ago as to the natural right of men to make a voluntary change of nationality, commonly known as the right of expatriation. Nevertheless, the Department of State deems it proper to continue the practice which it has followed for many years of informing naturalized American citizens of the position in which they will find themselves in case they voluntarily visit their native countries. For the same reason the department deems it proper to warn persons having a dual nationality of the claims which may be made upon them by the other countries concerned. It is believed that the department would not be performing its full duty in this matter if it should fail to give this information.

Unity Beneath the Present Discord

By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy

Formerly Professor of the Philosophy of Law in the University of Moscow

This article by Prince Troubetzkoy is taken from an article appearing originally in the Hibbert Journal.

AN attempt to penetrate the inner meaning of events which have not yet completed their course may seem premature and audacious. Are we equipped with the force of mind which alone can raise us above the mighty torrent which is sweeping us along? Are we sufficiently calm to be able to interpret its direction and its meaning?

In spite of the seeming justice of these objections, there are reasons which compel us to press the question now. The exceptional circumstances of the present crisis have produced throughout the whole world an exaltation of mind which cannot last for long. When we return hereafter to our ordinary life we shall not be what we are at the present moment. Once the war is finished, that elevation of soul, that unusual keenness of perception, that exceptional clearness of insight which belong to the great moments of history, and are now present, will exist no more.

Among the characteristic features of our present state of mind there is one especially which admits of no mistake. The great European war has brought a wonderful increase to the intensity of life both in the individual and in humanity at large. The chief result of the war has been to double the energy and active force of the general life.

In times of war the whole world displays extraordinary activity. This holds of individuals, of social groups, and of whole peoples. The question, "To be or not to be," presents itself with the same penetrating force to all alike, and life becomes more intense just in proportion as it has to provide for its own preservation and to meet the challenge of the powers of death.

This is not the day of bourgeois vices

and respectable virtues. It is the day when all the contradictions of human life leap into the light and clash together in their most irreconcilable forms, the day when all oppositions are pushed to the very extreme. There is war to the knife between heaven and hell; war without truce and without rest. The object of the strife is the possession of the human soul; and for that reason the two principles appear in man in all their majesty and power. It seems as though the god and the beast attain these immense proportions in man at one and the same moment; so that we see on one side the appearance of a monstrous criminality—of men who might be incarnations of Caesar Borgia and his contemporaries; while on the other side we see a train of martyrs and saints who also seem to return to us from another time, remote in the distance of the past.

This abnormal force of hatred, now let loose, provokes and quickens into activity an equally abnormal force of love; so that, for the time being, the most astonishing heroism is looked upon as an almost everyday occurrence, and the supreme act of self-surrender becomes an ordinary event. Most remarkable of all is the fact that this sublime heroism has ceased to be the exceptional quality of a few individuals—the heroic spirit possesses whole masses of men; it is shown even in those who, up to the present moment, seemed "insignificant"—mere expressionless and negative personalities.

At such a time the human heart expands; one might say it is transformed by a profound revolution. A new type of humanity comes into being, more powerful and more wonderful to behold. Man augments his stature; and therewith the feeling of his own value gathers

force within him. When the human heart permits a glimpse to be taken of all its inner wealth, which has hitherto been hidden and unguessed, then it is that man begins to inspire his neighbor with a deeper reverence and with feelings which issue in a more vigorous moral activity. Love is reacting against the hatred which is invading the world; and for that reason it burns in all its forms with a splendor and force such as we see at no other time. This ardent flame of love we may now behold in a vast variety of situations.

In all such scenes the most moving figure is that of the woman, standing beside the husband, son, or brother, who is going off to the war. As the train or the steamer moves away, one may hear the soldiers saying to one another, "Why do the women weep while our eyes are dry? Not because our sorrow is less than theirs, but because our hearts are made of sterner stuff."

This exalted passion of love and of pity may sometimes be seen forcing the heart to rebellion against the pitiless powers which impose the peril of death upon its dearest objects. At the beginning of the war the Russian papers published a letter which had been intercepted by our troops, written by a young German girl to her lover in the army: "What does this cruel Kaiser want with our poor bit of happiness, which is so dear to us?" Every loving heart, especially if it is a woman's, has the same feeling in similar circumstances. And yet in this woman's love there is an aspiration of a higher order, which imposes silence on the spirit of rebellion. The letter which I have just quoted contains also this phrase: "Return covered with glory; be my victorious Siegfried."

Here we see another feeling familiar to every human being—the anguish of love, well known among men of every race.

In all true and sincere love there is this inevitable conflict of two powerful aspirations—first, the desire for the preservation of the being beloved, the desire to snatch him from death at all costs; and then, along with this, the dream of seeing his brow encircled by a

crown which cannot be won save by an act of heroism, often at the cost of his life. My hero—this lover, this husband, this son—as he departs for the war, is for me a unique being in the universe, the one object worthy of all possible sacrifices. What in all the world could ever compensate me for his loss? How impossible, then, must it ever remain to adjust our minds to the idea that in war tens of thousands of these infinitely precious existences are sacrificed in order to get possession of a single trench!

And yet this same pathos of love bears witness that life has another content beyond its personal interests, a higher meaning which alone has power to give a purpose to human existence and clothe it with absolute value. Love is not satisfied by merely perceiving the presence of the being beloved; it must also reverence him; its object must justify its devotion. And love is deeply conscious that the individual human being who inspires it is nothing if abstracted from the great human whole to which he belongs. Individual existence becomes empty and meaningless just so far as it ceases to serve that larger whole. And that is why love is always ready for the supreme sacrifice. For those who desire before all else to be proud of the beings they love, the death of these is always preferable to their dishonor.

Hence arises the living bond which unites these two feelings—the love of the individual and the love of country. And most of all in times of war, when the vital force of the will redoubles its energy, these two feelings nourish and kindle each other by their mutual contact.

The feeling of the individual for his country must be extraordinarily powerful when it leads him to sacrifice not only his "self" but that which is far dearer to him—to wit, everything that he loves. And yet, in the historic crisis through which we are now living, this sacrifice becomes habitual; we see it ten thousand times repeated every day. And the greater the sacrifice, the more does this bond with the nation as a whole, for which the sacrifice is made, deepen and assert itself within the human heart.

To nations as to individuals, the same question is presented: "To be or not to be." And, when presented, it yields an identical result in both cases—the more precious the value that is threatened, the more lively and passionate are the feelings it inspires.

What we here behold is a manifestation of that vital force which reacts on the instant when the need arises to do battle against the powers of death and destruction. Its action, which always has the same effect—that of affirming or reaffirming the integrity of nations—reached the height of the miraculous at the beginning of the present war. At that moment a mighty revolution was effected in the minds of men. Suddenly the strife of parties was seen to stop; no more disintegration, no more discord; in every country the union of the nation was re-established and affirmed. These were the typical facts equally conspicuous in each of the opposing camps. Lost in time of peace, the guiding motive of life asserts itself unmistakably in time of war; each nation comes to itself and gathers its forces to a unity under a single idea and a single act of will.

This phenomenon appeared in all the countries involved; and if I confine myself here to its Russian aspect, it will be through no partiality for my own country, but merely because I have made no personal observation of other lands. With us it was the first appearance of the wounded which produced the greatest of the miracles of which I am speaking.

Never shall I forget the moving sight of which I was a spectator in our province last August. Kalouga, a town of 60,000 inhabitants, was preparing to receive from 150 to 300 wounded. But the great battles in Austria and Poland having begun much sooner than was expected, these calculations, like so many others, turned out wide of the mark. One day, without any word of warning sent in advance, 2,700 wounded reached Kalouga in a single convoy. For some hours the confusion was great. There was neither straw nor linen; proper food was absolutely wanting; there were no coverings for the planks on which the wounded men were stretched. But at the end of two

days they were all comfortably lodged, well fed, and supplied with the best of medical treatment. Accommodation was freely given; unknown people supplied the straw; others, also unknown, brought mattresses, bed linen, and pillows; unknown peasants from the villages around brought in all kinds of eatables in sufficient quantity. Ladies of position and their daughters became nurses. Everything was done with a spontaneous élan, and without any organization. It was just the instinctive and irresistible movement of a mass of human beings. And throughout the whole of our country the same movement was manifest, taking the same form, producing the same miracle, whenever the need arose. It is only at moments like these that the inner unity of Russia becomes visible and tangible. In Russia, as elsewhere, life has only to resume its daily form and immediately the unity of the national self is lost and dispersed in a confused chaos of contradictory phenomena.

This renaissance of human solidarity is one of the most paradoxical and yet typical features of the war. Nor is it merely among living contemporaries that these bonds of union come into being. In these grand moments of history we see the centuries draw near to one another, the past joins hands with the present. And then it is that this past grows very dear to our hearts, because, when war threatens, the past represents an ancient glory for which we are fighting, a heritage of our fathers of which some one would rob us, the tradition of a culture which we are defending against the enemy. It is precisely by this link with the past that we become a nation. To be conscious of it is to feel that our fathers are with us; for our country is precisely "the land of our fathers."

In this rebirth of nations their historical continuity comes forth into the light; the link between the generations, broken or forgotten in times of peace, reconstitutes itself and rises into consciousness. Through this very exaltation of national sentiment the living generation is conscious of itself as forming one historic whole with the generations which have passed away. Now, more than ever



LORD READING

Chairman of the Anglo-French Financial Commission, Who Negotiated in
the United States a Credit of \$500,000,000



MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A.
Commanding the Department of the East
(© Photo by Harris & Ewing.)

before, the unity of our history comes into view. We are conscious of it even at those very points where until now it seemed most obscure, where the breach between past and present seemed final, when a great gulf divided the fathers from the sons.

This change is seen, for example, in the new feeling evoked in us by the ancient monuments of our national culture. We have always admired them—these beautiful cathedrals—as worthy representatives of our past; but till now our admiration was æsthetic merely, and cold. Despite our appreciation of them the ancient temples of our fathers seemed foreign and not wholly comprehensible; they spoke to us of a culture no longer ours, of thoughts we do not share, of emotions which stir us no more. But now, does it not seem as though the old walls, dumb so long, were addressing us with their ancient eloquence; as though that which has been dead for centuries were coming to life again? How the distance has shrunk which separates contemporary France from the cathedral of Rheims or of Notre Dame! Is not Westminster Abbey dearer than ever to the hearts of Englishmen? And that is so not merely because these precious monuments are threatened by great guns and Zeppelins, or shattered by shell fire. Beyond all this, an inward change has taken place in the relations which connect the living generation with the past embodied in these buildings.

Historic days such as these, when all recognized values are undergoing a complete revision, lead with the certainty of fate to a thoroughgoing depreciation of that practical materialism which, as I have said, seemed on the eve of the war to be dominating civilization. But now, when men, by a voluntary sacrifice, are going forth in masses to die for their country, we are beginning to feel ashamed of our excessive preoccupation with comfort and enjoyment. Hence it is that gifts for the wounded and for the victims of the war pour forth in a flood. Men who renounce everything that they may give their goods to the poor have ceased to be rare exceptions, and among those who have no goods to give away there

are multitudes who willingly sacrifice their labor for the common cause.

Confronted with death, which is raking in its victims by tens of thousands, the value we set on wealth is totally changed. To those who risk their lives wealth is worthless, and those who lose their nearest and dearest, or know they may lose them at any moment, ask themselves again and again—To what purpose, and for whom, do we guard our riches and labor to increase them?

When great world movements impose these thoughts on man, the quest for the means of existence ceases to be his sole preoccupation and no longer leads him to forget the goal. When once the life of the spirit has begun to stir, wealth returns to its secondary rôle as an instrument destined to serve the high and holy end of our existence. It is little surprising that the modern man begins, under these conditions, to draw near in spirit to the ancient shrines, in which even luxury ennobled itself by becoming the transparent expression of spiritual experience. Thus approaching one another the generations join hands across the centuries, forming one nation continuous in time.

The truth is that we are coming into relation with a new world, which has been unknown to us hitherto. Spiritual powers, invisible until now, have appeared in our midst. I say "invisible," only because their action is hidden from man so long as he is immersed in the cares of material well-being. And now at the very moment when the world is deluged with blood, and a hurricane of fire, which destroys everything in its passage, is threatening to turn our well-being into dust and ashes—behold, the blind see and the deaf begin to hear! Dimly we foresee the coming victory of mind over chaos. One might almost say that a flash of lightning, leaping from the universal tempest, has suddenly revealed to us a new aspect of the world. It behooves us to be quick in fixing upon our memory the momentary vision; for soon it will fade and vanish completely in the common light of day. But when it has gone we must cherish the recollection of it, for we shall find it indispensable as a source

of encouragement in the tremendous work of organization and creation which must begin when the war is over.

When, after this time of tempest, we enter once more on the long-drawn-out succession of common and monotonous days, we shall again feel ourselves oppressed by the pettiness of an existence so seemingly flat and meaningless. But let no man fold his arms and abandon himself to despair! Let him rather recall this fair vision of the future humanity, of which he has already had a glimpse; let him reflect on the heroism,

hidden deep in man, which, in great moments, triumphs over the seeming insignificance of his nature. To the spectacle of division and discord, as it will then return, let him oppose this memory of the nation which found its unity in the act of raising itself above the earthly interests of common days. And when the rivalry and jealousy of the nations bring new clouds on the horizon, let him remember how, one day, the rolling thunder of a universal tempest announced to him the unity and solidarity of all mankind.
Kalouga, Russia.

The Great Blue Tent

By EDITH WHARTON.

Edith Wharton has written the following poem for THE NEW YORK TIMES, cabled from Paris on Aug. 24, 1915:

Come unto me, said the Flag,
Ye weary and sore opprest;
For I am no shot-riddled rag,
But a great blue tent of rest.

Ye heavy laden, come
On the aching feet of dread,
From ravaged town, from murdered
home,
From your tortured and your dead.

All they that beat at my crimson bars
Shall enter without demur.
Though the round earth rock with the
wind of wars,
Not one of my folds shall stir.

See, here is warmth and sleep,
And a table largely spread.
I give garments to them that weep,
And for gravestones I give bread.

But what, through my inmost fold,
Is this cry on the winds of war?
Are you grown so old, are you grown so
cold,
O Flag that was once our star?

Where did you learn that bread is life,
And where that fire is warm—
You, that took the van of a worldwide
strife,
As an eagle takes the storm?

Where did you learn that men are bred
Where hucksters bargain and gorge;
And where that down makes a softer bed
Than the snows of Valley Forge?

Come up, come up to the stormy sky,
Where our fierce folds rattle and hum,
For Lexington taught us how to fly,
And we dance to Concord's drum.

O flags of freedom, said the Flag,
Brothers of wind and sky;
I too was once a tattered rag,
And I wake and shake at your cry.

I tug and tug at the anchoring place,
Where my drowsy folds are caught;
I strain to be off on the old fierce chase
Of the foe we have always fought.

O People I made, said the Flag,
And welded from sea to sea,
I am still the shot-riddled rag,
That shrieks to be free, to be free.

Oh, cut my silken ties
From the roof of the palace of peace;
Give back my stars to the skies,
My stripes to the storm-striped seas!

Or else, if you bid me yield,
Then down with my crimson bars,
And o'er all my azure field
Sow poppies instead of stars.

Russia's Gift to the World of Literature

By J. W. Mackail

Professor of Poetry in Oxford.

The following article by Professor Mackail, which is here printed with his permission, appeared in a pamphlet entitled "Russia's Gift to the World," and issued by Hodder & Stoughton.

RUSSIA is, for the mass of people in England, an unknown country. It is separated in many ways — by distance, by language, by social organization and habits. It is at the other end of Europe, so that the journey from one country to the other is long, expensive, and rather laborious. Not only the language but even the alphabet is different from ours, and the ways of common life are in many respects strange and take some pains to understand. To these difficulties in the way of intercourse has to be added, not only the national English dislike of foreigners, but the alienation caused by past hostility. The Crimean war, one of the greatest blunders of English statesmanship, drove a wedge between the two nations just when they might have begun to understand one another. Then there followed a long period of jealousies over our Indian frontier and conflicting interests in South-eastern Europe. Twice we were on the brink of war with Russia, once over Constantinople in 1877-8, and again over Afghanistan in 1884-5. Then the Franco-Russian alliance was formed at a time when Great Britain was on uneasy and almost hostile terms with France. It is only in recent years that we have come to regard Russia as a neighbor and tried to understand the Russian Nation and the Russian life.

Instances of the greatness of our ignorance are the common beliefs that the Russians are an Asiatic race, and that they speak a barbarous language. The facts are quite the contrary. The Slavs are, like ourselves, pure Aryans; they are cousins of the Latins and the Celts and the Germans, and have exactly the same claim as these other nations to be

counted European. The countries occupied by them used at one time to extend all over Northern Germany as far west as the Elbe, and even now there are Slav peoples in large numbers in the heart of Central Europe. So, too, about their language. The Russian language, which is spoken (with some varieties of dialect) by more than 100,000,000 people, is one of the richest and noblest of human languages. It provides as valuable a mental discipline as any other modern language, perhaps even as Greek or Latin, and it is a language in which many great works of literature, as we shall see later, have been written.

In any account of Russian literature, two kinds of it have to be considered which are historically separate, though the one to some extent grew out of and is founded upon the other. There is the early popular literature of tales, ballads, and poems which grew up among the people, was handed down by memory, and very often was not committed to writing at all until modern times. There is also the regular literature of books, which begins when language has been studied as an art and reduced to rules. This latter is the form which literature takes in modern times. In both forms the record of Russia is extraordinarily rich.

From very early times Russian as a spoken language produced a copious treasure of tales and ballads, epics and songs. The old Russian fairy tales now recovered and written down are of the highest rank in their wealth of fancy, their freshness, and beauty. The "epic songs" or "heroic songs" going back to the early Middle Ages, from the tenth to the thirteenth century, are no less important. They have been collected and

printed in modern times by Danilev, Rybnikov, Sakharov, and many others. They are not only of immense historical interest, but reveal a power of imagination and expression not excelled by anything produced in Western Europe. To the same period belonged the prose epics, nearly all now lost. One of these, "The Raid of Prince Igor," was rediscovered in 1795; and both in matter and style it is a masterpiece, to be set alongside of the French "*Chanson de Roland*" or the great Icelandic Sagas. The production of this early popular literature received a severe check from the conquest of Southern Russia by the Mongols (a race akin to the Huns) in the thirteenth century. Ages of devastation followed, during which Russia sank back into something approaching barbarism. But the instinct for the popular epic survived, and put forth fresh and vigorous growths during the period which was in England that of Shakespeare and Milton.

Regular Russian literature, in the modern sense of the term, is hardly more than a century old. It began in the result partly of the introduction of Western education, partly of the rediscovery of their own older literature. Both took effect when the Russian Empire had been consolidated in the eighteenth century. Lomonosov, by his work on the Russian language, paved the way for style and composition. He was a man of immense learning, and the University of Moscow was founded (1755) under his influence. At first the books written were in the French manner, which was then dominant in Europe. The great impulse toward a truly national Russian literature was given by the national war of 1812, and the first really great work which that impulse produced was Karamzin's "*History of Russia*," published in the year after Waterloo. For its period it was a remarkable achievement merely as history, but its chief importance was in its larger aspect as literature. It established interest among the educated classes in the history of their own country, and it also established Russian prose as a fine art, and became a classic on its literary merit. About the same time there were writing a number of poets

who, though not of the first rank, helped to do for verse what Karamzin had done for prose.

All this work was pioneering in unexplored regions. It may help us to understand Russian literature to think of it as like English literature starting with Scott and Byron if these authors had had no predecessors except the ballads, chronicles, and romances of the Middle Ages, and if in the beginning of the nineteenth century they had had to make their language as well as write in it.

The new movement rapidly bore fruit, and it took shape in the works of Pushkin, the real founder of modern Russian literature. He was both a poet and a prose writer of the romantic school; he corresponds broadly to both Scott and Byron in this country. He was much influenced by Shakespeare, but his genius was quite individual and also quite national. His narrative poem, "*Evgeny Onegin*," his historical tragedy, "*Boris Godunov*," and his prose stories of Russian life are all masterpieces. He remains not only a founder but a model. He was more of an artist than a thinker, but his writings have a purity and sincerity of the highest and most lasting value. Like Scott, he was a romantic who did not lose touch with reality, and who gave voice in his writings to the life of his nation. Through him Russian literature was able to claim a place with French and German, English and Italian, among the national literatures of Europe.

That claim was established, that place secured, by the three great imaginative writers of the next generation. Pushkin and his contemporaries, indeed, have only become known largely outside of Russia in the reflected light of those successors, who compelled the attention and won the admiration of the whole world. Turgeneff, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy are by common consent among the greatest writers of all ages and countries. It would be needless to labor a point which no one would deny. Taken together, they sum up a production comparable in largeness, force, and vital truth to those of Elizabethan or Victorian England. Of this great trinity but few words need be said.

Turgeneff is above all things a consummate artist. For easy and complete mastery of his art he stands at the head of all European writers of his time. His early training was largely German, and afterward he lived much in France; and so he writes of Russian life from a broad European point of view, and his fame became as great throughout Europe as it was in his own country. Through him Europe came for the first time, with a shock of surprise and admiration, into contact with the Russian soul. Writers so distinguished as George Sand and Flaubert acknowledged him as their master. In "Dmitri Rudin," "Fathers and Sons," and other works hardly less famous, he combined truth to nature with purity of outline and sense of proportion, and with complete harmony between thought and expression. His work is almost unequalled for perfection of style and for restrained power; Taine hardly went beyond what most would admit when he said that there had been nothing like it since Sophocles.

He wrote of a life which was rapidly becoming a life of the past; in his last important work, "Virgin Soil," he is seen trying, in some perplexity, to keep pace with the movements of a new generation. His fame is not so great now as it was thirty years ago, when he had a position, somewhat like Tennyson in England, of unquestioned supremacy. But the strength and charm, the insight and suavity of his art still remain; and his work stands secure, not only by its beauty but by its strength and truth. In his self-imposed exile he remained a patriot. The Russian language was to him a symbol of Russian life. "When I fall into despair," he wrote, "at the sight of all that is being done at home, I cannot but believe that it is to a great people that such a language has been given."

Turgeneff represents the Russia of the older time; Dostoyevsky represents, in strong contrast, the growth, the unrest, and the agonies of the new democracy. His scenes of life are the garret and the street, with their monotony of poverty and suffering. He cannot be read for amusement; his books are disquieting and

distressing, but compelling in their power and truth. The typical Russian qualities of patience and humility became in him a passion, almost a fever. His "Crime and Punishment" had an effect, in Russia and throughout Europe, as great as that of Richardson's "Clarissa" a century before. They are alike in their slow, inevitable movement, their crushing truth, their insight into the dark places of the human soul, and the way in which they work out, relentlessly and in cruel detail, the doctrine of expiation through suffering. Later books, "The Idiot," "Devils," "The Brothers Karamazov," are no less powerful and no less awful. The image of life which he places before us would be horrible but for the sense throughout it all of controlling and overwhelming pity. He searches for the soul of goodness in evil, and so finally leaves a message of dim hope.

Tolstoy was probably the most remarkable single figure in the world of his time. He is the one Russian writer whose name, and some at least of whose works, are known everywhere. Turgeneff is a supreme artist; Dostoyevsky rejects art in his consuming passion for humanity; with Tolstoy, "art happens," he cannot help being a great artist. No modern writer, hardly any one ancient or modern, has approached him in two things. One of these is his power of creating people and situations that are not so much like life as they are life itself. The other is his power of stirring thought and awakening conscience by going straight to the heart of things, and to the human heart itself. In his narrative, one feels not only that things happened so, but that they could not have happened otherwise; it is as though Nature herself took the pen and wrote for him. This is the effect produced by all his work; alike in the vivid descriptive work of his earlier years, like "The Cossacks" and "Sevastopol"; or in his vast historical epic of "War and Peace," which paints or rather sets out in the solid, in flesh and blood, a whole civilization and a whole generation of the world's history; or in "Anna Karenina," where Russian society comes to life on a large canvas; or in his autobiographic

writings, like "Childhood, Boyhood and Youth"; or in those exquisite short stories, like "What Men Live By," "Master and Man," "The Two Pilgrims," "Where Love Is, There God Is Also," where he gives us life in its simplest elements, among poor peasants and artisans, and which are full of infinite fragrance and beauty, of incomparable truth and tenderness and power.

He thought little of his own art, for he was too deeply concerned with life, with religion, and with the salvation of mankind, to care about other things. Fame came to him against his will. In his later years, his house at Yasnaya Polyana became a place of pilgrimage from all Europe, like Ferney in the old age of Voltaire, like Weimar in the old age of Goethe. He was not only an artist but a prophet, and not only an artist and a prophet but a child, with the child's terrible simplicity and insight. In all these qualities he is unique, but yet characteristically Russian.

All the three were alike in their passionate love of Russia, as well as in their power of interpreting Russia to mankind. But their love of Russia worked out differently. The patriotism of Turgenyev reached out toward accepting and assimilating the influences of the West. That of Dostoyevsky rebelled against these influences; it was more self-confined, but more intense. That of Tolstoy was not patriotism at all in the ordinary sense; his love of Russia was an instinct, and he wrote of Russia because he found in it a symbol of the whole of humanity. And so he drew more and more from the life of the Russian peasantry, (who are nine-tenths of the nation,) because in them he found the nearest approach to practical Christianity, to the attitude of little children which is inculcated by the Gospel, and in which he discerned the secret of life.

These three great writers tower up among a mass of others, who, by themselves, would make Russian literature remarkable. Most of them are hardly known in England except among Russian scholars, and it would be idle to give a long list of mere names, but a few of the more outstanding poets and prose authors

may be mentioned. In prose we have to take special note of Gogol, the novelist and playwright, who has been called the Russian Dickens; he was the founder of realism in Russian literature, and his work is full of fun and humor. These qualities are rather rare in Russian art, which is habitually serious—sometimes almost oppressively so to the Western mind. In them he is akin to English writers. The French critic, Prosper Mérimée, put this in a pointed way when he called him "one of the best English humorists." With him may be named Belinsky, the creator of Russian literary criticism, who was powerful in molding the great generation of Russian writers; Vladimir Solov'ev, the essayist and thinker; and Yakovlev, (better known by his maternal name of Herzen,) a Christian Socialist whose influence was immense in directions that he neither desired nor foresaw, and who is known in literature by his brilliant "Memoirs." Three more have been, in part, translated into English, and are better known: Chekhov, the literary descendant of Turgenyev, who drew Russian middle-class life with great accuracy and also with a sense of humor; Gorky, "the Russian Kipling," who introduced a fresh naturalism into Russian letters, and Merezhkovsky, the author of powerful works of historical fiction.

In poetry likewise may be named Krylov, the fabulist, who, before Pushkin, gave the first impulse to national self-expression; Lermontov, a poet of the school of Byron, but with a lyrical gift akin to that of Shelley; Koltsov, "the Russian Burns"; the delicate and charming lyrics of Alexis Tolstoy, and Nekrasov, the most popular in Russia of all their poets. Nekrasov might be compared to Longfellow in his simplicity and direct appeal to ordinary people; but he is in the strongest contrast to Longfellow's cheerful serenity, for his poetry, in its uncompromising realism, is often bitter, and nearly always full of gloom. Yet this temper issues finally in enthusiasm for the people and faith in their ultimate victory.

At the present time, as is natural and inevitable, Russian literature seems to be

in a time of slack water after the period of the great writers. But it is full of the stirrings of fresh life. As in England, there is large and eager production,

manifold experiment, belief in the power of literature to interpret life; and this gives hope, in both countries, of a new birth and another great age.

"Martyred Birds"

By JEROME K. JEROME.

To the Editor of The London Daily News:

Monks Corners, Marlow Common, Bucks, Aug. 11, 1915.

IT was back in the Winter. There was published in the English papers a letter from a young cavalry officer fighting in Flanders. He spoke, in a casual way, of the discomforts of the cold, of the two feet of icy water in the trenches where he and his handful of men—for it was before the days of rapid relief—lived for weeks at a time, of the annoyance of not being able to put your head for an instant above the parapet without fear of a bullet, of the inconvenience of bursting shrapnel. But these things were more or less what he had expected. What was worrying him most was "a little black dog." Half a mile behind the trenches lay a shattered farmstead. Some of its inhabitants had been killed, the others had fled. All but this wretched little black dog who went about there day and night with a low, whimpering cry, seeking its people. They had taken it food. The silly fellows had risked their lives crawling through the night. They had tried to bring it back with them to the trench. It would have been safer there and they comforted it; they felt so sorry for it. But it would not go with them. It wanted its own people.

And then he reflects that there must be hundreds of such cases. That this is not the only "little black dog" whimpering among its dead. "Poor little devils," he concludes, "it's awfully pitiful!"

One shudders to think of the indignation with which so many of our fierce stay-at-homes must have read this letter. "Sickly sentimentality," I can hear them spluttering. "Maudlin humanitarianism—and in a soldier." "What is the world coming to?" And yet, strangely enough, kindness has always gone with the true soldier spirit. One remembers the story of the Emperor Maximilian, the fierce, ruthless conqueror. How the birds built their nest within his silken tent. And how, when the order came to move forward, and the orderlies stretched out their hands to shatter the little home, the Emperor forbade them: "Leave it standing"—one can picture the twinkle in the grim, gray eyes. The Emperor will have to sleep in less commodious quarters. The day pavilion. Pity claims it, and the Emperor bows.

From what I know of them I do not believe we could give our boys at the front any greater pleasure than this little gift of Mercy, such as my friend, Francis Cox, proposes to the sweet singers of our lanes and fields. To worry about caged skylarks while a hundred miles from our coast is being waged the fiercest war of history may seem to lack proportion. For our fighting men to worry themselves about sad little dogs while the wings of Death are beating the air above them, and each moment may be their last, is hardly logical. But that is human nature; a thing our denouncers of sentiment know very little about. To even think about birds' lives when men's lives every day are being crushed out of them by the thousand may not appear fit and proper to those who have never felt the mysterious current of brotherhood that runs through all things living.

I want to see Prussian militarism crushed and democracy triumphant; and at the same time the thought of brave little thrushes condemned to beat out their gallant hearts, to pour forth their great song of courage for the pleasure and profit of a pack of ruffians maddens me. The two things, to me, are part of the same whole. If, as Mr. Cox suggests, this act of mercy could be done by an order from the Home Secretary, he would be heartening the cause of freedom and humanity throughout Europe by issuing it without a moment's delay.

We hear of how this war is to lift up and purify the nations. How we are to emerge from it braver, truer, kinder. God grant it may be so. Meanwhile, might we not begin with this little thing that to many of us would mean so much? We are fighting for liberty, for justice. Cannot our hearts be big enough that even our little fellow-artists, the birds, shall have their share in our triumph?

Henry James a British Citizen

By Professor J. William White, of the University of Pennsylvania

To the Editor of The London Spectator:

I HAVE been asked so frequently during the last fortnight as to the real meaning of Henry James's recent renunciation of American citizenship that I feel inclined to make public my own interpretation of that act. I have no authority to speak for him, but I have ample reason to believe that, in addition to the very genuine feelings and motives he has already made public, there was another and probably a controlling factor that made him reach his decision at this juncture. This was intense dislike for and disapprobation of the official attitude of America since the beginning of the war.

He has watched with increasing disapproval the loss of opportunity after opportunity to assert and defend, not only the rights of all neutral nations, but the principles of civilization and of humanity.

He has watched our Government—with such extraordinary politeness that it involved the entire disregard of truth—notify Germany that her war zone decree, issued early in February, involved “an indefensible violation of neutral rights,” and that the United States would hold her to “a strict accountability for such acts” as those indicated by the decree.

He observed the answer to be the murder of an American citizen on the *Falaba*; then attacks upon two American vessels; and then the killing and drowning of more than one hundred Americans on the *Lusitania*, many of them women and little children.

He has then watched our Government again notify Germany—and again with great politeness—that the attacks upon Americans are “absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare”; that no plea of “military necessity” or of having given “warnings” could palliate “an unlawful and inhumane act”; that the attacks upon Americans must cease, and that

America expected the Imperial German Government (1) to disavow the acts; (2) to take immediate steps to prevent their recurrence; and (3) to make such reparation as might be possible.

He saw that in answer Germany did not do one single one of the three things demanded. She did not disavow the acts; on the contrary, she defended them. She did not take steps to prevent their recurrence; instead, she savagely and without warning attacked another merchant ship, the *Orduna*, carrying American passengers, and torpedoed an American ship, the *Nebraskan*. As to reparation, she did not even allude to it, but made lying statements about the *Lusitania* and her cargo and her murdered passengers, statements which were in themselves an insult to America because, if they had been true, they would have convicted our own Government of gross negligence or incapacity in the discharge of its duty as a neutral.

He has then watched the American Government once more politely reiterate “very earnestly and very solemnly” its former demands, and with equal earnestness and solemnity lay down the fundamental principles governing the issue, principles which involve “nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity” itself. And he has waited again for a reply from Germany, which, when it came, contained no disavowal, no offer of reparation, no pledge for the future, but instead a flat denial of Germany's willingness to conform to either the customs of civilized warfare or the regulations of international law, coupled with an impudent proposal to let Americans use the high seas in safety, provided they should use certain ships and obey certain rules laid down by Germany; the reply actually, with unprecedented insolence, naming to a great power the number of ships it would graciously be permitted to have its people sail upon—and live.

And then after another delay he has

seen still another note—almost as polite as the first one—sent by his country to Germany, the gist of which was that if she murdered any more Americans it would be regarded as an “unfriendly act.” Ascribing the weightiest possible significance to that term as used in the devious and obscure language of diplomacy, it seemed to him so far from meeting the requirements of the situation, so far from upholding the honor and dignity of an outraged and insulted nation, that he did not desire any longer to bear even the one-hundred millionth part of either the responsibility or the shame. Who can blame him? As one of our papers has said:

Between the German and the American Governments there lie not only arrogant provocation and dishonored laws and contemptuously disregarded “scraps of paper,” but the bodies of more than one hundred American citizens treacherously and foully slain. When wholesale murder becomes a fit subject for arbitration, and when admitted, defended, and boasted acts of official assassination can be put aside in favor of diplomatic discussion of irrelevancies, a reply in kind may be sent to Berlin. Until then the indictment for causeless murder stands, and all the sophistry, evasions, and impertinent “justifications” of a desperate Government cannot erase one red word of it.

I wonder how many Americans, abroad and at home, who have thought over this record of the last six months have felt ashamed for their country. Not many, of course, have the collateral reasons, the long residence in England, the daily association and intimate friendship with its people, the acquirement of property, the formation of cherished social ties that underlie Mr. James’s action. But it is safe to say that unless acts, not words, are soon to characterize America’s policy toward Germany there will be millions of Americans who, though they would not follow his example, would understand and sympathize with his desire to throw in his lot with a country that is at least fighting, not talking.

I hope and believe, however, that the Americans who are “too proud to fight” mostly wear petticoats, and that there are very few, even of them. I believe that “neutrality” is rapidly becoming a term of reproach. I believe that Mr.

Wilson’s admonition to be “neutral even in thought,” which was at first merely inane and ludicrous, now seems hateful. I believe, in other words, that the great mass of our people—say, 80 to 90 per cent.—agree, with Life, that “A neutral is the ignoblest work of God,” and that their feelings are well expressed by the lines in the same American periodical:

When murder, arson, and rapine
Are worthy of the laurel green—
Then I’ll be Neutral.

When drowning children in the sea
Is charter to nobility—
Then I’ll be Neutral.

When killing mothers with their young
Becomes a deed by poets sung—
Then I’ll be Neutral.

* * * * *
When my own sense of wrong and right
Has faded into hopeless night—
Then I’ll be Neutral.
Or—blank of mind—I do not know
The good and true from sin and woe—
Then I’ll be Neutral.

That voices, I think, the sentiment of the American people. They lined up solidly behind the President when he issued his first “strict accountability” message to Germany. They have supported him since in each successive manifesto because, taking his words at their face value, they seemed to promise results for the good not only of America but of all civilization. But Americans at home and abroad have noted with apprehension the continued disposition to narrow the scope of his efforts, to substitute only “American citizens” for all non-combatants in his insistence upon safety at sea; to magnify the warning of two ships and the setting of their crews and passengers adrift in open boats into a disposition on the part of Germany to comply with our “earnest and solemn” demands; to submit still longer to the insolent behavior of the “Imperial German Government,” the impudence and mendacity of its official representatives in Washington, and the treasonable propaganda of its German, pro-German, and German-American advocates in the United States.

Some of us have lost all faith in any spontaneous action on the part of our Administration which shall properly represent and transform into deeds the

best and highest impulses of our people. Others are more hopeful. But when an American, hitherto as loyal and as representative as Henry James, feels impelled to renounce his citizenship, and when hundreds of others abroad—and millions at home—cannot avoid a sense of shame at the position of their country in this greatest of all crises in the history of the world, it is time for thinking and earnest Americans to bestir themselves and to try to find some way of transmuting their profound beliefs into honorable and worthy performance.

I do not for a moment want to imply that the action of Mr. James is of itself of great national or international importance. He would himself be horrified

at such a suggestion. I do think, however, that as an index to the feelings of myraids of his former fellow-countrymen it is of high significance, and that by reason of his very modesty and shyness and dislike of notoriety there is a possibility that it may not convey to Americans the message and the portent which are implicit in it and which constitute its claim to be properly interpreted to them.

I hope I have not misrepresented him. This has been written without a word of consultation with him, although I have seen him frequently. If I am wrong he may set me right if he cares to do so. I am, Sir, &c.,

J. WILLIAM WHITE.

The Heavenly Twins

[From The London Daily Chronicle.]

("All is done by dream and daring."—
The Rev. W. Major Scott, M. A.)

These twin angels, Dream and Daring,
Standing by the Great White Throne,
Vowed their vow, and hither faring,
Heard Creation's travail groan.

Dream flies over wold and city,
Strewing stars about the night,
Waking Chivalry and Pity,
Dressing Duty in Delight.

Daring looks from maiden lashes
In the eyes of common youth;
Haunted by her glance, he dashes
Foremost up the steep of truth.

Sojourn with us, Dream and Daring,
Light and lead us, Heavenly Twins;
Never halting, never sparing,
Heaven's reward your lover wins.

Where your royal Order wanders
Knightly deeds like flowers spring,
Darkest thunder-clouds of Flanders
Cloak a guardian angel's wing.

A. W.

The Mobilization of Hope

By Sir James Yoxall

Sir James Yoxall is a member of the British Parliament and a well-known author and contributor to magazines. This article appeared originally in *The London Daily News*.

THE old clock yawns, then strikes; I look out into the dark garden and think of the men in the trenches. The wind is changing, and a frightened poplar gives the alarm.

I feel the weakening which night brings in her shadows. Are we winning yonder? Or are we losing? They fought in a labyrinth yonder; are we all wandering in a labyrinth, having lost the clue?

We are winning so slowly, people say. Yet we may take courage even from that. For quick success is usually deceptive; the Germans had quick success as far as the Marne; poor Warneford had quick success. The tragic part is not that our cause should have failed awhile; every great cause fails at first. What seems to be the tragic part is when the fighters for a cause do not live to see it triumph. But I think they foresee.

We can mobilize hope. Earnest hoping is a powerful way of asking, and a part of the faith that foresees. Arthur Hugh Clough foresaw, for Italy, though in 1848 he witnessed her failure against Austria, and in 1861 at Florence he "died without the sight." He recognized facts meantime, as by Bishops, Deans, dons, scientific professors, and scare-leader writers we are daily dunned to do; at Peschiera he saw "the tricolor, a trampled rag, lie dust and dirt"; in the moldering cities of the Quadrilateral he saw the ruin left by Austria linger on, as you may see it linger there still, as it will linger on in Trieste. But he was not disheartened; he sang his "Say not the struggle naught availeth," all the same.

How the Brownings and he, how Meredith and the other English mobilizers of hope for Italia liberata, would rejoice today! What songs they would sing for

the red, white, and green flag that presses onward into Italia irredenta and into the pleats of the Alps! But there is Belgica irredenta, too, today, to sing for and to mobilize hope for. Our soldiers who have died in Flanders felt the tragic part of that, the ruin and the temporary ignominy for Belgica irredenta, and more keenly than we do; but, depend upon it, in the prophetic hour of battle they foresaw the vindication that is coming, and for Belgica liberata their hearts sang.

Clough, in his singing robes of vision, gave us a hymn of hoping, four verses which offer the refreshment sinking spirits need today. "Stand fast, don't be depressed, don't say it is all no use," he began.

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain!

Yet that is what the impatient and short-sighted among us—the impervious, the nicked, with no pores to their minds—are saying today. I look at the vane above my neighbor's garage; it points steadily to the true wind. All other weathercocks than men point the same way in the same wind; why cannot we? O ye of little faith, it is the scares you read and the prophets you heed who depress you—but why do you so read and heed? What the Right Rev. Dr. Feeble-Faith, Principal Pangloss, half-pay Major Fetter-People, and Mr. Pick-Fault, M. P., are doing is to organize and mobilize despair.

But who are these false prophets for a people? What virtue have they in a crisis, who could not be wise even when life was calm? The sin of these panic patriots is mental treason; they are the true pro-Germans, they ought to be interned. For they delay our victory. "In

war all is mental," Napoleon said. He defined the virtues of a leader as not to worry, to keep a clear mind always, to show no change of countenance, to exhort the timid, to augment the brave, to rally the wavering; none of these things do our panic patriots achieve. But the poets foresee; listen, else, to Clough's second verse:

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field!

Yes, but for us, if we herd with the baaing flock of the tremulous, if we follow scared bellwethers in the wild leaps they try to take; yes, but for us, if we join in bleating out great breaths of despondency toward officers and men at the front. There is, there cannot but be, a telling influence in a big, simultaneous, psychical movement; big psychical movements are the long-range ordnance of the mind and spirit; that was why the Germans organized against us an orgy of national hate. Against them in arms let us organize faith and mobilize hope. The longer one lives the more one perceives that true power is not mechanical, that the abiding forces are not logical, but instinctive, that the springs and appeals of them do not lie within the region of argument and proof. So that even if half the statements made by the pessimists were rational they might all be wrong.

But they cannot half be true, for they arise out of vitiating prejudices and mental faults; anybody could trace the diagram of the dicta to be expected of the men from whom they come. They come from indurated cynics, from disappointed ambition, from vehement crudity, from effervescent nullities, ardent jealousies,

and—to use Milton's phrase for inappropriate Bishops—from "blind mouths"; from no judges, from oracles that ought to be dumb. Like most of us, they have only mind and soul enough for themselves; it is the poets who can feel and know for others. These praters cannot keep silence, however; though silence is, as Quakers know, though some Bishops do not, the most eloquent way of praying. They prate of what they call facts, but facts, brief facts, are something superimposed, a fleeting photograph, a changing picture upon a camera-obscura screen. They shout the apparently obvious, too; though only the reticences are worth listening for. Silently the Quakers wait for the reticences, and we may wait as calmly for manifestations of great, slow laws and immanent forces of nature at work; doing meantime the best we may to keep our cause in tune with those calm powers.

"God's in His heaven," sang Browning; "Germany's force is material, not moral," says Bergson; "which means that she is living upon material reserves alone." Poetry, theology, and philosophy concur, you see. "On the German side there is force spread out upon the surface; but on our side there is also deep force, resident in the depths."

Deep answers unto deep; but the enemy can only expect superficial aid. They are strong, but their strength is limited to itself, because they have put themselves out of tune with the great, slow forces, and into antagonism with the eternal laws; that is why they were in such a hurry, knowing the great slow force of time to be against them. Therefore in the end they must fail and fall, as a dozen tyrant empires have done.



As an English Mystic Sees the War

By W. S. Thayer

Hotel Champlain, Aug. 10, 1915.

To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

SOME months ago the writer sent to a distinguished member of the British expeditionary force in France a copy of President Eliot's essays upon the war. The answer, which sets forth with such force the true essence of the cause for which France and England and Russia and their allies are fighting today, seems to him so fine that it deserves to be given to a larger public. It expresses in language of rare beauty the thoughts of many who appreciate the real significance of that for which this country has stood from the day of its birth; who know too well how utterly foreign, how fundamentally opposed are the principles for which Prussia is contending today to those ideals and aspirations which are dearer to us than life itself.

W. S. THAYER.

THE LETTER.

—, May 9, 1915.

My Dear Thayer: Thank you very much for sending me Eliot's book. It breathes a fine spirit, and takes the right view ("orthodoxy is my doxy, heterodoxy is the other man's doxy") of the course to be pursued. I think him hopelessly unworldly in projecting an international control under any conditions that we can yet foresee. Indeed, the present war is in a sense an attempt at it. Our side is fighting that treaties may be kept, and arbitration (Serbia) substituted for force. We are trying, like the police, to keep the peace. The only possible chance is that other nations, more than at present, should join in doing so.

You cannot prevent a nation becoming strong, nor will you ever get other nations to make war upon it for building too many dreadnoughts or enlisting too many battalions. Yet war is the only "sanction." You can only stop breaches of agreement by punishing them. You cannot then have any other

police than the battalions and ships of other nations. At the same time, war being what it is, it is hopeless to expect that any nation will engage in it who does not fear great loss or hope great gain. They will always be swayed by the influences which are now swaying Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania. No desire of justice would lead those countries to join us. I doubt if it would justify their rulers in declaring war.

An international police, therefore, will not in any measurable distance of time be anything else than it now is, the nations in arms; and the cry is that of an unworldly man who thinks that the world can save itself trouble by an agreement. The world could save itself trouble, but it is obvious that not much help can be obtained from agreements.

I am, however, surprised to find a very charming compatriot of yours speak hopefully of Eliot's idea. He dined with me two nights ago, and we discussed it.

I will tell you another way in which Eliot does not satisfy me. I, skeptic though I am, am, like every Englishman, a mystic. I see in this war almost literally a fight between God and the devil. All is at stake that we think highest and noblest. If you ask yourself what is highest and noblest, what is the real meaning of progress and civilization, you will give up all material things as unimportant. You will find that what we call intellectual growth is only a summation of items, not a real advance of the individual intelligence, and that the things that matter are moral. I think they are the ideals of justice, freedom, and pity, and I am not sure that they cannot all be resolved into the latter. Christ taught it, but it was not new even then. I think it has been taught more forcibly by the masses of the poor and oppressed, who have taught it by deed rather than by word, and have compelled respect by hard fighting. But

without religion I am certain it would not have had the vogue it has.

It is easy to see its weakness. We English are a set of sentimentalists, and have lost in our worship of pity much of the sternness that leads to health. The sense of this extravagance has led short-sighted Germans, like young men in revolt against the ideals of their elders, to declare all pity mere idleness. Pity, they say, is a decadent nation's excuse for not polishing its sword.

By our unwillingness to compel we have fostered selfishness. We have said the man is the greatest. Do you remember your Aristotle? He must have free play. He must grow as he pleases. The State will grow with him, and since we know less about the State than about the man, we must legislate for the man, and so the State will come by its gain.

The German does the opposite, and has a noble ideal of his own, but a narrow mind to worship with.

Now, with all my soul I believe that the ideal of pity is the noblest thing we have, and that its denial which waves on every German flag is the denial of all that the greatest men have striven for for centuries. I see in this war the colossal strife between the doctrine which I call good and *der Geist der*

stets vernunft. You see, I am almost borrowing the language of the Kaiser. I feel that the two enormous spirits that move this world are showing their weapons almost visibly, and that never was the garment of the living world so thin over the gods that it conceals.

I am not much elated by the thought. I have little opinion of Providence as an ally, and I am surprised at the weakness that the Kaiser shows for his pocket deity. What we have to do, in my opinion, we do ourselves, and our task is none the lighter that we defend the right. But I am hardened and set by the thing I believe. We feel that we are fighting for the life of England—yes, for the safety of France—yes, for the sanctity of treaties—yes, but behind these secondary and comparatively material issues, for something far deeper, far greater, for something so great and deep that if our efforts fail I pray God I may die before I see it.

The words of Eliot, interesting, true, and graceful as they are, sound not in me with the terrific ring that this war merits. I see in every skirmish the fight between heaven and hell, between the thing that I blindly worship and the thing that it despises and abhors. *A toi.*

X.

Vale

By GEOFFREY DEARMER.

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Not the slow mourners nor the measured tread
Shall blind our passion, silent, still, and free,
Vast as the winds that stir the vagrant sea,
Strong as the bonds of Love. No mortal dread
Bedims our vision. Yet, thou drooping head,
Where lies the splendor of our victory,
When all the beauty which encompassed thee
Lies buried with the great impassioned dead?
Oh, idle thought, for man's triumphant will,
Unmoved by Greed, unfettered by Desire,
Beats stronger than the body sacrificed.
Mother, behold thy son—Death cannot kill
One who passed scathless through embittered fire
To prove the eternal certainty of Christ.

Venice in War Time

By Ernest W. Smith

This article appeared originally in The London Daily News.

IF it had not been what it was, a bright moonlit night, I don't think I should have recognized Venice in war time.

The train, with its carriage windows closely curtained, (for you must not look out on the country when you are passing through the war zone,) crept like a spectre over the bridge spanning the lagoon into Venice. Soldiers were sleeping in the darkened station awaiting their trains to the front. The two or three passengers who looked like tourists had to run the gauntlet at the barrier of a dozen gilt-braided porters, each anxious to impress upon you that his hotel was still open.

If it were not that they followed you clamoring outside the station you might think you had stepped out into a city of the dead. There was not a gondola in sight in the first bend of the Grand Canal—indeed, I found out afterward that no gondolas are allowed to be on the canals after 8 o'clock, except the privileged hotel omnibus gondolas, which meet the night train for the convenience of passengers. As you were paddled silently over the water until you came in sight of the Rialto Bridge, where the gondolier who knows his Venice will take you a short cut through narrow canals to the landing near the Place St. Mark, you were conscious of passing through a curious Venice, which, if it had not been that the moon lighted it up as bright as day, would have been a weird Venice. As it was, it was more natural to take an interest in what you missed than in what you saw.

The banished gondola! The old-time conveyance of conspirators against the republic, painted black so that it should be able to creep unseen through darkened waterways—just as tonight you could have imagined Venice three or four centuries ago if it were not for that spoil-sport moon. The gondola was the black steed of revolutionaries; it is re-

tained as the black steed of Venetians up to the present time as a reminder of the intrigues its invisibility favored in the Middle Ages. Hotel keepers have put a few gaudily painted ones on the canals as advertisements, and my old friend Don Carlos used to send a bright yellow gondola to the station to take me to the Loredan Palace when I occasionally visited him in exile at Venice.

All light and electric power is cut off from 8 o'clock at night until 4 o'clock the next morning. Where a gleam of light did peep through the shuttered windows overlooking the canal it was the dim ray of a candle or an oil lamp. If you don't dine before 8 you cannot have the benefit of the electric fan to keep you cool and blow mosquitos down into your soup.

When you set foot on the Piazzetta and pass behind the two columns with St. Theodore still standing on the crocodile and the Winged Lion of St. Mark still engrossed in the Book, you see in the corner just where St. Mark's forms an angle with the Doge's palace two tiny dim lights. They are in a pillared exterior gallery of the cathedral, and even if they were not such feeble glimmers being hidden away at the back of the gallery they would never attract the attention of an areoplanist. These two lights have burned nightly in Venice for centuries.

The legend is that in the time of the republic a murder was committed in Venice for which a little baker boy was convicted and executed. Afterward it was proved that he was innocent, and as it was a crime which had impressed the Venetians of the period, the citizens were horrified at the terrible blunder, and to warn juries to be more careful in the future they furnished the money to provide heralds to enter the Venetian Assize Courts whose duty it was to ring out a trumpet call before the jury retired to consider a capital crime, and proclaim the

words, "Remember the little baker boy!" That Venetians should be reminded for ever of this miscarriage of justice it was ordained that these two lamps should be lighted every night over the Piazzetta. The death penalty, except for military offenses, has long been abolished in Italy, so the heralds' task has fallen into abeyance; but the twin lamps are always there, though it is doubtful if one Venetian in a thousand knows why their dim glimmer relieves the darkness of this untenanted gallery.

Daylight reveals a quite unfamiliar façade of St. Mark's. The four famous bronze horses, brought to Venice by Doge Dandolo in 1204, have been removed from above the portals, where they have stood for nearly a century—since Dec. 13, 1815, to be exact. This time they are simply hidden away and not taken into captivity, as when Napoleon carried them off to Paris to decorate the arch in the Place du Carrousal. They came back to Venice then, thanks to that conqueror's good-will, and they will come back again this time. A Venetian managed to snapshot one of them as it was being swung down by a derrick, and some of his fellow-citizens are the proud possessors of a picture post card of the scene inscribed "Off to the front."

The left doorway as you enter the cathedral is blocked right up to the top with sandbags to protect mosaics which, even if they were only peppered by the bullets of a bomb exploding in the Place St. Mark, would be ruined forever. From this it is apparent that the mosaics over the centre and right portals are not so

precious. Inside the scene is strange. All the statues are padded and shrouded in canvas. The votary chapels are hidden behind sandbags, which protect their ornate altars. One solitary figure of Christ is raised in the centre of the church, around which worshippers kneel. There are heaps of sand piled around the pillars—whether to protect their bases or for use in case an incendiary bomb sets fire to the cathedral I did not ascertain.

The Doge's palace is safeguarded in a different way. The destruction of one of the pillars supporting the arches around it might bring about the collapse of those world-famed walls above the Piazzetta. So engineers have bricked in all the archways in order that, if an accident happens and a column is blown away, the weight of the walls will rest on the brick buttresses. In other ways the outward aspect of Venice has been changed. The mention of these will reassure lovers of art and antiquity that the Italians are not blind to air risks.

The people have taken the aeroplane raids very calmly. Very few personal injuries have been caused, and some Venetians will tell you that they were inconvenienced more by the loss of their breakfast milk on the occasion of the last visitation than by anything else. Venice receives its meat, vegetables, and milk in barges from the mainland. An enterprising aviator who dropped darts on the city instead of bombs made a dead set on the milk barge with such success that he punctured enough large milk cans to cause the supply to run short that morning.

The Pope to East Prussia

What purports to be a letter of sympathy sent to the people of East Prussia by Pope Benedict, through the Bishop of Frauenburg, is printed by the Bayerische Kurier, says a telegram from Munich of Aug. 14, 1915, to The Associated Press in Amsterdam. The letter, which was sent through the Papal Nuncio at Munich, is given as follows:

The Holy Father deplores with sincerest sympathy the sad position of the population of the Baltic provinces, who, in fact, for their loyal Christian views deserved a better fate.

At the same time the Holy Father welcomes most heartily the wonderful readiness of all Germany to make sacrifices in order to assist the stricken provinces. As a sign of his fatherly and loving care, he sends this gift of 10,000 marks (\$2,500) for the relief of sufferers.

Modern Troops in Armor

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Writing recently to The London Times on the proposal that the British troops be equipped with armor, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle said:

SUCH actions as that of May 9, where several brigades lost nearly half their numbers in endeavoring to rush over the 300 yards which separated us from the German trenches, must make it clear that it is absolutely impossible for unprotected troops to pass over a zone which is swept by machine guns. Therefore you must either forever abandon such attacks or you must find artificial protection for the men.

It has always seemed to me extraordinary that the innumerable cases where Bible, cigarette case, watch, or some other chance article has saved a man's life have not set us scheming so as to do systematically what has so often been the result of a happy chance.

Your correspondents have mentioned the objection that any protection may itself be broken and that splinters of it may aggravate the wound. One answer to that would be to arm only those points where a wound would in any case be mortal. These points are really very few, and no great weight of metal would be needed to protect them.

Sir Arthur suggests that each man should wear, first, a helmet; secondly, a curved plate of highly tempered steel not more than a foot in diameter over the heart, and, thirdly, a similar plate covering the abdomen. He adds:

With these three precautions the death rate should be greatly reduced from rifle and machine gun fire, as also from shrapnel. Nothing, of course, will avail against a direct shell burst, but, granting that, individual life would be saved.

This does not bear upon the capture of a position, since so many would fall wounded that the weight of attack would be spent before the stormers reached

the trenches. For this armor which will give complete protection is needed, and, since the weight of this is more than a man can readily carry, it must be pushed in front upon wheels.

I picture a great number of plates held together like the shields of a Roman tortoise, and pushed by men who crouch behind them. Others are fixed sideways upon their wheels, and are used upon the flank of the advance to prevent an enfilading fire. There is not one tortoise which would attract the concentrated fire of artillery, but each company or platoon forms its own. These numerous armor-plated bodies rush with small loss over the space which has already been cleared as far as possible of obstacles, and so have some chance of reaching the enemy's line, not as an exhausted fragment, but as a vigorous storming party, with numbers intact.

ARMOR IN THE TRENCHES.

Sir Arthur's suggestion was preceded by the following article printed in The London Times:

One of the most remarkable features of this war has been the return which has been made in various directions to older, if not to ancient, methods. The steel fort has been discredited and the earthwork justified; the strength and direction of the wind has become a leading factor once again, as it was in the days of bows and arrows, since aeroplanes are affected by the wind and gas attacks determined by it; hand grenades and bombs have assumed real importance. Finally, the question of armor for the fighting man himself has come up for consideration.

It was inevitable that this question should arise, and the astonishing thing is that discussion of it in this country has been so long postponed. Early in the war visitors to the Belgian front saw a form of shield which was used

by the soldiers. This shield was fixed in the ground when in use and the man lay behind it and was protected by it. It was employed by cavalry and, it is understood, answered the purpose for which it was intended.

The idea grew in popularity on the Continent; in a shop window in Calais a breastplate was exposed for sale many months ago for which it was claimed that it would turn aside bullets and pieces of shrapnel. A shield of this kind was tested very carefully by a group of private inventors and was finally submitted to the authorities of several of the nations at war. During the private tests a revolver was emptied at the shield while it was being worn. The shield was also subjected to rifle fire with, on the whole, good results. The results were certainly so good as to merit more extended trial.

In The Times of Oct. 28, 1914, there appeared a message from Reuter's correspondent in Paris to the following effect:

A Rennes newspaper says that the shield which has been placed at the disposal of the French infantry in Argonne is a protection against bullets which has already been adopted by the Russian Government, and of which the French Government is at present having a large number made by the works at St. Hilaire-du-Harcourt, which have the monopoly of the shield. Work is proceeding actively at the factory.

Since that date references to the use of armor have appeared from time to time in medical communications from the front, and almost invariably these references have been of a favorable character. The high velocity of modern bullets causes them to ricochet from the shells, while pieces of shrapnel, which often inflict large surface wounds, are turned away, or at any rate have the force of the impact broken. Metal shields for the back and legs have from time to time been mentioned in connection with trench warfare, it being in these regions that soldiers are frequently hit by exploding shrapnel shells.

The latest contribution to the armor question is of an exceedingly interesting character, because it deals with the results secured by the use of this protection. Dr. Devraigne, says The Lancet, has now systematically studied the value of headpieces of metal issued some time ago to the French troops in the trenches. He has found the value of these *calottes métalliques* to be considerable. He examined 55 cases of head injury, in which 42 of the wounded men had no headpiece and 13 wore helmets.

Of the 42, 23 suffered fracture of the skull, and most of these died. The remaining 19 had scalp wounds only. In the case of the 13 armored men, eight were suffering from "cerebral shock" of a more or less severe character, but none of them died, while the remaining five had merely slight superficial wounds or scratches.

Other soldiers who wore helmets had received no visible head wounds at all. The Lancet comments:

These figures do not, of course, prove that the *calotte* is an absolute safeguard against fractures of the skull by bullet wound or shell wound in the trenches, but, as a matter of fact, in the series of cases studied there was not a single fracture of the skull among the protected men, and Dr. Devraigne concludes that the value of the metallic headpiece has been absolutely demonstrated and that it should be much more generally employed.

That this conclusion is a sound one seems to be fairly obvious. The objection to the use of armor has been to a large extent founded upon the fact that it was heavy and difficult to make; but modern conditions of warfare have discounted the question of weight to a great extent. Any one who has visited our British hospitals knows that head wounds are very frequent indeed. We should certainly reduce the incidence of these wounds if we followed the example of our allies and gave our men helmets similar to those served out to the French soldiers. We have already had eight months in which to consider the question.

Volunteering or Conscription in Britain?

By Edward Carpenter

This article by Edward Carpenter, the democratic author and poet, appeared originally in *The London Daily Chronicle*. It opposes the propaganda now carried on in Great Britain in favor of a conscript army.

THE present hour, when the above subjects are being discussed on all hands, is peculiarly a time when the people of Britain should make up their minds on the great question of voluntarism and compulsion.

The magnificent response to the call for defense of the motherland—response not only of our home peoples, but of our colonies and dependencies all over the world—has surprised ourselves. It has astonished Germany, and brought to our allies an unexpected satisfaction—since they, indeed, looked to our navy for help, but never supposed a Continental army of any magnitude would be forthcoming. I say “defense of the motherland,” for it is clear, I think—whatever various theories may be held about the origins of the war—that the idea of defense, not of offense, has been the great deciding urge and inspiration of the enthusiasm.

France, curiously, seems to be not quite satisfied, and to be of opinion that Britain is not bearing her full share of the brunt of this contest; and even M. Romain Rolland, in a late letter to me, while protesting against the war, takes the view that if the other allied nations have conscription it is not quite fair of us not to adopt it also. But this opinion, I think, we can trace to the sinister influence of the Northcliffe paper in Paris. We cannot regard it as justified. Britain may, as usual, have been rather slow in making up her mind, but that she is putting all her forces and all her resolution into the work now cannot be doubted.

In the face of this great object lesson in the value and power of the voluntary principle when the heart of a nation is

once roused, it is more than probable that the outcry in favor of conscription which we are hearing in some quarters is really an anti-democratic political move, having in view the scotching of the rising power of the masses.

For the arguments against conscription (as regards our country, at any rate) are really so strong that for every sincere person they must, one would think, be convincing.

In the first place, it is contrary to the genius of our people, who, though slow and deficient in capacity of rapid organization, are very persistent in the determination to grow, as it were, out of their own roots, and in the dislike of being pushed into things against their will.

In the second place, it is intolerable to our sense of freedom, and it ought to be intolerable to our Christian sentiment, to be compelled to fight. For while service of some kind to the State might reasonably be regarded as compulsory, organized and professional murder is so revolting to the feelings, the consciences, and the temperaments of some people that to force them into it would seem the height of wickedness. It would also be the height of folly, for nothing is more certain than that a number of such people compulsorily enrolled in a force do seriously lower the general standard of courage, efficiency, and determination in that force.

Thirdly, at the present juncture, when the voluntary response has had such great material result, and exercised so fine a moral influence, by showing forth the heart of the nation, and what can be done by the principle of freedom—to

cloud and ruin all this result and influence by compulsion would be foolish indeed; and all the best that England stands for in the eyes of the world—and has stood for so long—would be negatived and made of no avail.

In the fourth place, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the danger which conscription brings with it—the danger of putting into Governmental hands a weapon which at any future time may be easily used not only for carrying on an iniquitous war abroad, but for repressing the democracy at home. In view of the notorious way in which private cliques in the modern nations are able to “collar” Governments, and run them for their own ends, this danger is of the most serious order; and no institution which would tend to increase it should be allowed.

This fourth argument seems to me final. Whatever may be said for conscription in France or Germany, or elsewhere, or might be said in the case of our having a true citizen army under a thoroughly democratic régime, cannot well be held to be applicable here and now in this country, where government is still so much a matter of class, and the democratic principle—especially in our foreign policy—is still so little assured.

Let us, then, resist the conscription idea to the last, and hope, indeed, by standing out to dissuade the other nations of the world from it—a conclusion which would immensely assist the general cause of peace.

But it will be said, and is said, “Surely every man is morally bound to help his country in the hour of need—his country to which, consciously or unconsciously, he owes an incalculable debt.” And here is an argument to which we must certainly attend.

We do not want to be hounded or compelled into anything if we can help it; but we certainly must all acknowledge that we owe a duty to our country—a duty all the more stringent in a time of crisis or distress. And not only every man, but every woman also. Let us then acknowledge this duty, openly and heartily, but at the same time insist, each of us, on our right of choice as to what our active contribution shall be.

Here is a great free principle which maybe applied all around, whether to militarism or industrialism, whether to man or woman, whether in a time of crisis like the present, or whether under normal and permanent conditions of peace. It is manifestly absurd, if you adopt a military conscription and force people to fight in the supposed interest of their country, not to force them also to grow food for it, and to engage in other things at least as important as fighting. If you have military conscription the logical conclusion is industrial conscription, and Prussianizing all around. And the only way out of this conclusion is the acceptance by everybody of the duty to qualify himself or herself for useful work of some kind, and the actual performance of such work when needed—on the condition of each person retaining a free choice as to what his particular activity should be.

This may sound a little vague and general in statement, but perhaps it is best to keep it so for the present. What we want is the general acknowledgment of duty and the general insistence on free choice.

So far the acknowledgment of duty of this kind has been a thing utterly neglected in our social life. Indeed, one may almost say that the evasion of such duty has been one of the chief objects of life. However, it may have been in the old feudal organization of society, in the modern commercial order the sense of solidarity and communal duty has been broken up, and nations have resolved themselves into whirlpools of individuals, each seeking to “get on” and succeed at the expense of the other individuals. The whole system of the employment of labor, the payment of dividends, the production of “goods,” and the current ideals of “respectability” and “success,” have been founded on the principle of evasion, and have gone to create a society of parasites, in which each member, instead of actively contributing to the welfare of the others, makes it his chief business and object to live by preying upon the others. It is obvious that such a “society” cannot possibly hold together very long.

It is like a swarm of bees when the queen has departed from among them.

It would seem that now, even possibly in the present crisis, there must come a complete volte-face and reversal of our current ideals; and the call for national service, if rightly understood, may lead to this, and to the regeneration of our social life.

Yet even here—even while urging that every boy and girl in the future should be taught some downright manual trade, and so be ready at some later time, and qualified, to help in the national life—I would avoid direct compulsion. Education, public opinion, collateral pressure of various kinds, may bring about an equivalent result, without the damage to the national sense of honor which compulsion implies. In Germany, on various sacred lawns and stretches of grass, one sees the threat “*Das Betreten ist streng verboten.*” “To trespass is to be arrested and severely fined.” In Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, well kept and orderly as they are, one is charmed to see no trespass boards at all. With extraordinary good sense the same result of protecting

the grass is arrived at without legal threats and insults, but by the simple device of placing obstacles here and there to free passage—an iron hurdle at one point, a low railing at another. The public can surmount these obstacles if it likes, but it is clear that only a small fraction will care to do so. The public appreciates the object aimed at, and is all the more ready to co-operate in sparing the grass because it is not “ordered” to do so. The moral is plain. Happy would it be if we could get a similar general principle established in this and many other matters connected with our national life, and if, instead of hard and fast laws and learned wranglings over them, and set punishments for their infraction, we had a simple system of obstacles and inducements by which the path of wrongdoing in a perfectly natural way was made difficult, (though not, of course, impossible,) and the path of the public welfare and advantage easy and attractive. In that way much could be done, and without the irritation and resistance which law and compulsion in general excite.

Zeppelin Insurance

[From The London Daily News.]

We have received a claim, under The Daily News Zeppelin scheme of free insurance, for damage done to a house at Romford, Essex, by a British naval balloon in its accidental descent during a thunderstorm last Saturday. The house is 14 King Edward Road, and is the property of the claimant, Mrs. Mary Gilbert, who lives at 22.

Under the scheme of The Daily News, which was the first daily paper to give free insurance against aircraft attacks, and is now the only one continuing these benefits, an insured reader is compensated in the event of his or her residence being damaged by a shot or shell fired by an enemy warship or by a British anti-aircraft gun, or by an enemy bomb. Hitherto no compensation has been granted for accidental damage done by British naval or military balloons.

But in the case of Mrs. Gilbert, who is a widow, and whose property has been damaged considerably through a mishap due almost entirely to a thunderstorm, we have decided to make a substantial grant, although her case does not come within the actual scope of our scheme.

Mrs. Gilbert viewed the broken chimney pots, dislodged tiles, and smashed windows of her house with philosophic complacency. “That balloon was on my roof for six hours before they dragged it off,” she told a Daily News representative yesterday morning. “I happened to be in the garden wondering where the balloon was going to drop, never dreaming that in a few minutes I should see a lot of naval men clambering on my roof and cracking the slates. The people came rushing in hundreds to see the aerial visitor, which I am told weighed 1 ton 11 cwts. One of the officers was hurt in the scramble to get a hold, and a man on the roof was partially gassed. In its descent the ropes of the balloon twisted themselves around some of my fruit trees, completely uprooting one, and a fence was smashed in.”

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

John Bull in a Dilemma



—(C) *Fliegende Blaetter*.

“Now it's high time I were finding a new alliance.”

[Dutch Cartoon]

America's Hesitations



—From *Die Nieuwe Amsterdammer*.

WILSON: "Hold me, hold me, else I will commit a murder!"

[American Cartoon]

The Balkan Goat



—From *The New York Evening Sun*.

“He will make a fairish meal!”

[English Cartoon]

The Advance That Failed



—From *Punch*, London.

THE KAISER: "Have you had enough?"

THE CZAR: "No. Have *you*?"

[American Cartoon]

The Arabic Disavowal

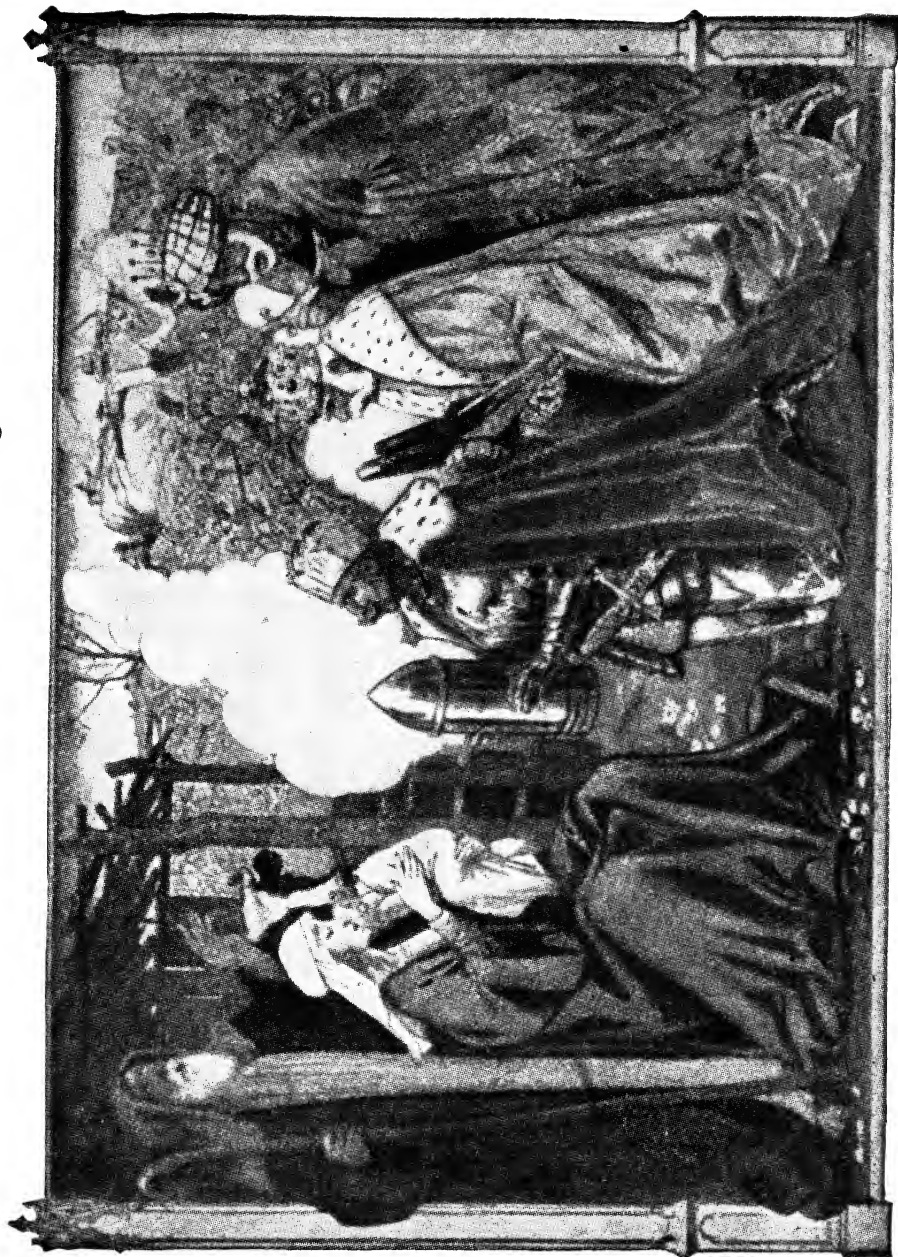


—From *The New York World*.

Saluting it.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Adoration of the Magi



—From a Dutch Postcard by Louis Raemakers.
The Wise Men offering their gifts.

[American Cartoon]

A Reminder



—Rogers in New York Herald.

“Yes, Father, I remember you said the war would end in October.”

[German Cartoon]

The Glozing Painter



—(C) *Lustige Blaetter.*

Poincaré paints his dear liege brother always in the rosiest colors.

[English Cartoon]

The Indelible Stain

"German sailors are gallant men, and gallant men do not like being put on to a coward's job."—MR. BALFOUR.



—From *The Bystander*, London.

The Ghosts of Submarine Officers (to Admiral von Tirpitz): "Our lives we gave; but you have taken our honor, too!"

[American Cartoon]

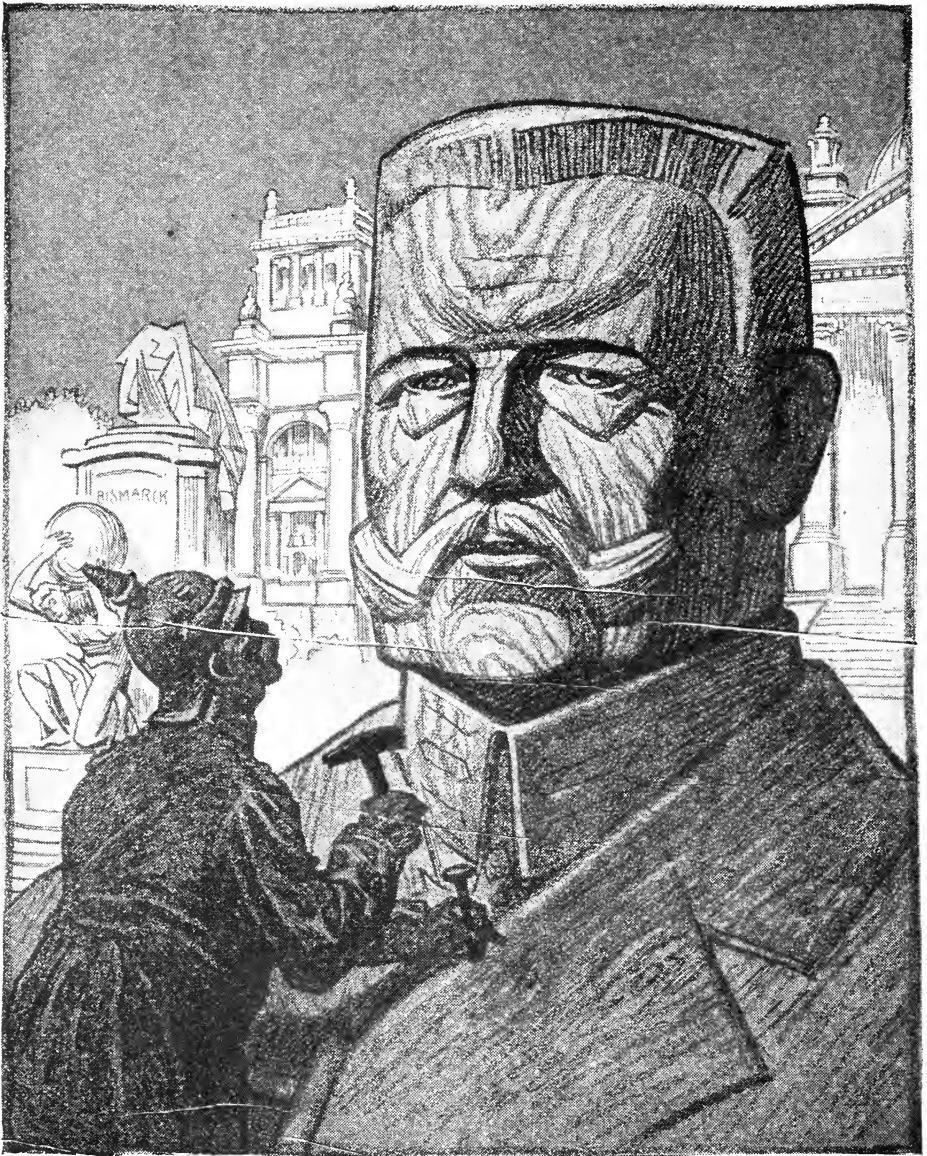
Ambassador Dumba's Departure



—From The New York World.

"Having regard to the self-willed temperament of the President."

The Iron Age at the Königsplatz

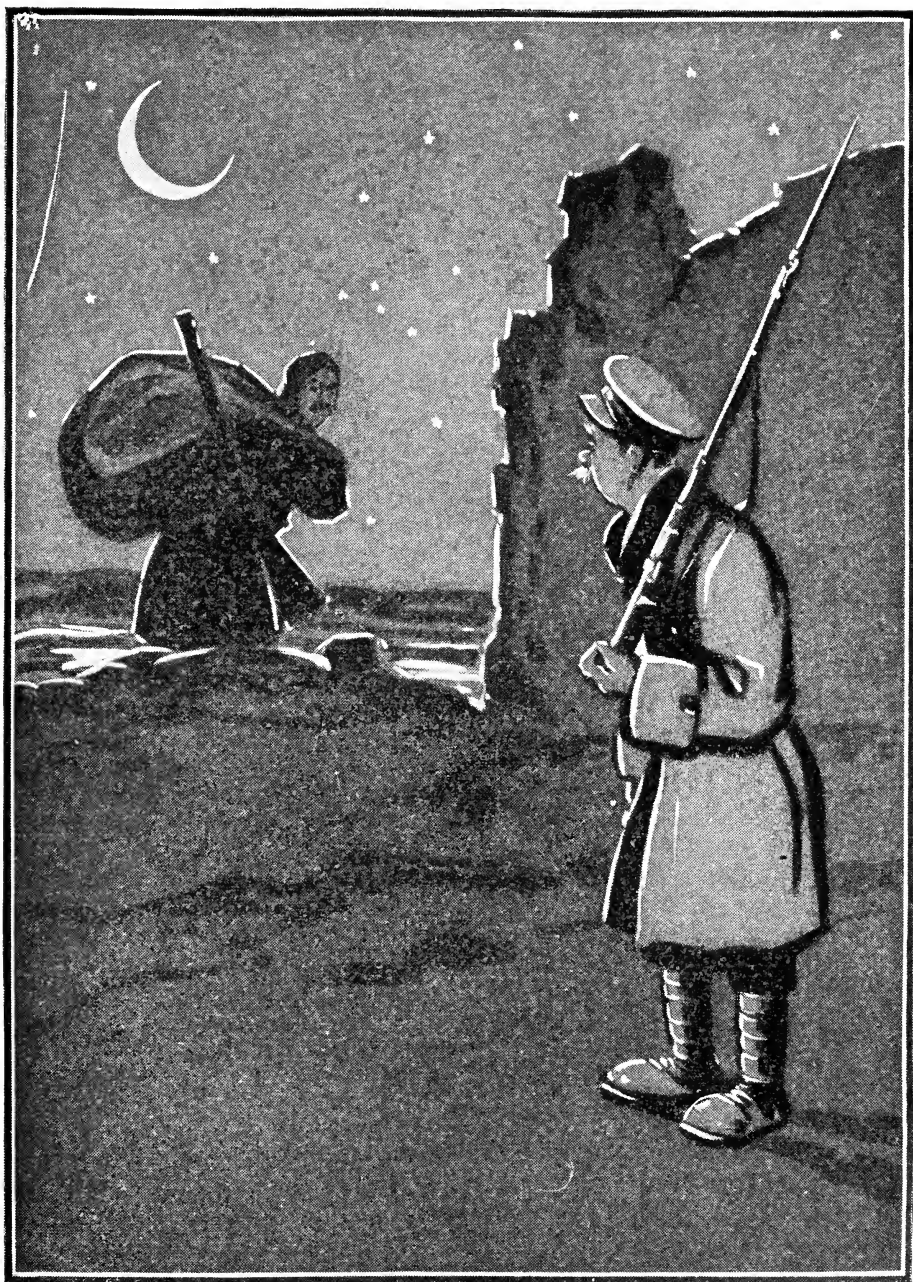


—(C) *Lustige Blätter*.

The Iron Chancellor drives the first iron nail for the iron Hindenburg.

[English Cartoon]

"No Possible Doubt Whatever"



—From *The Bystander*, London, by Captain Bruce Bairnsfather.

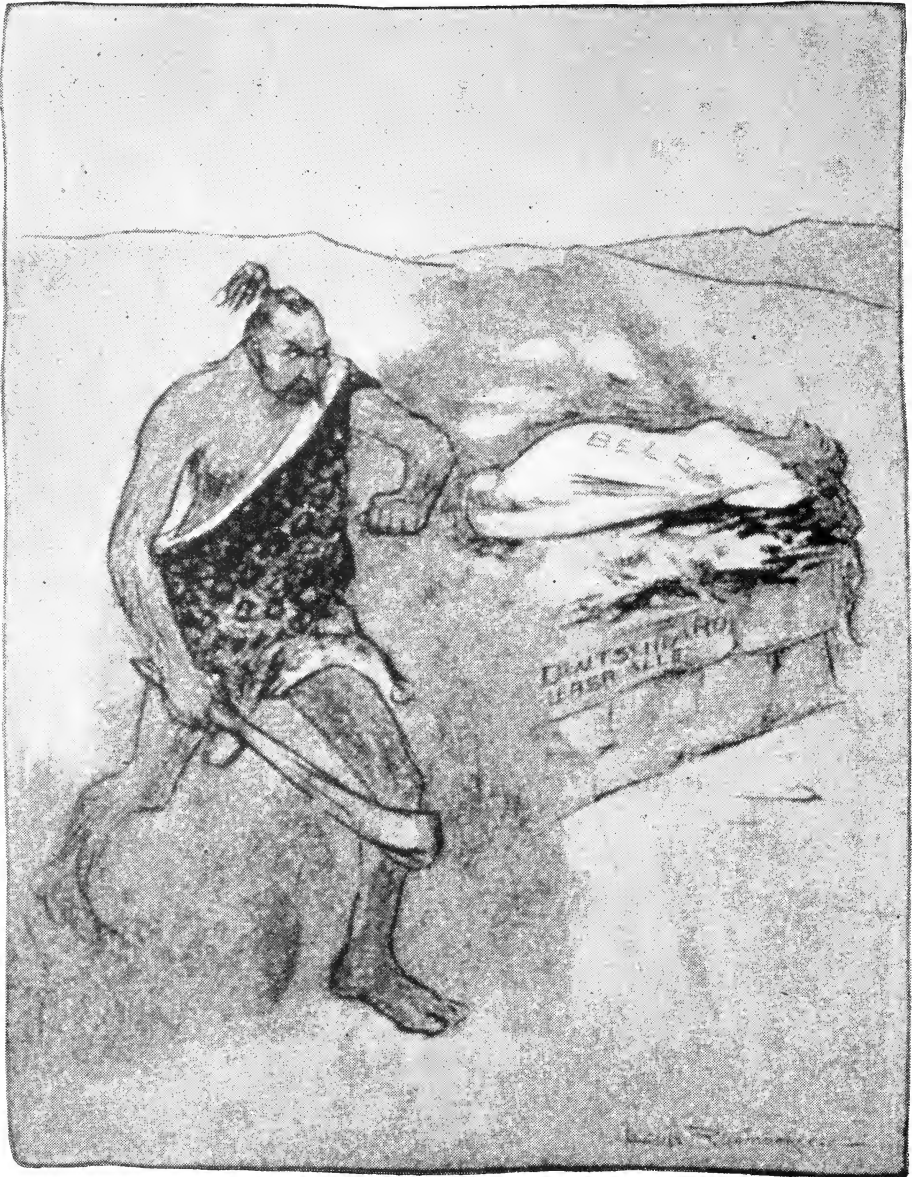
SENTRY: "'Alt! Who goes there?"

HE OF THE BUNDLE: "You shut yer — mouth, or I'll — come and knock yer — head off."

SENTRY: "Pass, friend!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Cain's Retribution



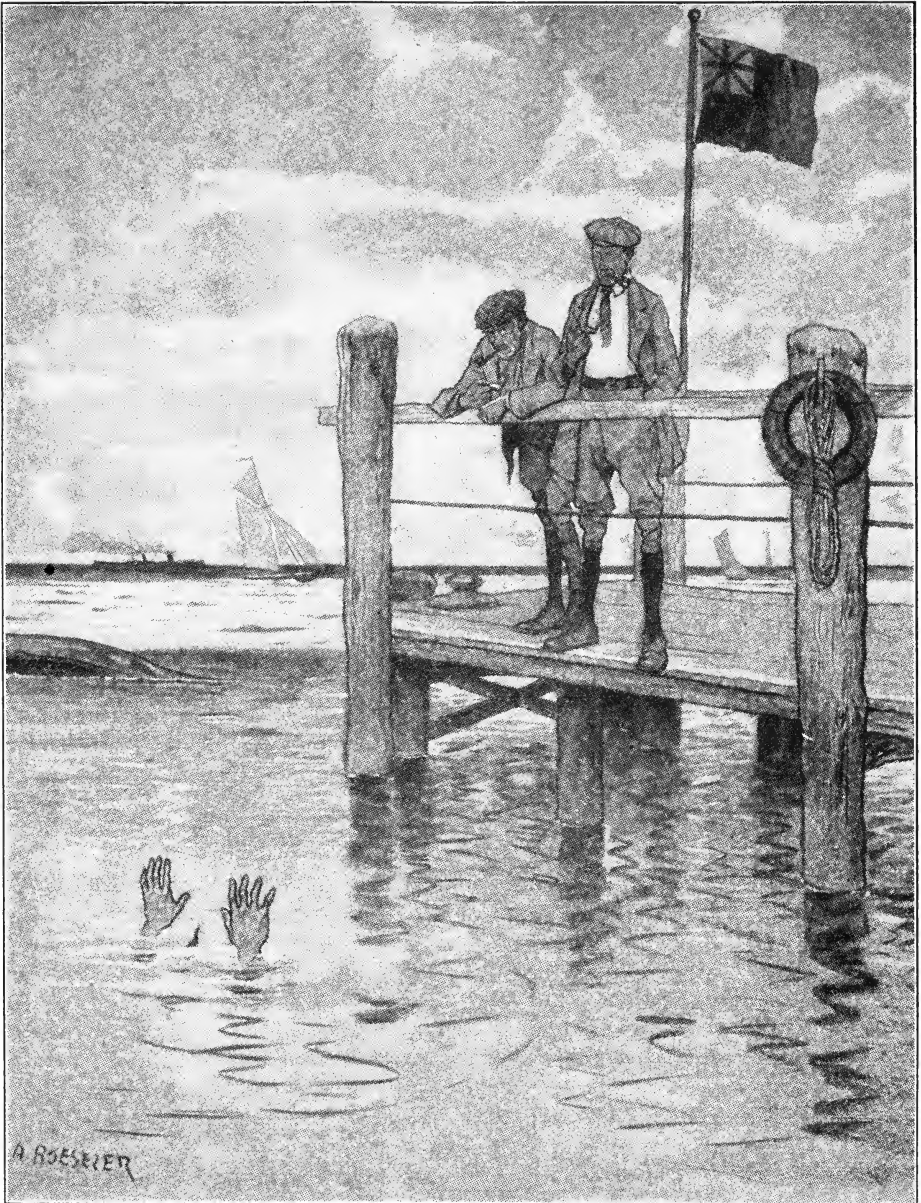
—From a Dutch Postcard by Louis Raemakers.

The sacrifice which is not pleasing to the Lord.

[German Cartoon]

Good Friends

Lloyd's, England, takes bets on Russia's submergence backdown.



—(C) *Fliegende Blaetter*.

RUSSIAN: "Help, help! I drown!"

ENGLISHMEN: "I bet you he gets waterlogged in five minutes." "Well! I'll bet twenty pounds he waterlogs in eight minutes."

[English Cartoon]

The Imps of War



—From Punch, London.

KAISER: "After all the trouble I've taken with you I must say that, as little terrors, you disappoint me."

[American Cartoon]

The Great Drive



—From The New York Sun.

“Now the machine is in good trim.”

[French Cartoon]

The Red Cross Danger



—From the *Salon des Humoristes* by Forain.

“Cache done ton drapeau! Tu vas te faire tuer!”
(The French soldier says to the driver of the ambulance wagon: “You had better hide that flag. They’re sure to kill you.”)

The Aniseed Bag



—From *The New York World*.

They're in full cry after the quarry.

[German Cartoon]

The Czar's Nightmare



--(C) Jugend.

The Czar beholds the funeral procession of the fallen Russian fortresses.

[English Cartoon]

Grit



—From *Punch*, London.

The morning after the Zeppelin raid in our village.

[German Cartoon]

The Little Father's Duma



—(C) Jugend.

Wouldn't it be simpler henceforth to convene the Duma in Siberia?

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Event
From September 12, 1915, Up to and Including
October 12, 1915

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Sept. 13—Hindenburg reaches the Rovno-Petrograd Railway between Vilna and Dvinsk.

Sept. 14—Russians take offensive in South Russia.

Sept. 16—Mackensen's army occupies Pinsk; Hindenburg drives the Russians across the Dvina north of Pinsk.

Sept. 18—Russians are withdrawing in the sector of the Volhynian triangle of fortresses northeast of Lemberg.

Sept. 20—Germans occupy Vilna, and Hindenburg's forces reach Vileika; German artillery shells Serbian positions on the south bank of the Danube near Semendria.

Sept. 21—The Russian Vilna army, which has been threatened with annihilation, escapes.

Sept. 25—Russians retake Lutsk; Russians repulse repeated assaults on the city of Dvinsk.

Sept. 26—Germans suspend attacks on Dvinsk and become active east of Lida and Vilna.

Sept. 27—Russians repulse Hindenburg's armies.

Sept. 28—Linsingen recaptures Lutsk and crosses the Styr; the German drive at Dvinsk is resumed; Austrians in Galicia are driven back.

Sept. 29—Anglo-French troops, intended for service in Serbia, are being landed at Saloniki, Greece; large forces of Austro-Germans are advancing on Serbia.

Sept. 30—Russians drive back Germans in the Dvinsk region.

Oct. 1—Russians check German offensive along the whole front from Riga to Pinsk.

Oct. 2—Russians gain on the Vilna front.

Oct. 3—Seventy thousand French troops have been landed at Saloniki; Russians are rolling back Hindenburg's armies.

Oct. 4—Russians retake many villages, driving Austro-Germans back both in the north and south.

Oct. 6—Russians attack Austrians along the Bessarabian frontier.

Oct. 7—An Austro-German army of 400,000 attacks Serbia, and forces the passage of the Danube, Save, and Drina rivers.

Oct. 8—Serbians check the Austro-Germans, inflicting considerable losses; Russian armies attack along the whole line.

Oct. 9—Hindenburg makes further progress toward Dvinsk.

Oct. 10—Teutonic allies under Mackensen capture Belgrade and drive Serbians back along the Danube; the Entente allies are rushing up troops.

Oct. 11—Serbians force back the German right wing across the Drina with heavy loss, but the main invading force pushes on.

Oct. 12—Austro-Germans complete the crossing of the Danube in force and are sweeping into Serbia.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

Sept. 18—French artillery severs at St. Mihiel the "great bridge" across the Meuse.

Sept. 20—Artillery duels in progress along most of the front.

Sept. 21—French make gains in Champagne and Lorraine.

Sept. 24—French make gains at several points.

Sept. 25—Entente allies attack on a 300-mile front; British gain ground near Loos, while French advance in Champagne.

Sept. 26—Allies continue a general attack, taking the offensive from the sea to Verdun; they smash twenty miles of German front; the greatest advances are made in Champagne and north of Arras; Souchez and Loos are taken.

Sept. 27—Allies' offensive continues and they hold their gains; British are fighting east of Loos; French attack in Champagne; Allies have taken 70 guns and 23,000 prisoners; Berlin says the allied drive is a failure.

Sept. 28—Allies continue the offensive.

Sept. 29—Allies continue the offensive in Artois and Champagne.

Sept. 30—French make further gains in Champagne, piercing the second German line; 121 guns have been taken in five days by the Allies.

Oct. 4—Germans gain ground by counterattacks near Lens and near Givenchy.

Oct. 6—French take Tahure in Champagne, in the second German line.

Oct. 8—French make more gains in Champagne.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

Sept. 22—Italians dislodge Austrians from the Dolomite Valley.

- Sept. 23—Austrian garrison evacuates Monte Coston, after holding it for months.
 Sept. 28—Italians check several Austrian attempts to advance.
 Sept. 29—Austrians attacks in the Tolmino zone are repulsed; Italian attacks near Dolje are repulsed.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

- Sept. 16—Official British figures show British casualties at the Dardanelles to have been 87,630 up to Aug. 21.
 Sept. 23—It is reported that 110,000 more French and British soldiers have been sent to the Dardanelles.
 Sept. 29—British defeat Turks on the Tigris, the Turks retreating toward Bagdad.
 Oct. 3—Russians advance in the region of Van, in the Caucasus.

NAVAL RECORD.

- Sept. 19—British squadron shells Belgian coast defenses; one German submarine sinks another by mistake.
 Sept. 21—Strict orders have been issued to commanders of German submarines that, in case of doubt as to intentions of liners, they are to take the safe course and permit the ship to escape rather than run the slightest risk of error; Russians sink a German submarine in the Black Sea.
 Sept. 23—In a new note to the United States on the Frye case, Germany declares that visit and search will be made hereafter, and that she will not molest American ships carrying conditional contraband.
 Sept. 24—German submarines sink five British steamers.
 Sept. 25—Russian squadron bombards German land positions on the Gulf of Riga; British squadron shells Zeebrugge.
 Sept. 27—American sailing ship Vincent is sunk by a mine off Cape Orloff, on the White Sea coast of Russia, four seamen being injured.
 Oct. 1—Official reports to the United States Government show that between fifty and seventy German submarines have been sunk by the British through new devices.
 Oct. 4—Austrian submarine sinks a British steamer off the coast of Greece.
 Oct. 5—Germany disavows the sinking of the Arabic and promises reparation; German submarines sink two British steamers.
 Oct. 7—Russian cruisers are bombarding the Bulgarian port of Varna, so unconfirmed reports state, this, if done, being the beginning of hostilities as to Bulgaria.

AERIAL RECORD.

- Sept. 13—German aeroplane bombards the coast of Kent.
 Sept. 19—Italian dirigibles drop forty bombs on Aisovizza.
 Sept. 22—French aviators bombard Stuttgart, killing four persons and wounding others.
 Sept. 23—French aeroplane squadrons attack German bases in Lorraine and the Argonne.

- Oct. 3—French aeroplanes bombard the railroad depot and military buildings in Luxemburg.
 Oct. 9—Italian aeroplane squadrons bombard several Austrian positions.

ARMENIA.

- Oct. 7—Lord Bryce tells the British House of Lords that 800,000 Armenians have been killed by the Turks.

BULGARIA.

- Sept. 16—Entente allies present a note to Bulgaria demanding that she declare herself as between them and the central powers.
 Sept. 21—General mobilization is ordered.
 Sept. 28—Great Britain warns Bulgaria that the Allies will attack if she attempts aggression.
 Oct. 3—Russia sends a note to Bulgaria stating that she will withdraw her Minister unless Bulgaria breaks with the central powers within twenty-four hours.
 Oct. 5—The Russian, French, British, Italian, and Serbian Ministers demand their passports, Bulgaria's answer to the Russian ultimatum being unsatisfactory.

GERMANY.

- Sept. 24—The total subscriptions to the third German war loan are \$3,000,000,000, so it is stated by Finance Minister Helfferich, which makes the total war loan subscriptions \$6,250,000,000.
 Oct. 2—Prussian casualties now total 1,916,148.

GREAT BRITAIN.

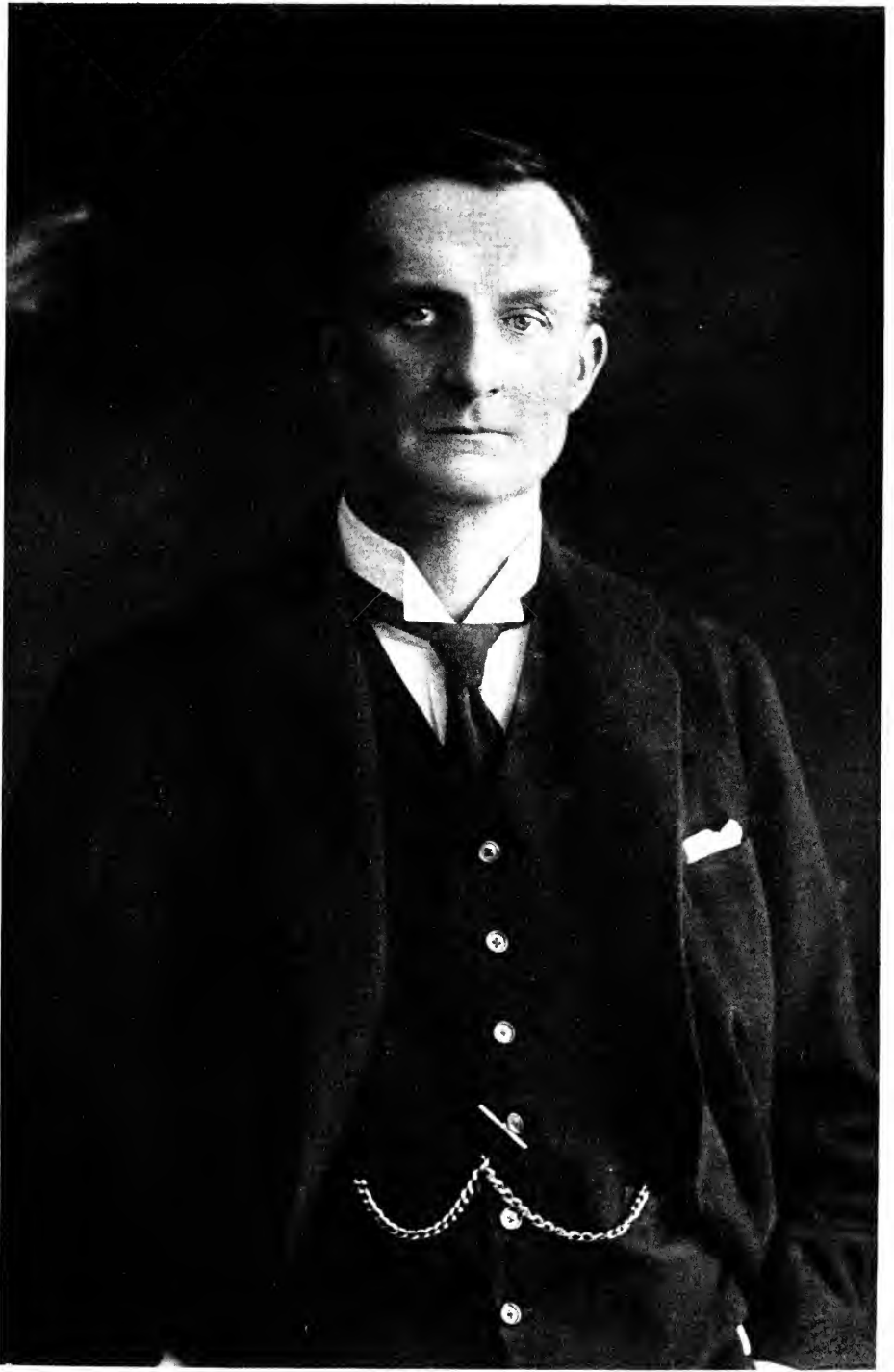
- Sept. 21—Greatest war budget in the world's history is introduced in the House of Commons; the war is now costing Great Britain nearly \$25,000,000 daily.

GREECE.

- Sept. 25—Greece orders mobilization of her army and navy, in reply to the Bulgarian mobilization.
 Oct. 6—Premier Venizelos resigns, when the King informs him he cannot support his war policy.

UNITED STATES.

- Sept. 17—Austrian Ambassador Dumba, in a letter to Secretary Lansing, protests that he has been treated unjustly.
 Sept. 27—Austria agrees to recall Ambassador Dumba.
 Sept. 28—It is officially announced that arrangements have been completed between an Anglo-French financial commission and a syndicate of American bankers for a short-term loan of \$500,000,000, as a direct obligation of the British and French Governments.
 Oct. 5—Ambassador Dumba sails from New York for home.



SIR EDWARD GREY

A Recent Portrait of Great Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs



KITCHENER OF KHARTUM

Britain's Greatest Living General, Has Gone to the Near Eastern Theatre
of War

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

DECEMBER, 1915

WORLD AFFAIRS OF THE MONTH

EARL KITCHENER'S DEPARTURE

Is Kitchener of Khartum, the real creator of England's Egyptian empire, destined to lead the last campaign that will settle its fate? the Berlin Gazette asks. On Nov. 16 Kitchener landed on the Island of Lemnos. Artificer and guardian of England's great jewels of Egypt and India, builder of her modern fortunes in the Orient, has he gone to his fall? The Teutonic press declares that he will be made the scapegoat of this war, and deservedly. On Lemnos Mamon fell, who upreared the palace of Satan—

from morn

To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A Summer's day, and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star.
On Lemnos, the Aegean isle.

England, in German eyes the most avaricious and luxurious of earth's powers, announced on Nov. 6 that the man who led the Nile expedition, governed Suakim, fought the battles of the Sudan frontier, commanded the Dongola expeditionary force and the Khartum expedition, became chief in the South African war and Commander in Chief in India, had gone in person as director of the warring British Empire on a secret mission to the Near East. The Germanic powers in their victorious Balkan campaign had challenged Britain on the route of her world empire. The defection of Bulgaria to Germany was the first great blow, and it wrought the ruin of Serbia.

On Nov. 18 came the news that Rumania threatened by active preparations to join the Teuton forces. King Constantine of Greece had overriden his Constitution to dissolve a Parliament friendly to the Entente. Would he disarm the defeated Serbian army if it sought refuge in Saloniki, and turn their forfeited weapons against the Allies? And what of the Dardanelles? Were the Turks, satisfied that the British attempt to conquer Gallipoli must be abandoned, already deflecting forces from its defense to strike the fatal blow at Suez? Anarchy reigned in Persia. Was Hyderabad, England's richest province in India, really in revolt, deposing its loyal Prince? Whatever brought the great soldier and administrator east it must be upon a fateful errand for Britain.

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THE GERMAN WAR

Since the day of Napoleon no such utterance of successful warfare has been given to the world as this from the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

Neutrals will again observe with astonishment the coolness, the strength, and the organization of Germany, who, without wavering, withstands an enormous offensive on one front, and on the other front herself prosecutes an offensive in the widest sense; who holds in east and west territories as large as European States, and administers them in exemplary fashion; who has begun in the Balkans an enterprise of the most far-reaching

significance; who deals successful blows by sea and air; and who, during this time, has realized from her own economic resources the greatest loan in financial history. Four great armies and four navies are opposed to us, while the money and munitions of a fifth great power have been staked against the new Triple Alliance—all without being able to prevent it from solving its military and political problems in its own way. The strength of the new Triple Alliance has pointed the way to the Balkan peoples as the lighthouse guides the sailor across the darkness of the sea.

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A FRANCO-BRITISH WAR COUNCIL

Announcement was made on Nov. 17 that for the purposes of this war France and Great Britain would be governed by a Joint War Council. The council met in Paris on that day, attended by Prime Minister Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, David Lloyd George, and A. J. Balfour. Earl Kitchener, the fifth member of the British "inner cabinet" foreshadowed in Mr. Asquith's speech in the House of Commons on Nov. 2, was absent on his secret mission East, having left the Island of Lemnos, his first stopping place, for Gallipoli. In his outline of plans for a joint staff, given in the House of Commons on Nov. 10, Mr. Asquith said that for the better consummation of military projects he hoped that not only France but Italy and Russia would be included. It was announced on Nov. 1 in London that the British Government during two months past had been engaged in the creation of a new General Staff to supervise the armies in the field, and to confer with the small War Council of the Cabinet. The old staff Lord Halldane condemned on Nov. 4 as inferior to the German staff. In the interest of quick decision and executive efficiency, it appears, a small committee of ultimate resort representing all the members of the Entente will soon be directing its forces.

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A FRENCH MINISTRY OF MANY TALENTS

A Ministry representing all the history of France since the fall of Napoleon III. was formed by Aristide Briand on Oct. 29, following the resignation of Premier

Viviani, whose Cabinet represented only a few political groups. The present Ministry includes five of France's Elder Statesmen, M. Ribot, M. Meline, M. Combes, M. Leon Bourgeois, and M. de Freycinet, all ex-Premiers, besides Premier Briand, who has occupied his office on two occasions, M. Viviani, the outgoing Premier, and M. Doumergue, who was Prime Minister from December, 1913, to June, 1914. For the first time in its history France has a true coalition Ministry, following closely the recent innovation of forming a British coalition Cabinet of Conservatives and Liberals.

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THE BERLIN-BAGDAD PROSPECT

The German cry of "Berlin to Bagdad" has been sounded lately with reference to the approach of the Anglo-Indian expedition along the lower Euphrates and Tigris to a point within striking distance of Bagdad. Doubt is expressed by the *Kölnische Zeitung* whether the British will seize this terminal station for the supply of Germany from the rich Orient, or whether the Turkish expeditionary force now on the way to Bagdad will arrive at the right time. At any rate, this newspaper holds, the British occupation will not be for long, as the victorious Turkish armies, newly strengthened by forces released from the Dardanelles, will advance to Irak, forcing the invaders out of Mesopotamia.

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CORRUPT PERSIA

Lord Robert Cecil's somewhat cynical advice in the House of Commons that if the British authorities in Persia should evince a willingness to "ease the financial position of Persia" the killings of Consuls and other administrative officials would cease seems to have been taken. At all events, the Persian Shah on Nov. 16 received the British and Russian Ministers, declaring that Persia would henceforth side with the Entente. Seats in the Shah's Cabinet have been given to Russophile Ministers. But Persia is frankly in the market for either German or English gold. The spirit of "graft" has rotted the national fibre to such an

extent that, as a Persian frontiersman has expressed it, Persia is "like a decayed sheep of which the leg comes off in your hand when you wish to drag the corpse from the road."

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GREECE'S "VERY BENEVOLENT NEUTRALITY"

No sooner had Stephanos Skouloudis been appointed on Nov. 7 by King Constantine to the Greek Premiership, succeeding Alexander Zaimis, overthrown by the Venizelist party, than he announced an attitude of "very benevolent neutrality" toward the Entente powers, following this with a vigorous statement declaring that Greece knew where her "real interests" lay, and officially acknowledging that they lay under the protection of the Entente. The King, whose wife is a sister of Emperor William of Germany, on Nov. 12 dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, fixing Dec. 19 as the date for new elections. At the same time the Greek General Staff announced that it would call to the colors all citizens who had not done military service, augmenting the Greek Army to half a million officers and men. Greece rejected in October the offer of Great Britain to cede the island of Cyprus on condition that she enter the war on the side of Serbia, in accordance with M. Venizelos's interpretation of her treaty with Serbia. The Greek reply was that the treaty was framed in the event of a Balkan war, whereas this war is European.

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ANXIETY FOR PEACE AND THE TERMS

A London cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated Nov. 16, declares knowledge "from an extremely well-informed source" that the central empires are contemplating a definite move in the direction of peace, if not actually preparing to treat with their opponents. Possibly President Wilson or the Pope could verify the report. Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and, during the past month, Japan have jointly agreed not to negotiate peace without the consent of all. As indicative of Great Britain's temper, the Right Hon. C. F.-G. Masterman, who is believed to represent that Government's views, on Nov. 15 again

quoted Prime Minister Asquith's Guildhall statement:

We shall never sheath the sword, which we have not lightly drawn, until Belgium recovers in full measure all, and more than all, that she sacrificed; until France is adequately secured against menace of aggression; until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed. That is a great task worthy of a great nation.

"The words of the Prime Minister still hold good," Minister Lloyd George said in response to queries in the House of Commons on Oct. 28; "we should not think of entering into any peace negotiations except in common with our allies, in accordance with the agreement of Sept. 5, 1915." Pressed further, the Minister denied emphatically that "unofficial exchanges or negotiations" had been carried on.

* * *

SUPPRESSION OF THE VORWAERTS

A bold plea for peace and for a definite statement by the German Chancellor of the objects which Germany seeks in continuing the war occasioned the suppression on Nov. 5 of the Vorwaerts, the organ of the German Social Democratic Party. The Vorwaerts has repeatedly complained of the rising prices of food-stuffs in Germany, causing hardships endured by great masses of the population. In this article it quoted Prime Minister Asquith's Guildhall speech, noting its lack of definiteness, and said:

It is not France and England alone who vell the conditions of peace, for the German Government is just as reserved. We like to have regard for Germany's intentions. For twelve months we have been listening to what is not true. Surely we cannot be taken amiss if we express a desire to hear once what is true and what the German Government really considers as its object in this war. This cannot go on forever, that battle after battle is fought and our troops carried to new theatres of war. The people, through all this complexity of the war, never get to know what is happening, or what we are striving to attain in order that the bells of peace may be heard.

Not until England is brought to her knees will Germany sheathe the sword is the conclusion of a staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES in Berlin, after

diligent inquiry. Mr. Masterman, in an article in *The London Daily Chronicle*, interprets—possibly for the benefit of Vorwaerts—as the minimum of Mr. Asquith's purpose the establishment of terms assuring Belgium complete independence and an indemnity large enough to restore her ruined cities and industries and compensation for her dead; the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and a defensive boundary on the Rhine; the restoration of Schleswig to Denmark; Poland united in one kingdom under the Czar; the Trentino and Italy Irredenta for the Italian Kingdom; Serbia restored by Austria and indemnified; each nation of the Balkans united; Germany's colonies forfeit, and the German fleet sunk or parceled out among the powers of the Entente.

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A POLICY OF HOLY EGOISM

Sacred selfishness—"holy egoism" is another rendering—is the policy frankly avouched by Bulgaria in an addendum to the manifesto of Premier Radoslavoff, 20,000 copies of which were circulated throughout the country before war was declared on Serbia. A generous abstract of the manifesto appears elsewhere in this issue. The addendum is quite as frank as the original statement in its confession that Bulgaria waited until she was convinced that Germany would win, and then accepted her offer to relieve Bulgaria of her supplies of grain at high prices, and to give her a permanent trade route westward along the Danube.

* * *

IMPREGNABLE WITH SAND

General Brialmont's mighty fortresses in Belgium were easily blasted to pieces by the gigantic shells of the German "Berthas." A like fate was visited upon the great concrete forts which Russia had erected against invasion from the west. But when the Austro-German army reached Dvinsk fortress, built chiefly with yielding sand, the tremendous exploding projectiles became ineffectual. Captain von Kueschuetzky, correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, reported to his newspaper that the fort had been reduced one-half in size by continued shell fire without affecting the strength of the

remainder. Permanent trenches made proof against shrapnel and shell fragments and connected with "fox-holes" formed a mutually outflanking system which exposed assailants to the enfilading fire of machine guns. Reversing the lesson of the Biblical parable, Dvinsk stood because it was built upon sand and its walls were of sand.

* * *

MINISTER CHURCHILL'S RESIGNATION

Having imparted to Britain's War Council the knowledge of current operations which he possessed when forced from his position of First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Spencer Churchill announced on Nov. 12 his resignation from the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster to take part in operations on the western front as Major in the Oxford Yeomanry. Mr. Churchill, who had among other things committed the crime of being a young man—he is 41—has been subjected to a bitter fire of hostile criticism since the war began. With courage and dignity he explained in the House of Commons on Nov. 15 his own and others' share in the responsibility for the loss of Rear Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock's fleet in the Pacific; for the destruction by submarines of the British cruisers *Cressy*, *Hogue*, and *Aboukir*; for the sending of the naval brigade to Antwerp, and for beginning a naval attack in the Dardanelles without military support. He stated what seemed inherently probable, that at no time had a civilian's plan been foisted on reluctant officers and experts. In the Antwerp episode he had not even been apprised of the sending of a relief expedition until plans had been far advanced. Even Lord Fisher did not oppose the naval attack in the Dardanelles, and this plan was undertaken with the utmost deliberation and with a "great volume of expert opinion behind it."

* * *

LORD DERBY'S SCHEME OF RECRUITING

In his great speech of Nov. 2, reproduced in full in this issue, Prime Minister Asquith said that upon the question of recruiting he was "determined to stick at nothing." He was determined

that Britain "shall win this war." Therefore, while a believer in the voluntary system, rather than not win the war he would, if necessary, ask Parliament for an act to compel Britishers to enlist. On Nov. 11 the Earl of Derby, Director of Recruiting, strongly intimated that if young men medically fit, unmarried, and not indispensable to any business of national importance did not under the stress of national duty come forward voluntarily, compulsory means would be taken before married men were called upon to serve. The canvass under Lord Derby is in the hands of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and the Joint Labor Recruiting Committee, aided by organizations of the political parties and civic authorities.

* * *

BRITISH SUFFRAGISM AGAIN RAMPANT

A patriotic meeting with the intent of stirring up sentiment to save Serbia while there is yet time, by kicking Sir Edward Grey and Prime Minister Asquith out of the Cabinet, and organized by the British militant suffragettes under Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, was to have been held in the Royal Albert Hall in London on Nov. 18. The plan came to grief. The hall management canceled the engagement when Mrs. Pankhurst published the purpose of the meeting. Britannia, the organ of the Woman's Social and Political Union, bristles with headlines that "Sir Edward Grey has Betrayed Serbia," and that "Asquith Shrugged His Shoulders" when the matter of sending British troops to Serbia was broached. Manifestly Serbia has received its death warrant from the executioner of British suffragism. But Mrs. Pankhurst vows that the "inspired attempt to deprive the British Nation of its right of protest will not succeed."

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LONDON'S ZEPPELIN PROBLEM

The Zeppelin attacks on London will continue. That is the plain inference from an identical article appearing in the German newspapers of Oct. 31 declaring that, by their results—the destruction of military plants, the rendering useless of transit facilities, and the

fear they inspire, which is productive of all sorts of measures which do damage to England's economic life—these acts are justified by way of reprisal for Great Britain's blockade. The blockade, it is admitted, compels "not hundreds of thousands but millions of human beings in Germany" to "limit their consumption of food and make not inconsiderable sacrifices." Meanwhile Lord Alverstone in a letter to *The Times* of London advises that no reprisals for the air attacks be visited upon Germany, that they would simply involve the British "in being party to a line of conduct condemned by every right-thinking man of every civilized nation" without in any way serving to shorten the war. The suggestion to confiscate private securities of the German Emperor or of German Princes held in London as a measure of reprisal was rejected by the Prime Minister in Parliament on Oct. 28.

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FIVE MILLIONS OF LIVES?

That 5,000,000 soldiers have been slain on all sides in this war is the estimate published in Basle on Nov. 13 by Colonel Heussler, statistician in the Swiss military service. At the close of the first year of the struggle Prime Minister Asquith said in the British House of Commons that 2,228,000 had been slain, basing the estimate on German and British calculations. The monthly average was 186,000, omitting Japan, and, of course, Bulgaria. Adding the Austro-Italian casualties, unofficially estimated at 140,000, the total to date should be something over 3,000,000. But the gigantic offensives on each side during the late Summer and Fall have doubtless accelerated the rate of casualties.

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SUFFERINGS

Imagination shrinks and refuses to body forth the scenes occasioned by the onrush of hundreds of thousands of men in one battle, preceded by the discharge of millions of high explosive shells. One soldier subjected to this ordeal left on his dead body this brief description of his experience in a single trench:

We were 118 hours without food in a

trench not two feet deep. Hell couldn't be worse. Six hundred more men just arrived; they will only replace the killed and wounded of the past five days.

When men fall like flies, and trenches are nothing but débris, there is no room for description. It remains only to count the dead.

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SINKING OF THE ANCONA

While Americans aboard vainly waved the American flag in token of their presence, and as the panic-stricken crew and passengers lowered boats from the Italian liner Ancona, outward bound in the Mediterranean from Naples and Messina for New York, an Austrian submarine is officially reported by the Italian Government to have delivered the blow which sent the vessel and over 200 of her passengers, including several American citizens, to the bottom. Official accounts conflict. Foreign Minister Sonnino of Italy reports that the Ancona hove to almost instantly after the submarine fired its first shell. The report continues:

The transatlantic liner Ancona was bombarded while the boats were being lowered and hundreds of passengers were still on board. It now appears that the submarine was German; thus it follows that Germany intended to open hostilities against Italy without any declaration of war.

The statement issued by the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty asserts, on the other hand, that the Ancona fled at full speed after the submarine fired a shot across her bow, and stopped only after being hit several times; that the submarine allowed forty-five minutes for passengers and crew to abandon the steamer, but panic prevented the lowering of more than a small number of boats, and after fifty minutes the approach of another steamer dictated the submersion of the submarine and the delivery of her torpedo. The report denounces as mendacious the accusations of passengers that the submarine fired upon the Ancona's lifeboats. Secretary Lansing has instructed Ambassador Penfield at Vienna to get a detailed report of the incident. In a letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES, M. de Lapradelle, Professor of International

Law in the College of France, cites precedents to show that Germany and Austria-Hungary should be regarded in this case as forming a single responsible military unit. That is, their alliance in the war binds each as responsible for the acts of the other.

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PRAISE FROM DR. DERNBURG

The entire first page of the Berliner Tageblatt was occupied on Nov. 12 by an article written by Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, late German Colonial Secretary of State and head of the German propaganda in the United States, expressing friendship and admiration for President Wilson. Dr. Dernburg offended when he justified the sinking of the Lusitania, and that was the occasion of his leaving this country. The President's policy is inspired, he now says, by a determination to force the belligerents to respect the ante-bellum principles of maritime law, especially as laid down in the Declaration of London. On this account Germany yielded:

Apart from the fact that she shared America's consideration for humanity, Germany apparently gave in principally for the reason that a nation which wishes the freedom of the seas should not contribute to shatter the principles which hitherto had been maintained even in an incomplete form, and that she had no right to expect the United States would hold Great Britain to an observance of the maritime law without also following the same policy toward Germany. A submarine campaign defended on the ground of the modernity of the weapon was, however, irreconcilable with the application of the London regulations.

Commenting on the American note to Great Britain denouncing the blockade of Germany, Dr. Dernburg concludes that the President will be as insistent upon its terms as upon those laid down in the case of the Lusitania. Incidentally, it is to be remarked that only the Arabic case was settled by a German disavowal. The Lusitania case is still in abeyance.

* * *

AMERICAN DEFENSE

While Lord Rosebery on Nov. 16 expressed himself as disheartened at the announcement that the United States is

"about to embark upon the building of a huge armada destined to be equal or second to" Great Britain's, and while men like Lord Cromer, Viscount Bryce, and Professor Nicholson—whose article on "President Wilson's Patience" appears elsewhere—are trying to show Britishers that the United States ought not to leap into this war, ex-President Roosevelt is telling the people of France how ashamed he is that the Democratic Administration at Washington should be so backward in measures of preparedness. Mr. Bryan, on the other hand, belabors President Wilson for advocating a "citizenry trained." Meanwhile Mr. Wilson is appealing to Congressional leaders of both parties to support him in the program laid down by the Secretaries of War and the Navy and outlined in his speech before the Manhattan Club, which we present in full in this issue. Mr. Joseph H. Choate, speaking in New York on Nov. 9, declared that if in the coming Congress the Republicans tried to make political capital out of this vital issue he for one would be heartily ashamed of his party.

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WAR ON AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

That organized warfare is being conducted against a number of American industries is generally inferred from the frequency and regularity of explosions and incendiary fires like those which within twenty-four hours on Nov. 10 and 11 visited four different factories in as many parts of the country—the Bethlehem Steel Works, the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, the Baldwin Locomotive Works at Eddystone, Penn., and the John A. Roebling's Sons Company at Trenton, N. J. Hostile strikes in industries having to do with the making of munitions have been frequent. Indictments under the American piracy laws were brought on Nov. 8 against six Germans who, as alleged by the Government, conspired under the leadership of Robert Fay to destroy at sea vessels carrying munitions from this country to Europe. While they were under arrest the incendiary fires at sea systematically continued. On Nov. 12 Federal officials acted on the statement published by Dr. Josef Gorican, late

of the Austro-Hungarian Consular Service, accusing representatives of Austria-Hungary and Germany in this country of fomenting plots in violation of the neutrality laws.

* * *

GERMAN NEEDS AFTER THE WAR

An admirable instance of German foresight is shown in an article printed by the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, which was once Prince Bismarck's organ, discussing the needs of German finance and industries after the war. The State must look for new sources of income. Pensions for dead and disabled soldiers, the rebuilding of houses and factories, filling of gaps in war supplies while the standing army is strengthened, and the payment of interest on loans and provision of a sinking fund are all considered. The remedy of increased taxes is rejected because families whose breadwinners have been at the front cannot bear them, and industries cut off from their markets must be left in position to wage war against foreign competition. An increase of State monopolies is contraindicated, since men now fighting will insist on their economic freedom, and since the millions of money they have invested in Germany's leading industries would involve too vast expenditures by the State to acquire them. But there is no reason, the article says, "why new and rising industries should not—before it is too late—become sources of income for the State." These should be fostered to render Germany, so far as necessities are concerned, completely independent of the foreigner.

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ANOTHER CAVELL CASE

Convicted of harboring persons who had taken part in Monmouth's rebellion, and after a vain appeal to the clemency of the British King, Lady Alice Lisle was sentenced by Judge Jeffreys at the Bloody Assizes of 1680 and beheaded, meeting her end "with serene courage." As Edith Cavell had attended to the wounds of French and German soldiers alike, so Lady Alice, whose sympathies were with the Parliamentary Party in the British civil war, "had protected and relieved many cavaliers in their distress,"

befriending and feeding Royalists fleeing from the pursuing Roundheads. Macaulay tells her story, remarking that, "if Lady Alice knew her guests to have been concerned in the insurrection, she was undoubtedly guilty of what in strictness is a capital crime." He continues:

It is evident that nothing but a lenient Administration could make such a state of the law endurable. And it is just to say that, during many generations, no English Government, save one, has treated with rigor persons guilty merely of harboring defeated and flying insurgents. To women especially has been granted, by a kind of tacit prescription, the right of indulging, in the midst of havoc and vengeance, that compassion which is the most endearing of all their charms. Since the beginning of the great civil war, numerous rebels, some of them far more important than Hickee or Nelthorpe, [the adherents of Monmouth who were sheltered by Lady Alice Lisle,] have been protected against the severity of victorious Governments by female adroitness and generosity. But no English ruler who has been thus baffled, the savage and implacable James alone excepted, has had the barbarity even to think of putting a lady to a cruel and shameful death for so venial and amiable a transgression.

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A FIELD MARSHAL OF BUSINESS

Walther Rathenau, son and heir of the "electrical king," Emil Rathenau, is described by Frederic William Wile, in *The Continental Daily Mail*, as the super-business man and super-German who brought about Germany's industrial and financial mobilization for the war. Until it broke out he represented his father's colossal electrical company involving interests worth a billion dollars, the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft. Rathenau taught Germany to keep its money at home by spending none of it abroad, and, directing the energies of the chemical and engineering forces of Germany, created substitutes for practically every essential of war except cotton. The Germans, barred from the outside world by land and sea, have followed Rathenau's lead in their effort to become independent of foreign sources of supply.

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CHINA GOING BACK TO KINGS

"God said, I am tired of Kings," Emer-

son sang a generation ago. Now China, after a brief experience with republican government, is apparently going back to Kings. The "Great Pure Dynasty" of the Manchus was extinguished on Feb. 12, 1912, with the abdication of Kuang-Hsi, who thereafter, nevertheless, retained for life the title of Manchu Emperor. Yuan Shih-kai was elected President of the new republic for a term of five years. The Parliament was dissolved on Jan. 11, 1914, since which time the President has ruled with the aid of a Constitutional Council and a Council of State. Now the British, Russian, and Japanese Governments have officially taken note of the movement to change the Constitution adopted last year in order to establish a monarchy over China. On Nov. 2 Japan sent a note expressing the allied Governments' misgivings that their Asian interests would be disturbed by the change. Yuan Shih-kai replied on the same date saying that five provinces had already declared for a constitutional monarchy, the ancient form of rulership being held more suitable to a country of such immense size and low standard of education, and that the Government was powerless to stay the new movement. The German Minister at Peking was instructed immediately to recognize the proclamation of a new Chinese Emperor.

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BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Ancient civilization was upreared on the institution of slavery, and Booker Washington, born a slave, inherited the curse of Aesop. More than any other member of his race he has sought to lift it to the level of a civilization which has stamped out slavery, making instead the forces of nature its servant. It was his mission to teach them that they, too, must gain this technical power over nature, which would destroy the stigma of servility more thoroughly than the parliamentary action of a Brougham or the proclamation of a Lincoln. Toussaint l'Ouverture, "the Buonaparte of St. Domingo," wrought for his race with the sword, Frederick Douglass with the word of freedom, Booker Washington with the

wheel and plowshare. Skilled industry was his watchword. The age of agitation for the rights of the negro is past; in realizing this truth, in preaching to his people the gospel of labor and skill, Washington contributed serviceably toward solving the gravest internal problem of this nation.

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A REBUFF TO GENERAL BOTHA

The recent elections in the Union of South Africa meant, the *Vossische Zeitung* predicted, a settlement of "the future and the fate of South Africa itself." They turned out not to be so decisive as that. But the disaffection of twenty-seven Dutch constituencies won by General Botha's opponent, Hertzog, left him the support of fifty-four districts, districts peopled mainly by English-speaking voters. General Botha's own people rejected him, standing on a Nationalist platform which, *The Times* of London editorially says, represents "a policy of race-hatred" and a political faith predicated on the "deep-dyed iniquity of Great Britain." The Dutch Nationalist Party opposed the campaign against German Southwest Africa. It declared against helping England at all in the war and against uniting the British and Dutch in South Africa. The conqueror of German Southwest Africa must now relinquish his independent policy and join in a coalition Government with the British Unionists, whose seating of forty members will assure him a majority against his own countrymen.

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HEALTH OF BRITISH WOMEN

That woman is not naturally delicate and fragile, that she is tough and resistant, is shown in the fact that under the strain and hard work put upon the women of Britain their health is improving. That is the testimony of Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser in an address at the London Institute of Hygiene on Nov. 2. "Where are all the neurotic women today?" Dr. Chesser asked. The leisured, protected, economically useless woman has disappeared, and the neurotic woman of old time is now cheerily "doing

her bit" in hospitals, depots, canteens, and munition works.

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THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD FAIR

Russian sable, arctic fox, and other furs and lambskins have for a year past glutted the Russian markets, and have just come into demand at this year's Nizhni-Novgorod Fair. That great world market has been cut off by the war from the elements of foreign control which made its furs and jewelry merchantable. The Germans possess the manufactories of jewels in Poland, leaving only the Moscow jewelry. The Petrograd correspondent of *The Times* of London reports that this year's fair is being conducted with a shortage of all other manufactured goods in face of an increased demand, directly and indirectly due to the war. There are but about 1,500 firms represented, a dwindling of one-fourth from last year, but because of keener trade conditions the fair is peculiarly brisk and animated.

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NEW YORK CITY'S GROWTH

Fast becoming the financial centre of the world, how long will it be before New York is its largest city? Every year for eighty years past the greatest city on this continent has added 100,000 persons to itself, gaining more than proportionately in wealth. A report of the Central Mercantile Association of New York calls attention to this yearly increment, noting its increase to 135,000 a year during the last decade. What will be its future as the American Nation develops in comparison with the weakened powers of Europe?

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THINGS AWRY IN THE PHILIPPINES

Dissensions in the Colonial Government of the Philippines are revealed by the resignation of General Clinton L. Riggs, who was Secretary of Commerce and Police, just accepted by President Wilson. That the conduct of affairs by Governor General Francis Burton Harrison will be the subject of Congressional attack this Winter is shown by charges already made by Congressman Miller of

Minnesota, and by the fact that several other Republican members of the House of Representatives have lately visited the Philippines. That an anti-American spirit has been fostered in the islands; that "graft" has prevailed; that sanitary reforms have lapsed, resulting in epidemics of cholera, and that Governmental chaos has followed a breakdown of the civil service system will be the lines of attack. Doubtless it will be proved that the United States has still much to learn in the way of colonial administration.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE ELECTIONS

In the eighteen and nineties a referendum to the women of Massachusetts resulted in an overwhelming condemnation by their own sex of the suffragists' propaganda. Since then the question has never been referred to the women of a State for a choice. The men of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts have this Fall decided for a quarter of the population of the United States that the privilege of the ballot shall not be extended to women. In the past four years Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota have rejected woman suffrage, comprising with the four States that opposed it this Fall almost two-fifths of the nation. In fourteen States of the South, comprising 27,000,000 people, there is no suffrage propaganda on account of the race question. The eleven States whose Constitutions grant suffrage to women are all west of the Mississippi, and contain but a tenth of the entire population. Besides these, the Legislature of Illinois permits women to vote for such offices as are not mentioned in the Constitution. Nevertheless, the agitators for suffrage point out that their movement in the East is growing, and that it enlisted 1,000,000 voters in November.

* * *

COLORADO'S COAL STRIKE SETTLEMENT

Comparing the attitude of President Wilson in refusing to settle the coal

strike in Colorado with President Roosevelt's intervention in the Pennsylvania strike of 1902, ex-President Taft, in his Columbia lecture of Nov. 4, praised the Wilson principle. Let the people of Colorado take care of the things that are Colorado's is the essence of the principle. Mr. Roosevelt felt charged with the duty not only to suppress disorder in Pennsylvania, but to furnish coal in New York and New England, Mr. Taft said, and he proposed to do this with the aid of United States troops. This is a big country. An Executive at Washington who charged himself with the conduct of local affairs would soon have his hands full. Why not let the people in every district and State control themselves in their affairs? But reasoning in this wise would never have brought a Republican ex-President under the condemnation of Thomas Jefferson.

* * *

MORE TAXES FOR THE NATION

With a program for national defense that will undoubtedly be expensive, Congress meets this month to survey the field of possible new taxation. Despite the war tax levied by the last Congress, the revenues have fallen behind half a million dollars a day; additional revenue would have to be raised in any circumstances. The regular annual appropriations for this fiscal year are the highest on record. The Sixty-third Congress, which appropriated \$2,231,000,000, exceeded by \$177,000,000 the expenditures of the last Republican Congress, and by \$113,000,000 the Democratic Congress of the last two years under President Taft. The program of Secretary of War Garrison calls for army appropriations of \$183,000,000 for the first of three years' expenditure, as compared with \$102,000,000 for the present fiscal year. During the second year the allowance would rise to \$212,000,000, and to \$228,000,000 for the third year, leaving a military system that alone will cost \$182,000,000 a year regularly. But there is no question that the program for defense is popular, and that it is bound to be largely adopted.

England! Whither Now?

By Sir Gilbert Parker

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[In this article Sir Gilbert Parker frankly adopts the German principle of *Kultur* in his searching and almost bitter criticism of extravagance in British social life during the war. "The reason the Germans have borne the enormous pressure of this war fairly easily, though shut off from many sources of imports, is the scientific way in which their social life is organized," he says, and he holds up the ideal of *Kultur* to the British Nation. Inferentially, we should say, his article is also a criticism of American social life.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

IF this war does not bring about a better adjustment of life in the English Nation it will not deserve to live as an independent unit. In such case a period of tribulation, under the heel of a despot, might do it a world of good.

By nature I am an optimist. That does not mean a belief that all will come right in this war, no matter what the daily situation, because as a people we have had great luck in the past. I am not that kind of optimist. Optimism is only warranted where all has been done that can be done to secure an end. It is a good thing to hope for the best, to keep a smiling face turned to tremendous difficulties; but this must be associated with indefatigable purpose, energy, organizing power, and a deep and devoted enthusiasm. I have stated in a war book of mine, called "The World in the Crucible," that when this war is over England will be, and this empire will be, wholly changed, and that, in the same sense, things will never be again as they have been. But coincident with this statement was a setting forth of what our enormous problems will be and how they will tax every individual in the nation to his and her utmost, but adding

that if the individual sees the end and does his duty the nation will not fail.

When the war broke out, England was not in a healthy state, socially or politically. A few men saw the external and the internal troubles ahead and tried to warn their fellow-citizens; but the warning as to the European menace on the one hand, and as to duty in regard to domestic and social evils and the necessity for better organization of the national life on the other, together with a greater sense of personal responsibility, went unheeded, or largely so. We were as little fitted to enter upon a great war in August, 1914, save for our splendidly organized navy and our perfectly organized small expeditionary army, as any nation has ever been. We were not prepared for the terrific responsibilities of a great land war, to be fought in the Persian Gulf, the Dardanelles, Egypt, Serbia, Belgium, France, and West and East Africa and South Africa, yet the people generally had a blind faith that somehow all would come right, as when, in the South African war, fighting against two small States, we "muddled through."

A year of war has produced good, if not adequate, results. There has been a growing sense of what all this hideous world business means. It has come home to vast numbers that, though our island may not be occupied by enemy troops, we can still be defeated, impoverished, broken. A very large proportion of the people understand the magnitude of our task; the hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded, the mutilated and the crippled, the blind and the maimed, have taught a great lesson. On the whole nearly all of us know at last that our liberties and our lives are at stake. The Zeppelins over our homes and the warships bombarding our coast have startled us into understanding; but we have not

learned either all the truth or all of our duty yet. One big lesson, which is for now and for after the war, has been imperfectly learned. As a nation we are living on credit; that is to say, there would be miserable poverty in this country today were it not for the money being spent for war purposes; the hundreds of millions which must be wiped out, in part now through exhausting taxation, borne without a murmur—in the future through still heavier taxation. Yet it must be remembered that it is the credit of the country, drawn upon for unproductive purposes, which is supplying us indirectly and directly with the money to meet the present demands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the need of the army and navy.

On this matter of economy we have not yet really begun to learn our lesson. The proportion by which individuals generally have cut down their expenses is not large yet. You will be told, however, that there are not so many people in the restaurants or in the theatres. That is true; but there have been withdrawn from our theatres and our restaurants an immense foreign population, particularly the population of the United States. The theatres and music halls of the more popular class have been full until very lately; and the restaurants of the more popular class have been extensively frequented. Going to a restaurant, you would hear music and you would see dancing and all the popinjay business of a numbing luxury, going on as it went on before the war. I say deliberately, from close observation, that most of the economy pursued during the past year has been the result of necessity and not of deliberate will, and therein lies the deep danger for this land. The wife of a friend of mine who holds a high position in the public life of this country was at a popular Northern watering place six weeks ago. She is a woman not given to exaggeration, of quiet, observant habits, and great tolerance of mind. She said that in the big hotel filled with people where she was staying the display of diamonds and expensive gowns, with bottles of champagne at dinner every night, made her ashamed of her fellow-countrymen.

This luxury means that there are people making much money out of the war, even with the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on their profits. They are making more than they made before the war, and they and their women folk forget the horrors of Flanders and the slaughter of the Dardanelles in the self-indulgence of the table and the theatre. We all should be Puritans in this time of crisis in our fate as a people, and we should not be ashamed to own the name and to practice Puritan habits. Cheerfulness, friendliness, sympathy—God knows we need them, need them badly, and God knows we should practice them freely, hopefully, constantly; but that can still go with a decent and grave understanding of the crisis that is on us, with a conservation of energy and resources, with frugality, and the pleasures that do not depend on purely material things. We can for the nation's sake, and we should for our own, cut down to the lowest limits these material pleasures. If we do, we shall gain in self-respect, in a better habit of mind and body. We shall see more clearly the happiness in doing the things that matter, and the demoralization that comes from self-indulgence and show and social display. If we do not, then the reconstruction period—an iron age it must be—will find us confounded, abashed, and helpless; we shall not have trained ourselves for that exacting time when the whole national life must be reorganized.

I will freely admit that many people are sanely and wisely economizing, and calmly and carefully organizing their lives to the changed conditions. There is a quiet in the land which no one alive has ever known or seen before. That is largely due to imposed restrictions of Government as to the lighting of London. People go out less at night. The theatres are now less frequented; the restaurants do their greatest business at lunch time. It is enforced economy and self-denial. We need the willing sacrifice, the spiritual determination to strip our lives of luxury, to subsist on the minimum, to forget ourselves in the duty of thinking and enduring for a cause.

It is incumbent on all in this country

to ask themselves what they can do without; and whenever they can do without they should do without. Of course, it is impossible to say to the man who has a large house or an estate, "You must now change the plane on which you live and descend to a lower plane. Instead of the house with forty rooms, you must have a house with ten rooms." If he owns the house with forty rooms, he can only cut down expenses to a certain point, no matter how hard he tries; otherwise, the house is not cared for, necessary work which keeps it in condition is not done, and he does not maintain his position decently. He cannot leave his house because he cannot sell. If every able-bodied man with a big house and estate were to say: "I am going to a lower level and to live on a much smaller scale," values would extensively disappear, and credit, which is only money invisible, would decline.

I do know people living in large houses who have closed one-half their premises, but they can close no more, since the house requires a certain number of servants simply to keep it clean and for the ordinary household work. These people are mostly living in a very simple way—two courses at a meal, no wine, no spirits, game abolished, no kickshaws, and, so far as they themselves are concerned, no waste in regard to food, and rigidity of diet preserved. They cannot, however, control waste below stairs in the same way, and there are scores of thousands of servants who have no idea either of the necessity for preventing waste or any desire, if there is the necessity, to prevent it. A boy in my household broke four tumblers in one day, and a tradesman who saw him break two challenged him about it. His reply was: "Oh, they've plenty of money!" His view was that because his master could replace the tumblers, there was no need for care. I trust that wherever he is now he has a better mind. He is not with me.

Great numbers of people are economizing without system. A friend of mine at the time of the Baring crash years ago, when asked if it had hit him hard, said: "Oh, yes, I've got to economize. I'm do-

ing it. I've given up hansoms; I drive my wife's brougham."

There is a good deal of economy of that kind at the present time. I know people who take penny buses, but do not deny themselves the theatre, which costs them ten-and-sixpence a ticket. Go into Bond Street, or let your wife go and report on what she sees at the fashionable shops. She will tell you that hats costing £30 are exhibited for sale, and they are bought, too, at the present time! Expensive furs are being bought, but as an affectation of economy buyers take the tube! A man I know discharged a servant to cut down expenses, but he smokes two cigars at a shilling each every day. Our economy lacks proportion, understanding, and the real touch. When need grips us a little we shall begin to study a real economy. Self-indulgence should be entirely eschewed when the very existence of the State depends upon the conservation of such wealth as there is. To give more to the country and to those who suffer for what they have given to the country is an imperative duty. There has as yet been no *extensive* heroism of self-denial in the land, though a large number of people with wisdom and conscience have shown a true understanding of duty. In the history of many a country women have sold their jewels in order to provide the sinews of war, and great ladies have lived on the food of simple laborers and dressed accordingly. We have not come to that yet. It is, however, in the horizon. And even that heroism is as nought beside the heroism needed to offer a life for your country and to save those who do not fight.

It is not enough for the man who is in what is called the higher position of life to retrench and economize. As I have said, he cannot at a moment's notice get out of a big house into a little one. To lose money by heroic effort to reduce expenses, to alter the whole level of his life, is no economy. To cut down expenditure, however, on his own particular level, to sacrifice the savings for the good of the nation's cause, is just as heroic as for the workman who has always earned and lived on the scale of £3

a week to pay a little more taxation as his contribution to a nation's needs. As the Prime Minister has said, every man, no matter what his position, should contribute his full share. There are homes, of course, where little retrenchment is possible; where, with the increased cost of living, economy cannot be employed; yet wages in most of the working trades are double what they were before the war began, and the price of living has not doubled.

No man, high or low, should find himself better off because of this war. As for waste, the waste in the homes of our working people is appalling. It is largely not the fault of the people themselves. In our fanatical individualism we have never organized our social life properly; the poor have never been taught how to cook, to make clothes, to conserve their humble resources, to make the best use of what they have. Providence and thrift have not been widely encamped in the homes of the workers. The moral responsibility for this state of things comes in part from duty undone on the higher levels; for people there have been taught and do know, or should know, by instinct and intelligence what was needed; but they have not concerned themselves with a true, a humane and essential social reform, or else have done so without proper organization. If we had ever organized scientifically in our public departments and social life, we should not now have the scandalous waste going on in the military life of the country. Probably as much is wasted in our military camps, at the front and at home, as would represent 25 per cent. of what is used. But no more of that here.

This brings me to the point that after this war this question of prevention of waste and economy of resources for making use of everything material, the development of the science of utilizing by-products, will have to take place. The reason the Germans have borne the enormous pressure of this war fairly easily, though shut off from many sources of imports, is the scientific way in which their social life is organized. Waste in Germany, except among the higher classes, during the last quarter of a cent-

ury has been reduced to a minimum. In provincial France, ever since the war of 1870, thrift, economy, the determination not to permit waste, have been universal, and nowhere so extensively as in the kitchen.

Our Education Department has done something in this direction, but it has been on a small scale and it has not been a deep-going business of conviction, a national thing in the true sense. How to run a household, an organization, a shop, an office, with the least waste possible and with perfect economy as to energy, time, &c., is a delicate but it is a paying business. The time is coming when necessity will compel the commercial world to overhaul its system. The loss of men, in itself, will be one of the factors. Now in new countries like the United States, Canada, or Australia, men do not go to their offices at 10:30 o'clock and leave at 4:30. Only the aristocracy do that, and the aristocracy in those countries is, or was when I frequented them at all, the bank clerk; he was regarded as the one leisured member of the community. Men go to their offices in those new countries at 8 o'clock or from 8 to 9 o'clock in the morning. The shop shutters are down at 7 o'clock, Winter and Summer. Men in all trades and professions have a very short time for luncheon. They work late. They work, in other words, till the evening. They are not compelled to do so; no law requires it; it is a free-will offering; it is business. The clerk finds that he cannot get through his work with all he has to do in a thriving business if he saunters in at 10:30 o'clock and saunters out at 4:30 o'clock.

I do not wish to say, and I could not say, that the people on the lower levels in our mercantile world do not work sufficient hours; they do, some of them, particularly in the shops and in certain offices, work much too hard. It is the people a little higher up who are the cause of waste and of England's bad reputation for production. This much must be said for the industrialists and the labor class, that they do get up early and that they do work their honest eight hours a day, or at any rate their

eight hours a day. There is a vast population, out of the factories and in the commercial and mercantile world and public employ, who could, by two hours' work more a day, add immensely to the nation's wealth and serve the cause of economy and set free the labor of others.

In the field where I have worked for sixteen years, that is, the House of Commons, there is a great room for reorganization. I have always been shocked at the enormous waste of time spent in causing some momentary delay in the passage of a bill or in the general business of the House. While I am a strong friend of debate, and of long debate rather than short debate, on things that matter, that is, on things of policy and conscience, on amendments of importance to a bill, &c., I am strongly opposed to the miserable waste of time, of mental energy, of intelligent capacity, both in the chamber and in committees. I think the business of Parliament could be much better organized if both parties would contend tooth and nail on all matters of principle, but would not degrade Parliament, as it is

often degraded, by childish and, to my mind, somewhat contemptible warfare on petty points which are only brought forward to give the enemy his daily stumble over an obstruction, while the enemy takes his revenge by forcing through measures of vast importance with the closure at the gallop. He feels justified in doing so in the face of the obstruction, the futile devices, which have prevented him from doing the ordinary business of the House.

We have had a vast deal of intellectual dissoluteness and mental dissipation in the law making and public life of this country. It has been too much of a game, and a futile game at that. We should pull ourselves together and "sober down." God knows we shall need to do so! I could enlarge my arguments in a dozen other and greater fields, where discipline, organization, and economy are necessary, where the frugal and cheerful spirit will find happiness in making the material his servant, having emancipated itself from its tyranny; but I may not do it here and now.

Exterminating the Armenians

In a dispatch dated Tiflis, Transcaucasia, Oct. 19, 1915, this report appeared:

The estimate is made by the Armenian newspaper Mshak that of the 1,200,000 Armenian inhabitants of Turkey before the war there remain not more than 200,000. This residue, the Mshak says, may disappear before the end of the war, on account of the Turkish policy of extermination. The figures of the Mshak are based on the estimate of the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople that 850,000 Armenians have been killed or enslaved by the Turks, in addition to which 200,000 Armenians are believed to have fled to Russia. The Mshak suggests that a Pan-American conference be held at Etchmiadzin, Transcaucasia, the ecclesiastical capital of Armenia, under the direction of the head of the Armenian Church, for the consideration of the future of Armenian vilayets of Turkey after the war. It is thought here that if satisfactory conditions could be established Armenian emigrants to the United States and the Balkans might return to Turkish Armenia.

An Appeal to the British People



BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

TO MY PEOPLE.

At this grave moment in the struggle between my people and a highly organized enemy who has transgressed the Laws of Nations and changed the ordinance that binds civilized Europe together, I appeal to you.

I rejoice in my Empire's effort, and I feel pride in the voluntary response from my Subjects all over the world who have sacrificed home, fortune, and life itself, in order that another may not inherit the free Empire which their ancestors and mine have built.

I ask you to make good these sacrifices.

The end is not in sight. More men and yet more are wanted to keep my Armies in the Field, and through them to secure Victory and enduring Peace.

In ancient days the darkest moment has ever produced in men of our race the sternest resolve.

I ask you, men of all classes, to come forward voluntarily and take your share in the fight.

In freely responding to my appeal, you will be giving your support to our brothers, who, for long months, have nobly upheld Britain's past traditions, and the glory of her Arms.

George R. I.

This letter from the British King "to my people" is intended to give inspiration to Lord Derby's great scheme of voluntary recruiting.



KING PETER OF SERBIA

This Is a Late Photograph of the Serbian King Seated in His State Office



SIR BRYAN MAHON

Major General of the British Army in Command of the British Troops in
Serbia

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

Problem of Small Nations in the Crisis of Europe

By Dr. T. G. Masaryk

Late Professor of Philosophy in the Czech University of Prague
and Member of the Austrian Parliament; Lecturer in the New
School of Slavonic Studies in King's College, University of London.

[*Welcomed by Prime Minister Asquith as a "teacher the influence of whose power and learning is felt throughout the Slav world," and by The London Times as being "known throughout Europe and in the United States as the foremost representative of the Slav spirit," Dr. Masaryk delivered on Oct. 19, 1915, the inaugural lecture at the opening of the new School of Slavonic Studies in King's College, London. With his personal approval CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents to the American public Dr. Masaryk's analysis of the radical causes of the war.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.*]

IT would help us greatly if I could show a good map of the European nations; but no such map exists.

This deficiency of ethnological geography is very significant of the scientific situation in this branch of sociological studies, which during this war and as a direct result of it has become so important. Still more significant is the fact that, in spite of the war and the steady discussion of the different nationalities, you cannot buy a map showing the extent of the different nations; you will find political maps, maps of railroads, and so on, but no ethnographical ones. Think of it! The very question of this war is graphically not represented, though day by day for over a year past endless discussion, alike in the press and on the public platform, turn upon the question of nationality. Only a few specialists realize the situation and give us in their treatises and books a few all too scanty ethnographical data.

So inveterate is the conception of the State as the only entity which counts

in the political world! But today we are forced to acknowledge the existence of nations and we are obliged to make a distinction between States and nations; and that, of course, involves a true grasp of the incongruity of political and ethnographical boundaries. An Englishman, speaking of his nation, identifies the nation and the State. Not so the Serb or the Bohemian, because to his experience State and nation do not coincide, his nation being spread over several States or being in the State with other nations. We Slavs very keenly discriminate the State from the nation; but the Englishman will do the same if he uses expressions such as "the spirit" of "the culture" of the German and English Nations.

In the Statesman's Year Book for 1915 we find in Europe twenty-eight States, if we treat Austria-Hungary and Germany each as a single State; we must count fifty-three States if we separate Hungary from Austria and divide Germany into her twenty-five Federal units.

If we take one of the few better ethnological maps—alas! a German one—we find sixty-two nations or nationalities. In other words, in Europe we have more than twice as many nations as States, and that means that the existing States are nationally mixed. States must be composed of more than one nation. And that means, further, that there are in Europe far more dependent than independent nations. Only seventeen nations are independent, or, rather, possess their own State organizations; but portions even of these independent nations are dependent upon other States. In fact, there are only a few States which do not contain more than one nation—only seven

out of the twenty-eight. But if there are seven national States, that does not mean that these seven States are formed by seven nationalities; for some States contain the same nationality, and, in other cases, the same nationality is divided among different States.

And, be it noted at once, these national States (national in the strict sense of the word) are all small, some of them the smallest States, namely, Andorra, Denmark, San Marino, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Holland, and Portugal. The Papal State in Rome is omitted.

The middle-sized States, and, still more, the large States, are all mixed, though they vary in type according to the proportion, the numbers, and, of course, the cultural quality of the several national units of which they are composed.

As a rule, one—the ruling—nation is in the majority; in different States this majority is differently scaled. But we have at least one instance where the minority tries to rule—the Germans in Austria and, side by side with them, the Magyars in Hungary.

Austria-Hungary represents a unique type of the mixed or polyglot State—a comparatively high number of different smaller and small nations forms a single State. The Balkan federation, of which so many idealists, and even politicians, have dreamed, would of course belong to the same type.

For our present purpose it is not necessary to give an elaborate classification of the mixed States; any real, sociological treatment of the problem requires an exact description of the national units in each individual State; only then is fruitful comparison possible.

If we take the States directly involved in the war, we find that all of them are mixed, though in varying degrees. Germany, in addition to her sixty million German inhabitants, has six other nationalities, two of them in considerable numbers, that is, the Poles and Frenchmen; the other four, the Lusatians, (Serbians,) Danes, Czechs, and Lithuanians, forming only tiny minorities. Austria-Hungary contains ten nationalities; Turkey in Europe three, and a few fragments of other nations in addition—Turks, Greeks,

Bulgarians, Armenians, and so on. Asiatic Turkey is, of course, extremely mixed. Bulgaria is mixed, for there is a large Turkish minority, to say nothing of fragments of Rumanians, and so on.

The States of the Allies also are mixed, but for the most part in a different manner. Great Britain has considerable remnants of non-English nations, and so has even France of races which are not French; even Italy, which is often proclaimed as the example of a national State, contains a few Slav, German, and Albanian fragments. Serbia has non-Serbian minorities, Bulgarian and Albanian. Even Montenegro, the smallest State, is mixed.

Russia is ethnologically a unique State. I speak of European Russia; the British Empire, of course, contains in its various transoceanic dominions and colonies many more nations and fragments of nations and races, but Great Britain is in the main English, whereas Continental Russia, though the Russians are in an overwhelming majority, contains many nations, of which several are in large numbers, being, moreover, nations which possess their own culture and traditions.*

Comparing the national composition of the European States, we perceive a striking difference between the east and the west of Europe. If we bisect Europe by a line drawn from the Adriatic to the Baltic and extended up to the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, we find in the west nineteen nations; nine are embodied in twelve States—Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, and Switzerland; the remainder are in the main national splinters.†

The "State-nations" in the west are of all magnitudes; a few great, some of medium size, and the rest small ones; there is a kind of national equilibrium.

*On a special ethnographical map of Russia (Aïtoff, *Peuples et Langues de la Russie*, *Annales de Géographie*, 1906) one can enumerate eighty-five nations of several different races, and besides the author mentions nameless nationalities.

†Basques, Bretons, Welsh, Irish, Gaels, Rumanians, Lapps—and to these should be added the Slavs, Albanians, and Germans in Italy.

The east of Europe offers quite a different spectacle. There we have one great nation—in fact, the largest nation in Europe—the rest are all smaller and small nations, some few possessing independent States of their own. But in Eastern Europe—and this applies especially to Russia—we have a very great variety of national and racial fragments.

The east and west differ also in respect of the number and size of States. Whereas the west has eighteen States, the east has only eight, two belonging partly to the west, partly to the east. For the west and east are not divided sharply and by a straight line; Germany and Austria belong both to the west and to the east.

Speaking of the east and west of Europe and saying that both halves are not sharply cut, we find a peculiar ethnological zone in what is often called Central Europe. From Trieste, Saloniki, and Constantinople, up north to Dantsic and Petrograd in a line not straight, but curved in the direction of Berlin, in whose neighborhood live the Slav Serbs, is a greater number of smaller nations, which were and still are under the dominion of Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia. This zone, composed of East Prussia, Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, and the west of Russia, is the real and proper centre of national antagonism. Here the nationality question and the language question is the political *vis matrix*.

It was here that the present war broke out; here is the quarter from which come continual unrest and disturbance for the whole of Europe. This zone is the real kernel of the so-called Oriental question, this zone supplies the most urgent and clamant cause for remodeling the political organization of Europe. In this zone the smaller nations are continually striving and fighting for liberty and independence. It is this zone which has confronted the statesmen of Europe with the problem of small nations; and it is the Allies, more especially, whom this war is forcing to apply themselves to its solution.

II.

We are always speaking of smaller and greater, of small and great nations.

What, then, is the proper definition of a small and of a great nation? What makes a nation great? What is the problem of a small nation, and how does such a problem come to exist?

The very notion of greatness and smallness is relative and correlative; the more so, if the number of the population, or the extent of the territory of a State or a nation is taken as the principle of classification.

The most numerous population is in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, and the Russians and Germans are in this sense the greatest nations; the English, French, Italians and Spaniards—we are not considering the nations outside Europe—are smaller. Some sociologist will perhaps put the Russians, Germans, and English as one class, (86-45 millions,) the French, Italians, and Spaniards (40-20 millions) in a middle class. A third category would be formed by nations under 20 millions, say, the Poles, Rumanians, Serbo-Croats, and Czechs, then would follow the Portuguese, Swedes, and so on, and finally would come what might be described as the fragments or splinters of nations.

I hardly need to point out that such a classification is based upon mere numbers and their effects; nor will any one seek to minimize the decisive material value of these mathematical calculations. We all know *now* what a greater or smaller army means.

But the numerical greatness of a nation is variable and changing. Since the nineteenth century almost all nations are growing in number; all nations, then, are getting larger, and statisticians can calculate when the population of the various nations will be doubled. Through this process of growth the numerical relation of the different nations will be changed, owing to the fact that some increase more rapidly than others. The most striking instance, and one which provides a partial explanation of this war, is the slow increase of the population in France compared with its quick growth in Germany. Till 1845 France had a larger population than Germany; indeed, at the end of the eighteenth and at the begin-

ning of the nineteenth century the Frenchmen were practically the largest nation. A good deal of the French history of that time can be explained by this fact, just as recent German history will become clear if we consider the numerical increase of the population. The Germans themselves boast of this increase as one of their claims to greatness.

We touch here upon the intricate problem of decadence and degeneration; the fact that the annual birth rate in many countries or parts of countries has been falling in recent years, the fact that changes in the development of the birth rate are experienced very often and often very suddenly, these facts, I say, force every thinking man to abstain from general indictments and condemnations.

The German extreme nationalists have no right to condemn France and other countries in which the increase of the population is slower than in Germany. For not merely is the birth rate falling in Germany also, but it should be remembered that the overwhelming majority of German economists accept in their theory of population the leading ideas of Malthus and are not inclined to see in the precipitate augmentation of the population an undoubted proof of physical and moral vigor.

But let us assume for a moment that the increase of the population, the surplus of the birth rate over the death rate, can be applied as a standard to physical and even moral health and strength. In that case the populationistic principle applies as much to Germany as to other countries. Students of the question know that England during the nineteenth century is the only instance of a country where the population was trebled; and it is equally worth noting that in the Bohemian countries the Czech population increased more rapidly than the German population. Will the German ultranationalists admit the consequences of their own logic in these and other cases?

To sum up the argument: physical greatness and strength, being, *ipso facto*, always relative and correlative, is no warrant, no foundation of right and of prerogatives; seventy is certainly far more than ten, but have the seventy the

right to deprive the ten of their bread? Have they the *right* to use force?

The German jingoism appeal to history. History, they argue, shows that small States are slowly but surely disappearing and serving as a material for the big ones. Compare the hundreds of small States in the Middle Ages, and even in modern times—they are absorbed and swallowed up by the bigger ones; Prussia herself is an instance of such absorption, but France, Italy, England also—in a word, all big States—were formed out of small ones. History then proves that the law of political development makes the formation of great States and nations unavoidable. Small nations and States, under the most favorable circumstances, have only a temporary duration, historical development favors and promotes the growth of big nations and States; the German Nation, Germany, is big, bigger than the rest with one exception, which is more apparent than real; therefore her legitimate aim is: world policy, world power!

Let us probe to the bottom this Pan-Germanic imperialist theory. It is quite true that many hundreds of small States—city-States—were absorbed by one State growing bigger and bigger. But in France, Italy, &c., partly even in Prussia, this process was a gathering of the same people, of the same nation, not a subduing of foreign nations—though, of course, Prussia and other States subjugated foreign nations, too.

If history proves that small States and nations are ephemeral, it proves the same of big States—remember the Oriental empires, Alexander the Great, the Greeks and Romans, the Franks, the old German Empire, Napoleon. All these States—not nations!—were provisional also. The real meaning of these political, unnational formations is misunderstood by the Pan-Germanists, and the arguments which they base upon are false.

History is a process of integration, but at the same time of disintegration; the double process appears as the strengthening of individualism, and simultaneously collectivism is growing stronger, too. History tends not toward

uniformity, but toward variety, toward organized variety, which very often is misrepresented as barren, monotonous, indiscriminate uniformity.

Speaking politically, the centralizing tendencies in social life are steadily counterbalanced by the striving for autonomy and federation in all its variety; centralized absolutism is everywhere checked by freedom, the centralizing tendencies of aristocracy are weakened by the individualistic tendencies of democracy. This double process pervades all departments of social life.

History then refutes the Pan-German argument. History shows that national States develop in Europe, and history is in favor not only of big but also of medium-sized and small national States.

History is in favor of all individuals, of individualism in general; nations are natural organizations of homogeneous individuals, and States, being more artificial organizations, are more and more adapted to the nations. So general is this tendency that the numerical strength of the nations does not play a decisive part.

History shows that since the eighteenth century the principle of nationality has grown stronger and received more and more political recognition. National individualities, their language and culture have steadily gained ground all over Europe, and linguistic rights have been gradually codified. These rights have been and still are advocated by Italy, by the Austro-Hungarian and Balkan nations, and they are advocated by Germany herself. How, then, can Germany or any other nation claim for herself this right and at the same time refuse it to others?

How strong and how far-reaching national feeling and ideas have become in modern times is proved by the revival of oppressed nationalities in all States. The Renaissance of the Bohemian Nation is a specially striking instance and a confirmation of the general national principle.

History further shows that the strengthening of national feeling does not prevent the growth of internationalism and internationalization. I am not

playing with words when I draw a sharp distinction between *internationalism* and *interstatism*. (I hope that philologists will pardon the word.) True nationalism is not opposed to internationalism, but we abhor those nationalist jingoes who in the name of nationalism oppress other nations, and we reject that form of internationalism and cosmopolitanism which in fact recognizes only one, its own nation, and oppresses the others. True internationalism is not oppression, but neither is it a-nationalism nor anti-nationalism.

We learn from history that the warlike spirit tends to diminish, that militarism is getting more and more defensive after having been offensive; we learn from history that peoples and nations are more and more ready to work for themselves, without depending on the labor of others. Idleness, the oppressive form of aristocracy, whether in individuals, in classes, in nations, and in races, is diminishing. History finally shows that brute force and quantity is less and less esteemed. In all nations the best men are agreed in prizing spiritual and moral forces—humanity is the effective watchword of the champions of all nations.

It is true, and history confirms it, that mankind strives for unity, but it does not strive for uniformity; world federation, not world power; *consensus gentium*, not slavery of nations and races; the organization—not the conquest of Europe.

If I am not mistaken, this war is a revelation of this historic truth. No *Herrenvolk*, but national equality and parity; *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* among nations as among individuals.

The Pan-Germans appeal in vain to history; the facts are against them. History most assuredly is *vitae magistra*, the teacher for life; but there is history and history. History, in fact, does not prove anything, for all facts are equally historical—history gives as many examples of brutality as of humanity, of truth as of falsehood. The Huns also are historical. The real question has always been, and always will be, whether we are to bow unquestioningly before all his-

torical facts or whether we are resolved to master them. I am an adherent of realism; but the spiritual and moral forces in society and their growth are not less real than the Prussian Generals; we can and must accept political realism, but we never can approve of the *Realpolitik* of Treitschke, Mommsen, Lagarde, of Bernhardi and the rest, who have converted anthropology into zoology. I say that, though I am speaking in the country of Darwin and his theory of the survival of the so-called fittest.

III.

Smaller and small national States could exist very well; in fact, they do exist—out of the twenty-eight States, at the very most seven can be classified as great or greater; in other words, the small States outnumber the great by four to one. On a basis of mere size we then are not surprised to hear that there is only one great State, only one great nation, entitled to world power.

But the conditions of political independence for smaller States are the same as for the bigger ones.

Small and big States have the same natural frontiers—mountain chains, (Pyrenees, the Bohemian Mountains;) great rivers, &c. The big and almost all small States are on the sea; only Switzerland and Serbia are landlocked, but then it is just Switzerland which provides eloquent proof that a small State can flourish without a coast line. Many of the smaller nations (Czechs, Magyars, &c.) are without the sea.

States and nations, even when small, have been able to protect their independence; take, for instance, small Montenegro and the other Balkan nations against Turkey, Holland against Spain, Switzerland (in its smaller size) against Austria, and so on. The physical, mental, and moral qualities of smaller nations are just as good as those of their greater neighbors and oppressors. Are the Serbians less brave than the Austrian Germans; the Czechs less energetic and strenuous for having conserved and strengthened their nationality against the Germans? Denmark is probably the most cultured country in Europe, Bo-

hemia has fewer illiterates than the Austrian Germans.

Such instances could easily be multiplied; but I am ready to concede that, on the other hand, small nations labor under certain disadvantages. A small nation has a more limited number of hands and heads; the division and organization of labor, physical and mental, is less adequate. There is a smaller number of specialists, wealth and comfort are more restricted. But here, too, there are exceptions; take Holland, Switzerland, and Bohemia, as examples. Some small nations are apt to acquire a peculiar form of timidity, a lack of daring and enterprise; occasionally even a kind of cringing want of frankness. But are these qualities not due to the effect of prolonged oppression? To be sure, these and other drawbacks, in so far as they exist, exist only under given circumstances, under the pressure of the existing system of rapacious militarism and economic exploitation. Let the smaller nations be free, do not interfere, leave them alone, and these drawbacks will soon disappear.

But small nations have also some advantages over greater nations; both drawbacks and advantages are relative.

A smaller nation develops a certain many-sidedness; every individual force and talent is valued and used, labor and effort and, indeed, the whole working system are intensified. It is a well-known fact that small farmers produce relatively much more than do large estates. The whole nation is, so to speak, well-kneaded. Palacky, our great Bohemian historian, exhorted his nation to treble and even to increase tenfold its labors; small nations are indeed nations of workers. In a smaller community there is a more intensive intercommunion of men, ideas, and feelings; people know each other, they can more easily be united, though of course this intimacy also has its drawbacks. Mr. Fisher, the Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University, in his essay on "The Value of Small States," brings out the fact that democracy, the direct participation of the people in the Government, can be best developed in small States. He adduces many instances; and

it was certainly this idea that inspired Rousseau's proposal to divide the big States into small communities. Sociologists and historians know that the administrative machinery of the modern State grew out of the small administration of cities. The great cities in big States are a remedy against indefinite expansion. I will not conceal the fact that small nations also can be decoyed by tempting imperialist ideas; notable instances are the Magyars, and perhaps the Bulgarians. The poet Kollar, the great apostle of humanity and national reciprocity, rightly observed that small nations can be very intolerant.

The German imperialists often tell us that small nations cannot produce great men; great men require, we are told, a great environment, the communion of many and great spirits. I do not believe it, and I take the instance of my own country—the whole world knows and esteems John Huss, the whole world has learned from the educationalist Comenius, Zizka is the founder of modern strategy, our nation was the first to break the spiritual centralization of the Middle Ages and to dare the Reformation.

The bravery and the heroism of small nations has been mentioned. Hussite Bohemia faced the whole of Central Europe. Historians report that the Germans fled on hearing the Hussite battle-song. (Would that the Allies could compose a similar song!) But whatever shortcomings or even faults small nations may have, they love their country and their people, and this love prompts them to energetic action in the field of politics and culture.

I speak of culture. That is a difficult and intricate sociological factor. I will only express my point of view. Culture is not the product of any one nation, big or small; there are various types and different degrees of culture. I am no blind follower of Rousseau or mere admirer of the primitive stages of culture, but it is a very great disability not to accept the various forms and degrees of culture as represented by the many nations and parts of nations and not to understand that each nation must work out its culture alone and independently

and not simply take that of another nation, even if it be called a higher culture. Passive acceptance of this kind may be convenient, but it is dangerous and detrimental.

Mr. Fisher, speaking of the rude and valiant Serbian peasant, very aptly alludes to the ballads which sing of the battle of Kosovo, and to their great educational influence on the Southern Slavs. During the last war against the Turks I happened to be in Serbia, and a Serbian officer told me of his experiences on the battlefield. When at the head of his regiment of peasant soldiers he reached the plain of Kosovo, the famous "Field of the Blackbirds," a deathlike silence seized the whole detachment; men and officers, without any command, uncovered their heads, crossed themselves, and each of them tried to tread softly, so as not to disturb the eternal sleep of their heroic ancestors.

Here my friend, quite lost in the remembrance of that great experience, unconsciously imitated their gait, and his voice fell to a whisper as he recalled the silence of his soldiers. Many of the weather-beaten faces were bedewed with unconscious tears as was my friend's face while he spoke. I, too, was deeply affected by the recital of his experience. How many of the German professors who today are raving against Serbia do you think are worth one tear of these illiterate peasants?

If time permitted I might analyze the drawbacks of great nations. Germany herself, who claims to be the greatest of all, is tormented by a perpetual unrest. Greatness imposes a duty—to protect the smaller brothers and at least to help them to join and organize their federations. The Balkan peoples tried it, but no help came to them from Europe. In all nations the need of social reforms is recognized; the weak are to be protected by the strong and by the State. An analogous principle holds good in the relations of big to small States. As there is no superman, so there is no superright of great nations. The great nation has no right to use its smaller neighbors as the tools of imperialistic fancy and of an inordinate craving for power. On the other

hand, the small nations must not try to imitate the great; they must be satisfied to go their own way.

Great Britain came into this war to protect little Belgium, and now with her allies she is faced by the task of protecting Serbia. This evolution of the war is almost logical, for Germany's aim is and was Berlin-Bagdad—the employment of the nations of Austria-Hungary as helpless instruments, and the subjection of these smaller nations which form that peculiar zone between the west and east of Europe. Poland, Bohemia, Serbo-Croatia, (the South Slavs,) are the natural adversaries of Germany, of her *Drang nach Osten*; to liberate and strengthen these smaller nations is the only real check upon Prussia. Free Poland, Bohemia, and Serbo-Croatia would be so-called buffer states, their organization would facilitate and promote the formation of a Magyar State of greater Rumania, of Bulgaria, Greece, and the rest of the smaller nations. If this hor-

rible war, with its countless victims, has any meaning, it can only be found in the liberation of the small nations who are menaced by Germany's eagerness for conquest and her thirst for the dominion of Asia.

I will conclude with a confession. I prepared this lecture at the very moment when Serbia was about to be attacked by Germany and her baggage porters, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. But more than once the skeptical thought has struck me: Is this the time for *talking* about small nations, when the vital thing is simply to afford protection to one of them? Feeling this incongruity, I will comfort myself with the saying of a Slav thinker: "A good word is a deed also." I can at least promise that all the lecturers at the new School of Slavonic Studies will spare no effort to make it a success and through it to contribute, however imperfectly, to drawing closer the relations between Britain and the Slavonic world.

The Note to Germany

By O. C. A. CHILD

Insistent that the Nation's voice be
heard,
Searching his soul for every measured
word,
He strives to make grave lines with peril
fraught,
Maintain Fair Peace, not peace with
honor bought.

Upon the page where stern intent he
writes
Appear dread visions, weird, uncanny
sights—
Ships sunk in sea and fields of ghastly
dead—
Before his eyes the paper turns to red.

Yet he will write what duty bids him
say,
Steadfast and sombre take his lonely
way,
Still strive for understanding, peace,
accord,
And fear? nay, not one whit, the naked
sword!

Shall Germany Hate?

By Rudolf Eucken

This article by the great Jena Professor of Philosophy appeared originally in *Die Woche* of Berlin.

HOWEVER united we Germans may be today in our strong resistance to our foes, our opinions differ widely on the question of our psychical attitude toward them, and our native conscientiousness compels us carefully to weigh the right and wrong. We are especially at variance as to whether hate of a hostile people is or is not allowable. Some demand such hate as vehemently as others reject it. Let us hear first what is argued pro and con.

One party reasons thus: We Germans have been attacked in a manner unparalleled in the world's history. We were attacked not because of some single point in dispute but in our whole selves, in our national existence; we were attacked not only with the honorable weapons of open combat but with the poisoned weapons of slander. We are particularly angered by the boundless untruthfulness with which we are accused of starting the world conflagration. After intrigues stretching over years—proofs of which are given now in the reports of the Belgian diplomats—had finally brought about war by means of endeavors at isolation and calumnies, some have the audacity to accuse us, with the help of a lying press, of being the disturbers of the peace, and to bring us into disrepute before the entire civilized world as a savage people filled with the lust of conquest. This misrepresentation continues as the war progresses; as we cannot be beaten, we can at least be shown up as wicked. The conspiracy of half the world against us, moreover, brings us into terrible peril, which we may ward off only by exerting all our strength, all our soul. Must not our feelings overflow likewise, is not the highest emotional violence justified, nay, is it not demanded? Must not such emotion discharge itself as hate, as hate against

those who would destroy that which is dear and holy to us? In such a line of reasoning hate becomes an expression and test of energy in the fight for the Fatherland.

The opposite view is based on the following: From early times religion and morality have interdicted hate and impressed the idea of its rejection on the human soul. They had in view primarily the relation of individuals, but the basic idea applies also to nations, all the more so since the historical development of the different nations has made them more and more members of a single human race. Therefore a hate directed against a whole nation is not possible except in conjunction with much injustice against individuals, who differ so greatly from each other and hold greatly differing opinions toward political and national movements. Must the innocent suffer with the guilty? The awakening of feelings of hate is likewise undesirable for our own people. Our soul may easily deteriorate if it harbors such feelings, and obscure for us the images of things. Thus hate may easily bring more weakness than strength.

Opinions, then, differ radically on the subject. The conflict is certainly not a mere matter of words nor of differing temperaments of individuals, but involves differences in the manner of regarding life. Yet there is a good deal of wordy war in it, due to an ambiguous conception of terms, and in reality we are often nearer agreement than our words suggest.

Judging emotions has always engendered much dispute. As an example of this let me cite an instance which exercised men's minds deeply in the early Christian days. Men argued as to whether God's anger was conceivable or not. Some declared such a conception indispensable, since, without this anger, an

entirely serious moral world system was unimaginable; others rejected it with equal determination since such emotion most emphatically contradicted the pure spirituality of God. Saint Augustine bridged the difficulty with the explanation that this anger was a mere emotion, a disturbance of the soul-equilibrium, which was to be kept entirely apart from the conception of God, but that it was impossible to dispense with it as an expression of the seriousness of Divine judgment. Thus, in the problem confronting us, in analyzing the emotion, discard the blindness and dimness of a mere ebullition of hate, but hold firmly to that which expresses the strength and warmth of the psychical attitude.

This requires a distinct separation of hate and anger. The difference between them is shown already by the usage in language; it takes account of a noble anger, even a holy anger, but not of a noble or holy hate. Anger applies more to single acts; hate involves the whole being. Anger cannot only be combined with respect, but, in its noblest form, it arises from love; hate recognizes nothing, rejects absolutely. Parents may be greatly angered against their children but will not hate them for that reason. Hate belongs to the weak and impotent, it is their only possible means of resistance; anger, on the other hand, goes very well with strength.

As to nations, we may most emphatically repudiate a particular sort of political attitude, but that should not lead us to hating the nation as a whole. How different is the part taken by individuals in engendering a conflict, how much are they persuaded by others merely, how greatly are they influenced by cleverly engineered appeals to the mass, and swept away without much personal judgment or thinking of their own? In such circumstances they are honestly convinced that they are serving a good cause, and to sacrifice themselves for their country must seem to them also honorable. Even if we deplore the meagre spiritual independence of human beings, weakness is not wickedness and does not justify hate.

Moreover, the opposition engendered

by conflict must not lead to depreciation and repudiation of the culture possessed by a nation; that would be, in truth, blind hate. That portion of the spiritual creations of a nation in the course of history which has reached splendid heights is one thing, the component parts of a nation at different times are another. The miserable fellows who are now inciting nations against us have little in common with the spiritual creations of their nation; what has Grey to do with Shakespeare, Poincaré with Descartes, Salandra with Dante? The spiritual treasures brought to view by those thinkers and poets rise superior to the changes and wanderings of time, wherefore we should rejoice, not to please others, but for our own sake. For we Germans have the power of attracting what is great in all peoples and periods to ourselves and thus giving an inner breadth to life which is attained nowhere else and makes us capable of the highest achievements. That this is no mere characterless plagiarism of what is foreign is shown best of all by Goethe, to whom all peoples and times were inwardly near, yet who remained before all else a good German.

But if we are to avoid unfairness and narrowness, of which hate of one people for another is a concomitant, this does not at all imply favoring a weak psychical state, a soft and unmanly attitude. Individual instances of this in our people we must combat with determination. There is a disagreeable weeping and wailing to the effect that the ties between nations are now broken and one is urged to do nothing that may antagonize others and make the task of restoring these ties more difficult. The present split between nations is, to be sure, a great misfortune; nobody can feel that more deeply than those whose lifework turns to man as such.

But we Germans have not caused the split, therefore we need make ourselves no excuses because of it. If our entire existence is at stake in the fight, we cannot bother much as to whether the energy developed by us in the conflict is comfortable and agreeable to our opponents. During such a tremendous conflict all we have to do is to think

of victory, on which depends the continuation of our existence. When the victory is won and peace restored, then a way will be found to bind again the ties between nations, which will undoubtedly depend less on wise teachings and sentimental assertions of the homogeneousness of all that is human than on the compulsion of labor that will first develop the external relationships of nations and will then surely turn inward. But how this is to be done must be left to the future; we have enough to do just now at our present task. We Germans are not to be blamed if we are for the moment disgusted with the ideas of internationalism and world peace. To be sure, a number of personages of idealistic mind worked and are working in this direction, but even these must pause somewhat when they consider that the Governments of those very nations in which the peace program found special favor incited and stirred up the present war. From Russia came an eloquent peace manifesto some years ago, yet Russia it was who by her mobilization made war inevitable.

A lately published report of the Belgian Envoy, Baron Greindl, dated May 30, 1907, is especially valuable on this point. He says, after telling of the lust of conquest of England, France, and Russia: "They are the same powers who, together with the United States, scarcely emerged from its robber's war against Spain, appear as ultra-pacifists at The Hague."

Pacifism proposes an international tribunal as a panacea for all wrongs. For secondary questions this undoubtedly has a certain value, but questions on which national existence is staked cannot be intrusted by us to such a tribunal for the very reason that, given the closely knit interests of all nations, this tribunal lacks the requisite impartiality, and the judge therein would necessarily be a party to the case. Would we Germans, no matter how conscious we might be of the justice of our cause, leave the decision thereof to an international Areopagus, perhaps under the leadership of the Americans?

We must also reject as a weakening of the problem the propositions of neutrals—such as those of a stately group of Dutch savants—submitted to us as well as to the other belligerents, exhorting us to demand peace from the Governments most urgently, to subdue all lust of vengeance by higher humanity, to respect our enemy even as ourselves. That is assuredly based on noble sentiments, but it also betrays a certain misapprehension of the real situation. Such a warning cannot be pronounced without considering all the combatants as swayed by a similar war lust. But we Germans cannot permit the differences in the case to be ignored in this manner. A nation that was peacefully at work and was forced into war much against its wish and will has no reason to excuse itself for fighting to the best of its ability.

Let us take a corresponding case from private life: A peaceful, ceaselessly active and successful citizen arouses the envy and greed of others and is murderously attacked by them. If, while he is using all his strength to defend himself, a third party puts in an appearance and exhorts both sides to show peaceableness and mutual respect, will not the attacked party be compelled to reject being thus placed on an equal footing with the aggressors; will he not find that this exhortation would be more appropriate elsewhere? Let us show all possible respect for humankind, but let us remember that it is more a problem than a finished reality, and that enormous developments lie on the road toward its heights.

The Imperial Chancellor spoke of our problem recently in the best possible way. The German people feel no hate against other nations, but all sentimentality has been crushed out of it. In these words is to be found the right road away from aberrations.

There must be no dim and blind emotion, but also no faint and weak sentimental drivel. There must be strength but not violence, justice but not obliteration of moral differences. What applies from this in individual cases must be worked out by each for himself.

Limits of Sea Power

By Count E. Reventlow

This article by Count Reventlow, declaring that "not only the land power of Russia, but also the sea power of Great Britain has been shipwrecked—at the pivot of the Orient, the Dardanelles," appeared in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* of Oct. 12, 1915.

FOR more than a year Great Britain has closed to us our imports from overseas. The unfortunate configuration of the German North Sea coasts allows Great Britain to control the exits from this sea to such an extent, and so far from the bases at the German corner of the sea, that the cutting off of our commercial ocean routes has followed and has been maintained without involving a decisive battle with the German fleet as a preliminary. I shall revert to the two reasons for this: the inferiority of the German high seas fleet and the resemblance of the North Sea to an inland sea closed by the British Isles as with a long barrier. Today I shall content myself with reference to the latter reason and with the further task of showing that the ultimate purpose of this closing of the sea exits by Great Britain for a period of fourteen months—namely, the placing of the German Nation hors de combat by asphyxiation—has not been attained.

The fact that Great Britain and her allies still cling to the belief that this purpose will eventually be realized, that success will eventually be won and German power be crushed by the "silent, irresistible pressure of the British fleet" is of actual importance only in so far as this partly real, partly imaginary, conviction tends to contribute materially to instilling into our foes courage and the required confidence for continuing the war. As to how genuine these are will not be investigated in this article. It may be stated as beyond doubt that the great majority of the English and French are entirely convinced of ultimate success along this road. This must be admitted as a "moral victory" as long as it persists. On the other hand, the longer the strug-

gle lasts, the more will the belief in such success be shaken and exposed to the danger of becoming transformed into its opposite.

As a matter of fact, the British stoppage of German sea trade has not influenced German power of fighting and resistance in the slightest degree. This is shown only too clearly and brilliantly by German success on the mainland, and requires no further proof. To give it a general application, what has occurred means that even the strongest navy in the world is not in a position to influence war on land, if it can neither strike a telling blow on its enemy's coasts nor destroy his navy nor starve him out by cutting off his importations of foodstuffs and raw materials. That this closing of the oceans is not a matter of indifference to Germans goes without saying. Naturally, the stoppage of a trade running into billions cannot be without effect on a country and people. But that does not concern the actual situation of our country, especially in so far as it comes into the present discussion.

All we are considering here is whether, during the past fourteen months, British closing of the seas to us has impaired German power to fight and resist, and whether it threatens this power within a predeterminable time. These questions may be answered in the negative.

Events prove that, except for the power to inflict a certain amount of damage, even the greatest fleet is powerless against a nation that is not dependent on foreign imports for its existence and possesses enough sea power to keep the enemy's fleet away from its own coasts and harbors.

Another side of this powerlessness of even the strongest fleet in relation to

war on land may be found in the Anglo-French undertaking against the Dardanelles. The allied fleets commanded the Mediterranean Sea, in a sense. But they were not able, either with naval guns or military expeditions, to gain possession of the Dardanelles, the southeast focus of the world war. Except for the possibility of a Bulgar-Greek attack on Constantinople, the forcing of the Dardanelles was possible from the land side only with the help of the fleet. Had the Allies succeeded another instance important in world history of the influence of sea power would have been chronicled, since the forcing of the strait would not only have sealed the doom of the Turkish Empire, but would have been of the greatest and to a large extent decisive importance on the course of the land war, especially in view of the present developments in the Balkans.

The valor and skill of our Ottoman allies and the energy of the German submarines have since March foiled all endeavors and onslaughts of our enemies. Today we may say without exaggeration that the Dardanelles campaign has failed.

In that failure is seen, far more than in the first case, the failure of British sea power. Assuming that the forcing of the Dardanelles is now impossible, it may be stated that Great Britain is now powerless to influence the development of military events in the southeast and the development or transformation of Balkan and Oriental conditions. The Dardanelles were the only point in this region where sea power could and must drive in the wedge. It was not strong enough to unhinge Turkey, for which reason we are confronted with something that contradicts all the historical precedents of the last two centuries, viz., that apparently the Dardanelles problem will finally be solved from the land side. In former times Russia and Great Britain confronted each other by the strait over a weak Turkey, obedient first to one and then to the other. Today, when they are allied for the purpose of strangling Turkey together, they find themselves compelled to relax their grip from exhaustion, because for

the first time Turkey is strong and defends herself successfully without aid, and because Turkey, also for the first time, is allied with Continental powers who wish her to be not weak and obedient but strong, capable of resistance, and free. Against this alliance not only the land power of Russia but also the sea power of Great Britain has been shipwrecked—at the pivot of the Orient, the Dardanelles.

The two facts, brought forth by this war and touched upon above, which show the limitations of an insular power in conflict with a strong mainland opponent backed by sea power, cannot, of course, be established in their full and great importance at the present stage of the war. This is impossible for all sorts of widely different reasons. But, even at this stage, one can and must draw attention to the strength and great value for the future of the new combination, viz., Constantinople-Sofia-Berlin-Vienna, in a military, political, and economic sense. The powers and potentialities in this combination sought vainly for a long time to come together, and it was only natural that the foresighted statesmanship of our opponents did everything possible to hinder their union. All the more significant is the success now attained.

The late American writer, Homer Lea, told the English in the strongest language that the world power of their island would end or fall into decay just as soon as the coasts of the Continent became the limits of British power. That applies to the North Sea and the English Channel just as well as to the historical strait of the Orient. We who take the Continental point of view are of the opinion that most of the devastating European wars and their ruinous economic consequences have arisen from British power and influences on the Continent. The inference for the future is easy, also the further inference that the German Empire, together with its friends and allies, can and must conquer secure freedom of the seas only with such a secure Continental position as a foundation. The means for this conquest must be sea power; its

foundation, secured Continental position—Continental power, in other words. The Continent can win the freedom of the seas against the greatest sea power only with the weapons and foundations of sea power, never by international exchange of fine phrases.

The stronger the German Empire is

on land the stronger it must become on the sea, for, on the seas, land power reaches its limits. No German will endure the thought that closing the oceans to the German Empire and people, isolating their colonies and robbing them of these colonies, may be possible again in the future.

English Soldiers in German Eyes

The Berliner Tageblatt gives prominence to an account of the outward appearance of English soldiers, written by its war correspondent with the German armies in the west. The correspondent had observed closely a number of British prisoners taken in the recent struggle in the neighborhood of Loos, and spoke with several of the men. He says:

Yesterday, when I saw these Englishmen come, dirty and torn, out of the battle they looked like a gang of criminals. Today, after a liberal use of soap and water, their real faces can be seen. There is still a number of them with the typical countenance of the rascal and the blackguard—men whose homes are in darkest London, Whitechapel boys—but the majority look as soldiers really look, simple, blunt, and good natured. They have the peculiar characteristics of their race: leanness, little, stumpy mustaches, the bad English teeth, cold eyes very close to each other, and narrow heads. They smoke their short pipes, spit in their peculiar manner, and speak for the most part a terrible English. There are elderly men among them, and many youthful faces. They are good soldiers, unquestionably; they are brave and tough fellows, admirably fitted for trench warfare, but I doubt if they could be used with success in mobile warfare. Any one who assumes, however, that Kitchener's army has been recruited from the rabble commits an unpardonable error. There are very many volunteers and respectable men in it who joined out of pure patriotism, though a large number, it is true, entered the army because they were out of work and had no prospect of obtaining work.

Eating by Government Order

A wireless dispatch from Berlin to Sayville, L. I., dated Oct. 23, 1915, reads:

The German Federal Government today decided to assume control of the price and supply of victuals throughout Germany. Up to the present time the State provincial authorities had been considered competent to handle the food situation. The German Government now considers it necessary, the Overseas News Agency says, to equalize the position of the various sections of the empire as to the distribution and the price of victuals, which are abundant, but under different conditions in the various States and provinces of Germany. New regulations will be made in order to avoid differences and to distribute in an equal manner food throughout Germany, thereby assuring for the coming months full supplies at reasonable prices in all districts.

Elimination of the English Fleet

By Captain L. Persius

This article, by the noted German naval writer, declaring that Britain's failure to force the Dardanelles has resulted in the practical elimination of the British fleet as a factor in the decision for world empire, appeared originally in the Berliner Tageblatt of Oct. 20, 1915.

GREAT BRITAIN owes the birth of her power to her fleet. The domination of the seas by this fleet strengthened and increased her power for centuries. One after another the rest of the sea powers were defeated. In the sixteenth century the English overcame the fleet of Philip II., in the seventeenth century the Dutch fleet, in the eighteenth the French, the Spanish, and once more the Dutch; in the nineteenth the French-Spanish and Danish fleets. All who confronted England were crushed because the fight was fought out on the element where British superiority could win.

It would be wrong, to be sure, if one were to attribute the creation and duration of English power solely to the glorious deeds—and the violent acts—of English Admirals and ships' Captains. Without Aboukir, Trafalgar, and the rest, the star of English sea power would never have risen, but it was English diplomacy and the political schooling of a large part of the English Nation that knew how to derive the right advantage from naval victories and thus crown the navy's work.

England ruled the seas because her fleet was surpassed by none in fighting men and superiority of ships. Since Trafalgar, the Briton has been living on his reputation of invincibility which he has sought to secure during the last 110 years less by warlike deeds than by building ships. Our foremost authority on naval history, Captain Stenzel, writes:

Mistress of all the seas after 1805, British sea power has looked with pride on its achievements and with contempt on all other navies; it has paid little heed to technical progress in other lands, and even less to the tactical and strategical changes necessitated by this progress. Therefore it has occasionally lagged behind in all departments.

In the use of torpedoes, the building

of submarines, and so on, England followed the suggestions of France. Even the basic idea for the dreadnought type of ship is not English, but originated with the Italian Cuniberti. Only the richest sea power could stand the huge increase in building cost made necessary by the change in the type of warship, and the English Nation willingly stood it. For Nelson's saying "only numbers can destroy" was the god whose worship drove the nation to ever greater efforts to surpass any nation venturing to compete in number and size of ships. British war science lacked inventive genius. Sheer mania to surpass ruled, and brought into being the dreadnought ship of the line, the dreadnought cruiser, and the gigantic naval building program. The masses of the English people were intoxicated by the tremendous figures and staked the security of the empire on the Goliath-like ships whose invulnerable armor was to protect alike the seagirt British isles and the colonies, whose huge cannon were to assure the success of any attack on the enemy. There was only scorn for the occasional warnings addressed to the Admiralty regarding the dangers to which dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts were exposed, or pointing out that submarine, mine, airship, and aeroplane would some day be formidable antagonists of the great battleships.

The British Admiralty boasts of having entirely fulfilled all the tasks imposed upon it. For instance, the loss of colonies is placed to the credit of the British fleet. But is Great Britain justified in assuming so confidently that the seizure of "some" of our colonies will result in permanent occupation? Under the pretext of attacking England, Napoleon went by the sea route to Egypt. At Aboukir, Nelson annihilated the French fleet and thus cut off the land army's

communications with France. For the purpose of liberating Egypt from arbitrary English rule the passage of the Mediterranean is today unnecessary. It will be difficult for British warships to prevent the crossing of the Suez Canal. And in whatever direction one turns from Egypt, east or south, one sees the impotence of British sea power—everywhere the road is open to an army!

At the present time the influence of sea power on history may be different than in the past, on account of the relationships between nations, the closely limited theatres of war, the undeveloped means of communication on land, and the duels between nations.

British sea power has failed so far in small as well as important matters. How different was the naval record of Albion in other wars! Thanks to its superiority it destroyed or captured hundreds, even thousands, of hostile vessels. During the Napoleonic wars the English took 260 large and 980 small warships, and from 1801 to 1812 they took each year from 2,500 to 4,000 merchant vessels. How different nowadays! It may be said that the losses of our enemies are far greater than ours. England has so far lost about fifty warships, displacing about 300,000 tons, and 420 merchantmen of a tonnage of 680,000, in round numbers. The loss of warships, to be sure, has been fully offset by the building of new ships during the war. For instance,

before the outbreak of war, there were fifty-seven British ships of the line having a tonnage of 1,017,000; now there are at least sixty-two, with a tonnage of 1,238,400. The British Admiralty still pins its faith to the saying "only numbers can destroy." The keels of huge ships are laid without pause, although all the dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts, anxiously guarded, are rusting on their anchor chains in harbors.

Public opinion in England, however, is beginning to doubt the truth of the old watchword. To the fear of the submarine peril and of the Zeppelins worry over the Balkan situation is now added. The fleet cannot save Serbia nor hinder the march of the central powers to Constantinople nor build a wall around Egypt. The fleet has failed to destroy the German Navy and starve out Germany. It has failed to force the Dardanelles in order to give its Russian ally a breathing spell and, above all, in order to obviate the further perils of a menace to Egypt, which signify also the economic relief of the central powers. The proclamation of the King of Bulgaria regarding the declaration of war on Serbia begins with the words "The European war is approaching its end." Let us hope that this prophecy may be fulfilled. It would mean the elimination for a long period of the English fleet as a factor having important influence on the destinies of nations.

Thousands of British Officers Lost

In correspondence of The Associated Press, dated Oct. 15, 1915, the following appeared:

The severity of the fighting on the western front recently is indicated by the officers' casualty lists for the fortnight ended Oct. 11, which show that the British Army lost 383 killed, 646 wounded, and 107 missing—a total of 1,136 in that period. The proportion of killed to wounded is rather higher than of late, and losses among officers of high rank have been severe. Major Gens. Thesiger and Capper, two Colonels, and ten Lieutenant Colonels have been killed or have died of wounds, while two Brigadier Generals are reported wounded and one missing. Losses of officers since the beginning of the war total 18,210, of whom 5,559 have been killed or died of wounds, 11,115 wounded, and 1,536 missing.

Britain's Conduct of the War

By H. H. Asquith

Prime Minister of Great Britain

As an utterance from the heart of its Administration made at the greatest crisis that has threatened the British Empire, the subjoined address by Prime Minister Asquith, delivered in the House of Commons on Nov. 2, 1915, serves as a historical document of the first magnitude. Without apologetics, and vigorously asserting his position as the head of the Government, Mr. Asquith states the dispositions made for the preservation of the empire, at the same time crediting the British Nation with "a proper sense of perspective, a limitless stock of patience, and an overflowing reservoir of both active and passive courage." The speech is presented hereunder in full.

THE statement which I am about to make to the House has been delayed in point of time by circumstances which I regret, but which I could not control. The delay has had one consequence—perhaps I ought to call it an advantage—that it has enabled me to receive from every possible quarter injunctions, counsels, exhortations, warnings, [laughter,] as to what I am and as to what I am not to say. I am afraid I am doomed to disappoint many expectations, but not least the expectations of those of my many advisers who seem to think that it is my duty to appear here today in the guise either of a criminal in the dock, making the best defense he can for a somewhat doubtful past, or even of a white-sheeted penitent with a couple of candles, one in each hand, doing penance and asking for absolution. [Laughter.] I do not propose to adopt either the one attitude or the other. I am going to speak to the House today as the head of the Government, and in that capacity to describe, so far as possible, our actual and prospective situation to a nation which, as I believe, is as determined today as it has ever been to prosecute this war to a successful issue ["Hear, hear!"] and which trusts the Government—however and by whomsoever that Government may be composed—to use every means, and to exhaust if need be every resource, in the attainment of our common and supreme purpose. ["Hear, hear!"]

It is true that today some parts of the horizon are overcast. This war, like all the great wars of history, has been

fruitful in surprises and disappointments to all the combatants engaged. For us here in this country it seems to me at this moment to call in an exceptional degree for three things: a proper sense of perspective; ["Hear, hear!"] a limitless stock of patience; and an overflowing reservoir of both active and passive courage. ["Hear, hear!"] I do not think our people as a whole—I need not pay the compliment of more than a passing notice to the small coterie of professional whimperers who keep us supplied and keep our enemies supplied ["Hear, hear!"] with a daily diet of falsehoods—show any lack or any falling off in any of these qualities. All they desire, so far as I can discern and appreciate their minds, is to be told, to the extent which diplomatic and military exigencies permit, how our cause stands, and to be assured that in the maintenance and the defense of that cause we as a Government and as a people are playing a worthy part. ["Hear, hear!"] The wish for the fullest possible information is natural and is most legitimate, nor can there be possibly any greater mistake than to suppose that the Government has any interest of any kind in concealing anything that is known to themselves, subject to the one overruling condition, that its disclosure does not assist the enemy.

SIR J. FRENCH'S FORCE

How do we stand today? When we began the war in August of last year we were prepared to send abroad, and, without hitch or delay, we sent abroad, in August and the early part of Sep-

tember, six infantry and two cavalry divisions. In the operations which are described by Sir John French in the dispatch which is published today—in those operations of the last week of September and the early part of October of the present year, he had under his command not far short of 1,000,000 men. To these, of course, must be added troops employed in the Dardanelles, in Egypt, and in the other theatres of war, as well as our reserves and our garrisons for the defense of the United Kingdom and of the outlying parts of the empire. How has this gigantic force been got together, by a nation which has never aspired to be a military power, whose main reliance, both for defense, and, if need be and should occasion arise, for aggression, has always been upon its navy—how has it been composed? First and foremost, of course, of the manhood of this United Kingdom.

In the course of the last fifteen months—I leave for the moment the navy out of account—we have recruited for the purposes of the army, regular and territorial—an enormous number [laughter]—I do not like for the moment to give the precise figures—an unprecedented number of men. The contribution of India is splendid and well known. There are one or two figures I should like to give to the House, and through the House to the country and the empire, which show the assistance we have received from the dominions of the Crown. Canada has contributed 96,000 officers and men to the expeditionary force, Australia has sent 92,000. [Cheers.] New Zealand has sent 25,000. [Cheers.] South Africa, having completed the reduction, after a most successful and brilliant campaign, of German Southwest Africa, [cheers,] has supplied important contingents for service in Eastern Central Africa, and, in addition, has furnished 6,500 men for service in Europe. [Cheers.] Newfoundland has sent 1,600 men, in addition to her substantial contributions to the royal navy. The West Indies has supplied 2,000, and contingents have been provided by Ceylon and Fiji.

In these figures, remarkable and sig-

nificant as they are, I have included only the forces furnished in the shape of complete units. No account is taken in these figures of the preparation made for the maintenance of these units in the field, the future expansion of contingents already supplied, nor of the very large number of men from all parts of our empire who have made their own way to the United Kingdom. [Cheers.] I should add to complete that aspect of the story that in Rhodesia, East Africa, and the West African colonies important additions to the existing local forces have been placed in the field, while in the other colonies and dependencies more remote from active military operations all defensive organizations have received a profound stimulus

NAVY'S AID TO THE ARMY

I have said nothing so far of the navy, but while I am dealing with our military forces, for I am certain it will interest the House and the whole empire, let me add an account of the service which the navy has rendered in the transport of our troops. Since the war began the transport department of the Admiralty for the army alone have carried 2,500,000 officers and men and 320,000 sick and wounded and nurses. They have carried, further, 2,500,000 tons of stores and munitions and 800,000 horses, mules, and camels. These operations have involved thousands of voyages through seas which at one time—happily that time has now long since passed—were subject to the raids of German cruisers, and even now, to some extent, though I believe a rapidly diminishing extent, are infested by submarines. [Cheers.] Up to the present, and I think this is a most remarkable fact, the loss of life in the whole of these gigantic oversea operations has been considerably less than one-tenth per cent. [Cheers.] I do not think that anywhere in the history of the world can any nation under any condition produce a comparable record. [Cheers.] Of course, these figures, as the House will understand, are exclusive of millions of tons of stores, mainly coal and oil, which have been carried by the navy for allied Governments.

For the moment I will leave the actual service of the navy itself out of the account. But has there ever been anything comparable to it in history? There they are, our men of the grand fleet, living—as I told them when I had the honor a couple of months ago to address them myself—in those dim and distant spaces, in the twilight, so far as public observation is concerned, unnoticed, unadvertised, performing with an efficiency and vigilance that it is impossible to describe or even to appreciate service to the whole empire which makes not only us here absolutely secure against invasion, but which has cleared the whole high seas from one end of the globe to the other of the cruisers of our enemies and of the whole of the German mercantile marine. [Cheers.] Where is that great fleet on which so much thought, so much science, and so much money was expended, which was to be a perpetual menace to us here in the United Kingdom? [Cheers.] Locked up in the Baltic, it dare not show its face upon any sea where it can be met and dealt with, and the whole effective maritime military resources of Germany upon the seas, after fifteen months of war, are reduced to the sporadic and constantly diminishing efforts of a few furtive submarines, which have sent to the bottom far more innocent, unoffending civilians than any armed enemies. I think figures such as these are more eloquent than columns of rhetoric, and I can conceive no better medicine for people, if there are such outside a very few small and selected areas in this country, who attempt to be downhearted and doubtful that the empire is playing its part in the greatest struggle in history.

I am not going to apologize, [cheers] or to assume an attitude of excuse or defense [cheers] for all the people of this empire who have borne their part so magnificently [cheers] or for the Government of this country, which from the beginning of the war up to this moment has to the best of its ability, I doubt not with many shortcomings and mistakes, ["Hear, hear!"] but to the best of its ability, and I believe with the con-

fidence of the great mass of our fellow-countrymen, controlled and organized and directed this great effort. [Cheers.]

Having said something of the forces which we have brought into being, and the debt we owe to our fellow-citizens all over the empire, I pass to the very important and relevant question, what are we doing with all this vast apparatus of destruction and defense? I will say nothing, or hardly anything, of the western theatre of war, which for the last year has absorbed by far the larger part of our army. Our total casualties in France and Flanders up to the present moment, or at any rate up to a week ago, were 377,000 men—that is to say, considerably more than twice the total number of the expeditionary force which was dispatched in August and September of last year, though happily the very large percentage of the recoveries from wounds makes the net permanent wastage on a much smaller scale. Sir John French's dispatch published today described the latest achievements of his gallant army, and for the moment, so far as that sphere of war is concerned, I have nothing to add on the part of the Government except that so far as I know, in this western theatre, the Germans have not on balance gained one foot of ground since April of the present year. Indeed, that is, I believe, a very great understatement of the case.

MESOPOTAMIAN CAMPAIGN

I turn for the moment to the eastern theatre. Though I am going to deal exclusively or mainly with the rôle played by our own troops, I cannot pass to that theatre without pointing out to the House the supreme fighting qualities of the Russian soldier [cheers] which have never been more splendidly or more conspicuously manifested than during the recent retreat, and assuring our great ally there, that we, here in this country, have the greatest confidence in his capacity ultimately and before long to roll back the tide of invasion, and to reverse the past. But as I have said, I am concerned today and for the moment with the doings of our own forces in that quarter of the war. First,

I would like to say two or three words on the important and highly successful campaign, which has not, I think, attracted the attention it deserves—namely, the proceedings of our troops in Mesopotamia. The object of the expeditionary force, which originally consisted of only one division, the Sixth, in the Autumn of last year in Mesopotamia, was to secure the neutrality of the Arabs, to safeguard our interests in the Persian Gulf, to protect the oil fields, and generally to maintain the authority of our flag in the East. The history of what has taken place can be very easily summarized. In November last General Sir Arthur Barrett fought a battle with the Turks occupying Basra. In January a further advance was made, which resulted in the capture of Kurnah, a place which, as the House probably knows, lies at the junction of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Two or three months later, in April, a second division was added to the force, and the command was assumed by General Sir John Nixon. After a brilliant series, and an absolutely uncheckered series, of land and river operations, the Turks were driven back both up the Euphrates and up the Tigris. In July their final positions on both rivers were captured, with heavy casualties, and General Nixon's force is now within a measurable distance of Bagdad. [Cheers.] I do not think that in the whole course of the war there has been a series of operations more carefully contrived, more brilliantly conducted, and with a better prospect of final success. [Cheers.]

THE DARDANELLES

I come now to what is not so uncheckered a chapter in the story of our operations in the eastern theatre of war; I mean that which has gone on at the Dardanelles. In the first few months of the war we were still at peace with Turkey; but, owing to causes which are now well known and to which I need not go back, a state of war between ourselves and the Turkish Empire came into existence in the first week of November, 1914. From that moment it was no longer possible, either from a strategic or from a political point

of view, to concentrate our entire energies upon the western theatre. The Turks threatened our allies, the Russians, in the Caucasus. They threatened, if not directly, remotely and indirectly, ourselves in Egypt. They were able to close the Black Sea and in consequence of that our source of supply of Russian wheat from the Russian ports. And the advent of Turkey as an ally of Germany and Austria produced a great, and in some respects a lasting, effect upon the attitude of the Balkan States. When that condition of things was brought about the Government had to face a question in the Near East which was not merely strategical. I will venture to say here, because it applies to a great many operations, past, present, and future, that in a great war like this you cannot determine your policy or your course of action entirely and exclusively by military and naval considerations. ["Hear, hear!"] There are other elements that come in. It is the duty of the Government—of any Government—to rely very largely upon the advice of its military and naval counselors; but in the long run a Government which is worthy of the name, which is adequate in the discharge of the trust which the nation reposes in it, must bring all these things into some kind of proportion one to the other, and sometimes it is not only expedient but necessary to run risks and to encounter dangers which pure naval or military policy would warn you against. You must take all those things into account.

Now, in regard to this matter, from the first moment that a state of war began to exist between Turkey and ourselves, in November of last year, we had to consider, in consultation with our naval and military advisers, what was the best and most politic course for us to take either aggressively or defensively in that part of the globe. In January we had not sufficient military force available, having regard to the requirements of the western theatre, for service in the east to do more than provide for the local defense of Egypt against the impending Turkish attack, which was delivered and ultimately defeated on

Feb. 2. The Government then had brought under their notice the possibility of a naval attack on the Dardanelles.

After full investigation and consultation with naval experts, including the Admiral commanding in that part of the Mediterranean, notwithstanding—I am betraying no secret in saying this—notwithstanding some doubts and hesitations which undoubtedly there were in the mind of our principal naval adviser at that time, Lord Fisher, the Government felt justified in sanctioning a naval attack. People who think and who say that that attack was initiated without due consideration and without a full review of all its naval possibilities are entirely mistaken. It was most carefully considered and developed in consultation between the Admiral upon the spot and the War Staff of the Admiralty here; and before any final decision was taken it was communicated to the French Admiralty, who entirely approved of it and agreed to take part in it, and it was enthusiastically—I do not think I am using too strong a word—received and acclaimed by the illustrious Grand Duke, the then Commander of the Russian Army, who rightly anticipated that it would assist him in the Caucasus in his operations there.

The matter was carefully reviewed over and over again in the War Council, and in answer to a question which I see was put to me, although all the operations were contrived in secrecy and in confidence, I may say that before any shot was fired or any actual step taken it was communicated to and approved by the Cabinet. In the circumstances of the case in which we then stood the operation conceived was a purely naval operation. We could not afford at that time—Lord Kitchener said and we all agreed—any substantial military support; and it was, therefore, decided to make the attempt with the navy and with the navy alone. I take my full share of the responsibility for the initiation of that operation—my full share. ["Hear, hear!"] I deprecate more than I can say the attempt to allocate the responsibility [cheers] to one Minister or another, or to suggest that in a matter of this kind

some undefined personality of great authority and overmastering will controlled and directed the strategy of the operation. That is not the case. For the initiation of this enterprise in the Dardanelles no one is more responsible than I. [Cheers.] I thought then, as everybody must have thought who knew the whole circumstances and surveyed the whole situation, that we ran great risks. But, on the other hand, we had very great and, for the prosecution of the war, capital objects then in view. We could influence the whole Balkan situation in a sense favorable to the Allies. We could open communications with the Black Sea and relieve what was then a very pressing necessity of this country—the necessity for a freer and fuller influx of wheat and other supplies—and, if we could, strike a blow at the very heart of the Turkish Empire. As I have said, in its first conception and initiation this was a purely naval affair. The naval attack took place toward the end of February. The outer forts gave way and were completely subjected. Those naval operations were continued systematically for a month, and they culminated in the attack on the Narrows on March 18, which resulted in a setback and the loss of or damage to several important naval units.

We had then to consider whether and to what extent this operation should be continued, and it was the opinion of those who advise us—and so far as I can, looking back upon the past, bring myself again to resurvey the situation, it seems to me that it was if not a sound at any rate a very tenable opinion—that by the aid of an adequate military force the attack might still be driven home and become a success. Sir Ian Hamilton was selected to command the expedition and left London early in March. He was present at the naval attack on March 18, and a few days later, after conference with the Vice Admiral on the spot, he reported to us that they were in agreement that a joint naval and military attack was necessary. The actual plan of operations was left, as I think it ought to be left, to the judgment of the commanders on the spot, although

so far as I know there was never any disagreement between them and the opinion of the General Staff here at home. I will not go into the intermediate stages of the operations until we come to the beginning of August. We had then assembled at the Dardanelles a very large naval and military force. The actual operations which took place have been described and are now familiar to the House and to the public.

I will not attempt at this moment—it would be quite irrelevant to my purpose—to attach either praise or blame to this man or that, or to this unit or that, but I will say this for myself, that in the whole course of the war, with its ups and downs, I have never sustained a keener disappointment than in the failure of this operation. The chances of success, as it seemed to us and to those on the spot, were not only great but preponderant, while the consequences of success, if success had been attained, were almost immeasurable. [“Hear, hear!”] It would have solved the whole situation in the Balkans. It would have prevented the possibility of that which unhappily now is the realized fact, the adhesion of Bulgaria to our opponents. It would have laid the capital of the Turkish Empire open to menace and possibility to capture, and throughout the whole of the Eastern world it would have been acclaimed as the most brilliant and conclusive demonstration of the superiority of the Allies.

We did not succeed, notwithstanding the magnificent exhibitions, never surpassed, of gallantry and of resource on the part of our troops [cheers] and by none more conspicuously than on the part of our Australian troops. [Renewed cheers.] Nor ought the House to forget the extraordinary and magnificent service rendered throughout these operations by the whole of the royal navy. [Cheers.] Nothing has been more conspicuous than the service of our submarines. Let me just mention this fact—it is a most significant and most encouraging fact as showing how the old spirit of the British Navy, its adventure, its gallantry, its resource, pervades those who have to manipulate these strange

modern machines just as much as it did those who served under Drake, Hood, and Nelson. Up to the 26th of last month British submarines operating against enemy vessels in the Sea of Marmora have succeeded in sinking or damaging two battleships, five gunboats, one torpedo boat, eight transports, and no less than 197 supply ships of all kinds, whether steamers or sailing vessels. [Cheers.] That is a wonderful chapter in the history of the British Navy. The arrival of German submarines took place in May, and, of course, added an enormous danger to the situation. The navy showed themselves quite equal to it. Safe harbors were selected and prepared, where ships could run in securely. Small craft were assembled in great numbers to maintain the communications of the army. And, finally, a number of specially constructed vessels, largely due to the inventive genius of Lord Fisher himself, which had been built by the Admiralty in anticipation of such requirements as this, went out to the Mediterranean and have done from that day to this most magnificent work. The navy throughout this campaign has risen superior to all difficulties, and has been able to maintain the communications of the army intact.

But, as I have said, the result of the series of attacks made in August has been disappointing. I admit it to the full. I am telling the House the whole truth about this matter because I think the country ought to know it; but when you come to form a judgment, and I think it is premature yet to do it, of whether this attack on the Dardanelles was an operation which ought to have been undertaken, you must consider what would have happened if it had not been undertaken. It is at least probable that the Russians, who were then already beginning to retreat before the Germans in Poland, might have had a serious setback in the Caucasus. In all probability a great attack by the Turks might have been organized against us in Egypt. The Mesopotamia expedition might have been swept out of existence, and Bulgaria would almost certainly have allied herself with the central powers months

before the time when she actually did. And during the whole of this time and up to the present moment, do not forget that our force on the Gallipoli Peninsula has held up and is holding up a force of something like 200,000 Turks, and preventing them from doing incalculable mischief in other parts of the eastern theatre. I am not on behalf of the Government going to say more as regards the future of this particular sphere of the theatres of war, because I think, as I said a moment ago, it is too soon to pronounce a final judgment.

The situation at the Dardanelles is receiving, I need not say, our most careful and anxious consideration—not as an isolated thing, but as part and parcel of the far larger strategic question which is raised by the whole of the recent developments in the eastern theatre of war.

THE BALKAN POSITION

I will now say a few words, and they shall be very few, because they must be very carefully chosen, on the situation in the Balkans. Ever since the beginning of the war, and especially since Turkey entered into it, we, and by "we" I mean not only ourselves, but the allied powers, who have always acted together, have not ceased or slackened in our efforts to promote united action among the Balkan States and Rumania. The efforts of diplomacy ever since August and September last in that direction have been ceaseless and untiring. The result, I again make this admission, so far as the promotion of Balkan unity is concerned, has been disappointment and failure. And it is not surprising, perhaps, that there are critics who think that by greater firmness at one point and by greater adroitness at another a more successful gain might have been made. But, Sir, if I might for a moment say a word to these critics, there are two or three points which are often left out of account and which ought to be taken into account when you are dealing with this tangled and thorny chapter in diplomatic history.

The first is this: That unity of direction is as important an asset in diplomacy as it is in strategy. Throughout the

whole of these proceedings Germany has had that advantage, for Austria has always been a mere cipher and appendage to German diplomacy. With the Allies, on the other hand, every important step has had, naturally and necessarily, to be taken in consultation and in concert between three, and latterly four, different powers. With the best good-will in the world and with the most genuine common purpose there must be differences of angle and of point of view in an operation of that kind. Another point which is equally relevant and important in this particular connection is the mutual animosities—I am not using the word in any censorious sense—of the Balkan States themselves, an unhappy and a still unliquidated legacy of two Balkan wars, and especially of the treaty of Bucharest. ["Hear, hear!"] It is an easy thing, it has been throughout an easy thing, for Germany to make lavish promises to Bulgaria of Serbian and Albanian and, perhaps secretly, even of Greek territory. But we, the Allies, could not barter away the property of our allies and friends behind their backs [cheers] without their consent or without an assurance, at any rate, of adequate compensation, which has been a source of infinite complication and controversy.

GREECE AND SERBIA

Further, when the Allies are reproached, as they are in some quarters, with being too late in providing active help for Serbia, it must be remembered that up to the very last moment there was the strongest reason to believe that Greece would acknowledge and act upon her treaty obligations to Serbia. When, on Sept. 21, after the Bulgarian mobilization had begun, M. Venizelos, who was then Prime Minister of Greece, asked France and ourselves for 150,000 men, it was on the express understanding that Greece would mobilize also. Greece did, in fact, mobilize under his direction on Sept. 24, but it was not until Oct. 2 that M. Venizelos found himself able to agree to the landing of British and French troops under the formal protest, a merely formal protest, which he had already made to the French Gov-

ernment. On Oct. 4—I wish these dates to be borne in mind—M. Venizelos announced what had happened to the Greek Chamber, and at the same time declared that Greece must abide by her treaty with Serbia. The next day the King repudiated the declaration and then M. Venizelos resigned. The new Government which succeeded declined to recognize that a *casus foederis* had arisen between Greece and Serbia, in spite of our constant insistence that Greece should make common cause with Serbia, and the new Greek Government, while declaring their desire to remain on friendly terms with the Allies, declined to depart from their attitude of neutrality. Those are facts which ought to be taken into account by the people who criticise the alleged inertia of the allied Governments. I make no comment upon that for the moment. It is better not to do so. The result is that Serbia, without Greek support, was left to bear the brunt of a frontal invasion by Germany and Austria and a side attack from the King of Bulgaria.

I have to say this, and I say it on behalf of the Government and of the people of the United Kingdom—we here in this United Kingdom, and I know it to be also the opinion of our French and our Russian allies—we cannot allow Serbia to become the prey of this sinister and nefarious combination. [Cheers.] The General Staffs of the French Army and of our own have been in close consultation—consultations which culminated with the very welcome visit to London at the end of last week of the illustrious Commander in Chief of the French Army, General Joffre. [Cheers.] The result, I am glad to say, is complete agreement between us, not only as to the ends but as to the means. The House will not expect me to say, and I ought not to say, by what method or in what form that common policy will be pursued. But this I will say, our co-operation will be close, cordial, and in full concert, and Serbia may be assured, so far as I am able to do so, and I give her that assurance on the part of the British Government today, that her independence is regarded by us as one of

the essential objects of the allied powers. [Cheers.]

BRITISH DEEDS AND DUTIES

I am sorry to have kept the House so long with these matters, but I set forth with the object of telling them everything that I could well do, and I now proceed to ask myself and to ask them the further question, after this review of the various theatres of operations. What are we doing and what ought we to do in addition to all that we have done, first as a community and then as classes and as individuals? We have, as my right honorable friend the Minister of Munitions said in May last in a speech which I wish was widely read—he said, and he never said anything truer: “We have in this war, as partners with our great allies, three special co-ordinate functions to discharge. First of all, there is the supply of men—an adequate supply of men for the army; then there is the provision of the munitions of war, not only for our own troops, but for the forces of our allies; and, thirdly, there is the burden which we have taken upon ourselves, and to the utmost of our ability shall endeavor to discharge, the burden of common allied finance. One of the things which we have to consider is how we are to co-ordinate and to adjust the different functions, the object being that we here in the United Kingdom and in the British Empire should contribute most fruitfully and most effectively to the common cause.”

THE SERIOUS FINANCIAL POSITION

I will say just one word, first of all, as to the third of those points—namely, the question of finance. The financial position today is serious. The extent to which we here in this country are buying goods abroad in excess of our exports is more than £30,000,000 per month, against an average of about £11,000,000 per month before the war; and at the same time we are making advances to our allies and to others which were estimated by my right honorable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his budget speech to amount to a total during the current financial

year, to say no more of what is to come, of £423,000,000.

We have also, be it remembered, alone among the belligerent countries maintained our free market for gold, and indeed have exported large amounts to all parts of the world, and it is certain we are making purchases and undertaking commitments to provide credits abroad to an extent that can only be paid for by the further export of gold or by the further sale abroad of securities and of our own debt. I only bring these facts, which are familiar, into this context and to the recollection of the House in order to say once more that this is a burden which, rich as we are, resourceful as we are, we cannot go on discharging unless there is on the part of the Government, as well as on the part of individuals, the most strict and stringent rule of economy, the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure, the curtailment of charges which under normal conditions we should think right and necessary, and, if I may use a homely expression, cutting our coat according to the cloth with which we have to make it. I am not a pessimist in this matter. I do not think our position compares unfavorably with that of the Governments who are opposed to us. The consumption of the German Government and the German Nation has been far in excess of what they have been able to produce or import, and their stocks of available commodities are, from all we hear, rapidly diminishing and dwindling. Further, the standard of life of the greater part of the population of Germany has been depressed to a point at which there is little or no margin of reserve. We, in these respects, no doubt apparently and ostensibly stand in a better position, but I would once more say, with all the emphasis of which I am capable, that we cannot sustain the burden which this great war has laid upon us unless as individuals, as classes, as a community and as a Government, we make and are prepared to make far greater sacrifices than we have hitherto done in the direction of retrenchment and economy.

There is another point in that connection I should like to mention before I deal

with the question of men, and to this for a moment I desire to call the attention of the House, and that is the cost of the army. The average cost of the regular army in peace time, on a very rough and approximate estimate, used to be reckoned, and is reckoned, as about £100 per head per annum. I am quite certain that I am using a very moderate and more than moderate figure when I say that in the condition which now prevails the complete cost per head of the army, the vastly increased army which we are now maintaining, is somewhere between £250 and £300 per head. I do not want to go into details. I purposely said it was an approximate and very rough estimate. That is a fact which everybody ought to bear in mind.

NATIONAL SERVICE

I come to the question of men. I lay down for myself one very simple proposition, and it is this: Under the conditions in which we are now placed every man in this country, without any distinction of any kind, ought to be doing the thing for which in view of the purposes of the war he is best fitted. I make no exception or qualification of any kind. The difficulty, of course, is to find any system under which you can say what each particular man or class of men should do, and my right honorable friend the President of the Local Government Board introduced the national register, of which Parliament approved, with the very object of providing the material upon which a system of that kind might be based. I will go a step further. I am speaking my own views, though I have no reason to think they are seriously dissented from by any of my colleagues; where in the course of the argument I think they are I will draw attention to possible points of dissent. My next proposition is this: After you have made, by the best system of examination and classification that you can adopt, adequate provision for all the other necessary national services, among which I need not say I do not include merely the fabrication of munitions, but also the maintenance of industries which are essential to the life of our country, the carrying on of indus-

tries which are essential for the production of our exports, when you have made adequate provision for all those national interests the residuum—not, perhaps, a very happy word to use, I will say the reservoir—which is left of men of military and recruitable age ought to be fully explored and exhausted. [Cheers.]

Now I approach thornier ground. There have been and probably are differences of opinion as to whether that recruitable reservoir can be fully made use of by what is called the voluntary system without resort to some form of compulsion. I will let the House for once into a Cabinet secret. So much has been said and written of what goes on in the Cabinet—

Sir E. Carson [Dublin University]—Some of them true. ["Hear, hear!"]

Mr. Asquith—Very few. Some of them are true, but very few. Things are said to go on in the Cabinet which those of us who sit in the Cabinet have never heard or dreamed of in our lives. But I will let the House into a Cabinet secret, without breaking any obligation of secrecy or any confidence, and that is that there have been differences of opinion [laughter] among the members of the Cabinet as to what we need—whether, in other words, what I call the full exploitation and employment of the recruitable reservoir can or can not be obtained without resort to some form of compulsion. I will state my own view. In the first place, I have no abstract or a priori objection of any sort or kind to compulsion—in time of war. ["Hear, hear!"] I have nothing at the back of my mind which would make me go to the stake, or some less severe form of penance, in defense of what is called the voluntary principle.

I think that in time of war we must get rid of all these predilections, both on the one side and on the other. [Cheers.] It is a pure question of practical expediency—how are we going to bring the war to a successful conclusion? I will make a further admission, if admission it can be called, and that is that I think our system of voluntary recruiting, which does very well, or well

enough, under normal conditions in time of peace, operates, as it has been hitherto practiced, in a haphazard, capricious, and to some extent unjust way, both with regard to individuals and classes. ["Hear, hear!"] It is like a net with very irregular meshes. It lets through some things which ought not to be allowed to escape, and it holds and keeps some things which had better be let through.

My objection to the employment of compulsion for the purpose of recruiting the army under existing conditions has not been based at all upon abstract attachment to a priori principle or upon blindness or indifference to the imperfections and defects of our existing methods of voluntary recruiting. It is based upon entirely different grounds, namely, that the employment of compulsion under existing conditions would forfeit what I regard to be of supreme and capital importance, namely, the maintenance of the national unity. [Cheers.] That again is an abstract objection, for when translated into concrete terms it means this: If you are to apply—I do not speak of any particular method, but any method of coercion or compulsion without something in the nature, I will say of universal but of general assent, you would defeat your own purpose. ["Hear, hear!"] It would not be a practicable or workable method of making good and filling up the gaps left by the defects of the voluntary system. I am speaking my own view—entirely my own view.

My proposition, if I were to formulate one, would be this—not that I rule out compulsion as an impossible expedient, but that compulsion, if resorted to, ought only to be resorted to, and can from a practical point of view only be resorted to, or, in other words, be made a workable expedient for filling up the gap which you have to supply, with something in the nature of general assent. [Radical cheers.] I am glad to say that, to a large extent, these are not for the moment practical or relevant controversies. Lord Derby's scheme, the details of which are familiar to the House and to the country, is being worked, I believe, with the hearty consent and co-

operation even of the most ardent supporters of compulsion, certainly with the good-will and active co-operation of organized labor, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, and all the various agencies in the country which are seeking to supply this great national necessity.

If you ask me how many men ought we to aim at getting under that scheme, or under any scheme, my answer is that you ought to aim at securing everybody who is left of military age and capacity, after you have completely supplied the other national necessities to which I have referred. I would much rather state the requirements of the Government and of the nation in those general terms than by reference to any particular set of figures. It covers everything. It covers everybody who remains over and who ought to be made available, wherever he may be or whoever he may be. ["Hear, hear!"] If you ask me again when I should form my conclusion as to whether the voluntary system as organized by Lord Derby, and worked by his co-operating friends, had reached a result which would enable us to say whether it was successful or not, my answer is—I think he has fixed Nov. 30 as the date on which he will close the list—my answer is, as soon after that date as it is possible to classify and arrive at the results which his labors have achieved. Then, and not before then, and not later, can we say whether or not the experiment of voluntary recruiting is a success. I hope I shall have the assent both of those who, like myself, are strong voluntarists and of those who are disposed to favor a system of compulsion, when I say that I think it would be much better to leave it like that and come to a decision when we have arrived at that point of actual experiment, than to lay down hard and fast lines in terms of numbers as to this or that principle. ["Hear, hear!"]

I believe myself that the result will be wholly satisfactory. I have not the least fear of there being any necessity to resort to anything beyond this great organized effort, which is being carried

on with the good-will of all parties in the State and the hearty co-operation of the leaders of organized labor. But if when every just allowance has been made for other necessary work, and the whole of this machinery has been in operation and has achieved what it can, there should still be found a substantial number of men of military age not required for other purposes, and who without excuse hold back from the service of their country, I believe that the very same conditions which make compulsion impossible now—namely, the absence of general assent—would force the country to a view that they must consent to supplement by some form of legal obligation the failure of the voluntary system. [General cheers.] As far as I myself am concerned, I should be prepared to recommend them to take that course, but I dismiss it as a contingency which I do not think is ever likely to arise. [Radical cheers.] I am determined—I stick at nothing—I am determined that we shall win this war. Sooner than not win the war, if I find—I do not believe I shall—such a situation as that, I should come down without the faintest hesitation or doubt to all my friends, those who like myself are what I call strong supporters of the voluntary system, and say, "We have done what we could, we have not obtained the results we hoped for. We must do what is still necessary by other means." [General cheers.] Now, let me say one word in this connection.

I am told by Lord Derby and others that there is some doubt among married men who are now being asked to enlist whether they may not be called upon to serve, having enlisted, or promised to enlist, while younger and unmarried men are holding back and not doing their duty. Let them disabuse themselves of that idea. So far as I am concerned I should certainly say the obligation of the married man to enlist ought not to be enforced or binding upon him unless and until—I hope by voluntary effort and, if not, by some other means—the unmarried men are dealt with first. ["Hear, hear!"]

It is not because I myself have any

doubt—I have far too much confidence in the patriotism and the public spirit of my fellow-countrymen to doubt for one moment that they are going to respond to that appeal—that the young men, unmarried men with whom the promise of the future lies, are not going in this great emergency to shirk the task and to leave the fortunes of their country and the assertion of the greatest cause for which we have ever fought to those who have given hostages to fortune. But I think it is only fair, just, and right to the House of Commons that we should face every contingency.

A SMALL CABINET

There is one other matter to which I must refer. I have spoken of finance, I have spoken of the provision of men, but I am told there is great anxiety in some quarters as to what is called the higher direction of the war. We have a Cabinet of twenty-two members. (An honorable member — “twenty-one.”) Twenty-one at the moment, but I wish it were twenty-two. [Here the right honorable gentleman looked across the table and smiled at Sir E. Carson.] But call it twenty-one, if you please. Some people seem to think that a Cabinet of twenty-one members is incompetent to conduct the affairs of a great empire in times of emergency like these. [“Hear, hear!”] Mr. Pitt when he carried on the great war against France more than 100 years ago had, I think, a Cabinet of seven or nine, but the exiguity in size of that Cabinet did not prevent it from committing great blunders [laughter and “Hear, here!”] and the country from suffering from many strokes of ill-fortune. For myself I do not think there is any numerical specific against either want of foresight or want of good luck. That is a very mechanical way of looking at the matter. I do not propose to change the size of the Cabinet, but of course there is a great deal to be said in time of war for having one, or it may be more—at any rate one comparatively small body of men who will deal with the daily exigencies of the State. We realized that—although it may seem very strange for some of our censors—in the first few weeks of the

war. I do not think any Prime Minister has ever had to a greater degree than I have had the delegation of work, which in normal conditions is done by the Cabinet as a whole, to committees and smaller bodies. I believe from first to last, since the beginning of the war, we have had something like fifty different committees and advisory bodies, all framed out of the Government, sometimes with material aid from outside, to which special departments of activity brought into prominence or urgency by the needs of the war have been relegated, subject always to ultimate Cabinet responsibility. In particular, we have had since a very early period of the war a body fluctuating in number from time to time, and which has varied in name—sometimes it has been called a war council, sometimes a war committee, sometimes it has gone by other designations—a body to which either general questions of State or questions of strategy in particular areas and arenas have been by the consent of the Cabinet referred.

I have come to the conclusion, after now some fifteen months of experience, that it is desirable to maintain that system, but to limit still further the number of the body to whom what I may call the strategic conduct of the war is from time to time referred. I think, and my colleagues agree with me, that the committee, or by whatever name it may be called, should be a body of not less than three and perhaps not more than five in number, but with this important proviso, that whether it be three or five it should, of course, have power to summon to its deliberation and to its assistance the particular Ministers concerned, with the particular departments whose special knowledge is needed or is desirable for the determination of each issue as it arises. I think further that the relations between any such body and the Cabinet as a whole should be of an elastic kind; and at the same time that it should be understood that the Cabinet, which as a body has the ultimate responsibility for questions of policy, should be kept not only constantly informed of the decisions and actions of the committee, but in all questions which involve a change, or a

new departure in policy, should be consulted before decisive action is taken. It is only on these lines that you can successfully conduct a war like this. I entirely agree with those who say—and I have had plenty of experience—that it is very undesirable that decisions which have to be taken very often at very short notice should not become effective until they are referred to the Cabinet as a whole. That is perfectly true. I think a committee such as I have indicated ought to be clothed with power to take such decisions and to act upon them. On the other hand, I am very jealous of the maintenance of collective Cabinet responsibility, for large changes and new departures in policy, and I believe that in practice it will be found perfectly possible to work the two things together. That is what we propose to do.

I hope that before many days are over we may be able to announce to the House who are the members who will compose the committee, whatever the size that we ultimately decide upon. In conjunction with that, but still in connection with the subject of what is called the higher direction of the war, I attach very great importance first of all to a more complete and intimate co-ordination between the staffs of the various allied powers—and we have had a very happy illustration of the advantage of that in our recent deliberation with General Joffre—and also a more intimate and regular interchange of views by some form of combination with the staffs not only of the War Office and the Admiralty, but with those who conduct our diplomatic affairs. It is impossible to carry on these things in watertight compartments. You must have co-ordination, contact, close, constant, practical, continuing. Those are the general outlines—these are the views I desire to express to the House in regard to our position.

I have tried to tell the House this afternoon the whole truth. I am not aware, I do not think, I have kept back anything known to us which ought to be known to the House. I have made no attempt to conceal anything in the past history of the war, its conduct, its failures, shortcomings if you like, and if

I may, I would say before I sit down one or two words with regard to my own personal position. When the war broke out I was the head of the Government. I take my share—and no one has a larger share—of responsibility at that supreme moment in the attitude and policy of this country. A terrible responsibility it is, measured by what has happened and by what is still to happen. Much of our best blood has been spilled, thousands of young lives have been cut short in the very promise of their youth; the cry goes up in ever-increasing volume day by day and week by week from torn hearts, from mutilated homes. Every morning there is not a home that does not tremble to think of what message of direct and personal loss may not be in store. And we might have stood aloof, spectators and not actors, in this the most moving tragedy in the history of man. We might have stood aloof; but is there one even of those who are enduring unspeakable anguish—childless parents, widowed wives, desolate comrades and friends—is there one who wishes that Great Britain had acted otherwise? I do not believe there is. Searching, if the House will allow me to say so, the utmost depths of my own heart and conscience, I would not unsay or undo that great decision. We have from that moment to this labored with the unceasing and devoted aid of my loyal counselors and colleagues to uphold the common cause, to bring to its support every resource in men and money, prudence and courage, in unity and self-sacrifice that this kingdom and this empire can provide. That there have been errors and shortcomings, failures of judgment, lack of foresight in the conduct and direction of our policy I am the first person in the United Kingdom to acknowledge; but that there has been anything of sloth, indifference, self-complacency, unwillingness to face unpalatable facts, a desire or even a disposition to conceal from our fellow-countrymen the truth I challenge any one to prove. I am as confident as I was fifteen months ago that we are going to carry a righteous cause to a triumphant issue, and I am not going to

shift the burden which has been laid upon me until I am satisfied that I cannot bear it, or that it can be borne better by others.

So long as I enjoy, as I am proud to think and I hope I do, ["Hear, hear!"] the confidence of my sovereign, the House of Commons, and the country, I shall not surrender the task, heavy indeed and beyond the power of myself, or any other man, but as noble and as inspiring as any in history. [Cheers.]

If there be moments, such as come to all of us, when we are tempted to be faint-hearted, let us ask ourselves what year in our history has done more to

justify our faith in the manhood and the womanhood of our people? It has brought us, as we cannot at this moment forget, the imperishable story of the last hours of Edith Cavell. ["Hear, hear!"] It has taught the bravest man among us the supreme lesson of courage. Yes, Sir, and in this United Kingdom and throughout the Dominions of the Crown there are thousands of such women, and a year ago we did not know it. We have great traditions, but a nation cannot exist by traditions alone. Thank God we have living examples of all the qualities which have built up and sustained our empire. Let us be worthy of them, and endure to the end. [Loud cheers.]

Edith Cavell

From The London News.

By EDEN PHILLPOTTS.

"Than patriotism there are greater things":
Even so spake she, when to her vision clear
The prison shadows limned and Death drew near
To hide her graciousness for ever with his wings.

Her woman's heart, burning with brave design,
Forgot the law, and when a man desired
To play the man, her woman's soul was fired
To help him join again his country's battle line.

For that she died; the hands that she had healed
Took her rare life; the heads that she had bound
Plotted the giving of her own death wound.
Not womanhood could save; not womanhood could shield.

Her ministry is broken, and the blow
That laid her dead on the night-hidden earth,
Shall sound upon this present grief and dearth
With louder thunder far than deep-mouthed ordnance know.

Her woman's gentle voice above this strife
Wakes echo from the secret, golden bell
Called conscience, so that time to come shall tell
How that most honored death helped men to nobler life.

"Than patriotism there are greater things":
O ye who still unwitting desolate
Your hearts with futile passion, curse and hate,
Harken while her last word a moment chimes and rings.

Soul of her land, before the solemn plea
Of human honor, stunned at this black shame,
Pray steely reason guide and guard your aim,
Lest brute awaken brute, to mar humanity.

The Defeat of Serbia

Teutonic Forcing of the Route to Constantinople

THE first junction of Bulgarian and Austro-German patrols was effected on Oct. 26 in the Dobravoda Mountains. From the headquarters of the army of General von Gallwitz in Serbia came the announcement of "a moment of world significance"; that the "Orient and Occident have been united, and on the basis of this firm indissoluble union a new and mighty vierbund comes into being, created by the victory of our arms." The road from Germany through Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria to Turkey lay open.

In London it was admitted on Oct. 28 that the German army which crossed the Danube at Orsova had joined hands with the Bulgarians who had invaded Serbia near Prahovo. On Oct. 29 the French, according to German dispatches, had already landed 150,000 men, with 100 guns, at Saloniki, and Sir Bryan Mahon, who relieved Mafeking in the Boer war, was leading a small British army to their support. Following the bombardment of Bulgarian ports, it was reported on Oct. 31 that a Russian army was crossing the Black Sea to effect a landing in Bulgaria. But on that day the Serbs lost Milanovac, followed by the decisive battle in the campaign in which the chief arsenal of Serbia, Kraguyevac, surrendered. The Serbian fortress of Pirot, the key to Nish, also passed into the hands of the Bulgarians, and on Nov. 5 Tsar Ferdinand's men reached the outskirts of Nish, which fell on Nov. 7.

Meanwhile twelve white buffalo had dragged the motor car of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg across the Timok River—the first Teuton over the opened route to Sofia. At the same time the main Bulgarian and Teutonic armies effected a junction at Krivivir, northwest of Nish. An exchange of telegrams between General Jecoff, Bulgarian Commander in Chief, and Premier Radoslavoff of Bulgaria upon the capture of

Nish was reported by the Overseas News Agency, which quotes General Jecoff, as follows:

After fierce and sanguinary fighting the fortress of Nish has been conquered by our brave, victorious troops, and the Bulgarian flag has been hoisted to remain forever.

The Serbian army retreated beyond Krusevac, which General von Gallwitz entered on Nov. 9, breaking the branch railway line to Uzice, near the Bosnian frontier. Troops and a quantity of munitions and motor cars for the army of Field Marshal von der Goltz were landed at the Port of Rustchuk on the same day, while other convoys flying German and Austrian flags passed down the Danube bound for Bulgarian ports.

But on Nov. 8 the Franco-British troops advancing to Phares formed a junction with the retreating Serbian army, presenting an unbroken line from Prilep, Gradsko, and Krivolak to Dorolobo on the Bulgarian frontier. The Bulgarian army, descending into old Serbia to invade Macedonia by way of Veles and Prilep, was defeated on Nov. 6 at Izvor at the entrance of the Babuna Pass. An attack by four regiments of Bulgarians upon the French headquarters at Strumitza had been repulsed on Oct. 24. Large British forces were landing at Saloniki, so that on Nov. 10 the newspapers of Berlin reported reinforcements of the Entente allies to a total of 300,000. The Bulgarians had extended their grip on the Belgrade-Saloniki railway north and south of Nish, occupying Leskovac, to the south, and Alexsinac, to the north. The Austro-Germans, also marching southward, had reached the most difficult part of Serbia, the mountainous region, where the natives might offer the strongest resistance. On Nov. 12 the defile leading northward to Strumitza, a fortified town in Bulgaria, passed completely into the hands of the French, and French cavalry patrols had surrounded Veles, which the Bulgars

held. A new British division under General Sir Charles Carmichael Monro was then spreading out toward Strumitza, and with the approaching arrival of Field Marshal Earl Kitchener, dispatched east on a secret mission, a further development in the campaign affecting the army at Gallipoli was expected.

During the Austro-German and Bulgarian advance the dispatches from the front on Nov. 13 claimed the capture of 54,000 Serbian prisoners, 40,000 of them by the Austro-Germans. The aged King

Peter of Serbia, his automobile breaking down, took flight in a country wagon followed by the Crown Prince. On the western bank of the Morava River the Serbians made their stand, and, as reported Nov. 15, had recovered the town of Tetovo, besides effecting the junction with their allies to the south.

On Nov. 12 the Kaiser was reported as passing through Orsova on his way to Sofia, on a visit to Tsar Ferdinand, with the intention of proceeding thence to Constantinople.

The Troops at Saloniki

By the Marquis of Lansdowne

Member of the British Cabinet Without Portfolio

At the sitting of the House of Lords of Oct. 26, 1915, Earl Loreburn asked whether the dispatch of troops to Saloniki was determined upon by his Majesty's Government with the approval of their highest naval and military advisers; and whether his Majesty's Government could give an assurance that full provision had been made for the communication of this force and for its supplies of men and material to the satisfaction of their naval and military advisers. Other questions were put by the Earl of Cromer, and the Marquis of Lansdowne replied in the speech presented below.

I LISTENED with satisfaction to the statements that if we on this bench appear sometimes to be a little reluctant to give full information to your Lordships' House our action is not to be attributed to any desire to screen ourselves. But my noble friend is much too well versed in public affairs to be ignorant of the undoubted fact that there are moments when it is impossible in the public interest that questions relating to the conduct of a great war should be freely discussed in the houses of Parliament.

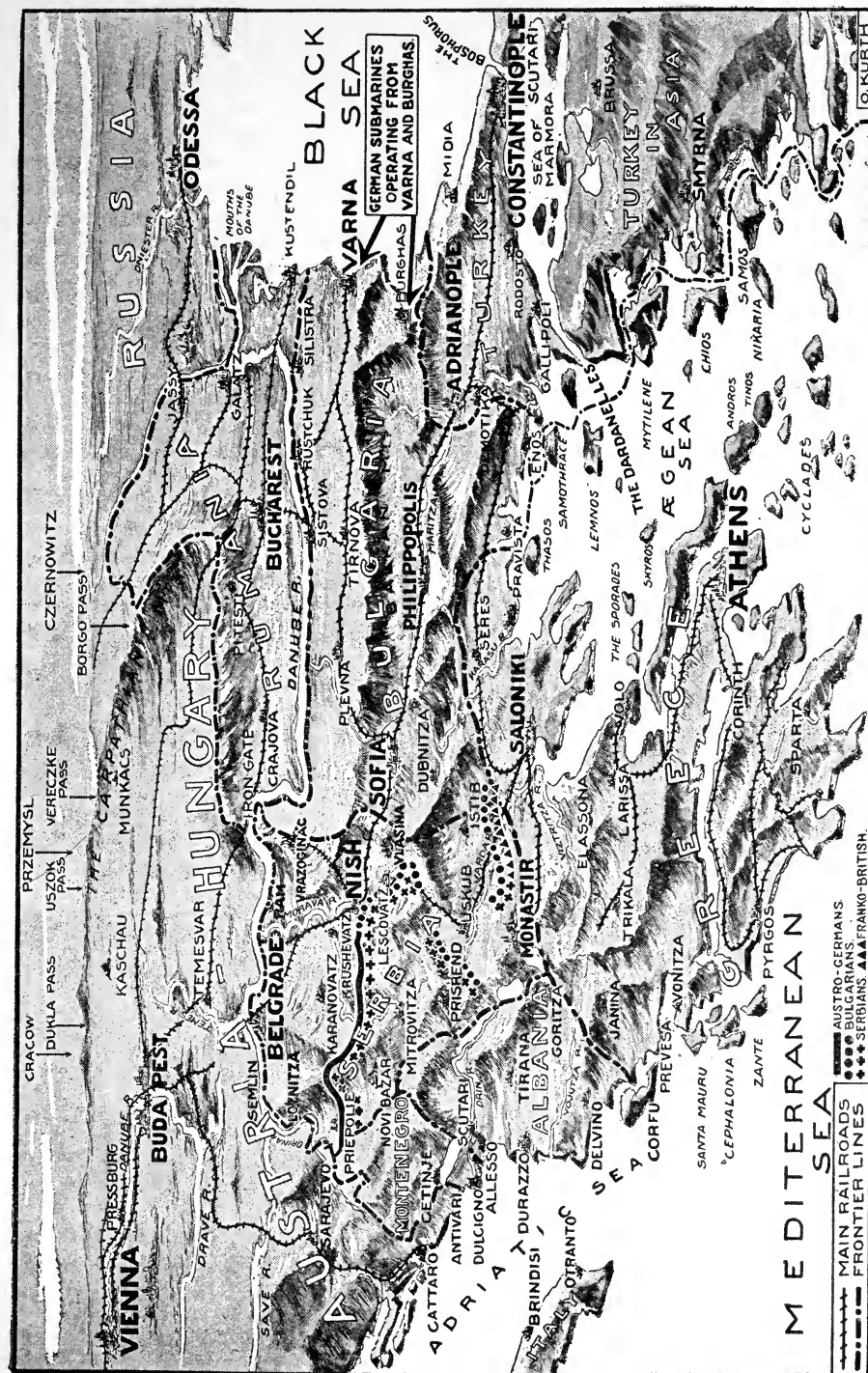
We have to think not only of the effect of what may be said upon our enemies, but, what is not less important, of the effect of what may be said at certain moments on our allies. I can assure my noble friend that if we have been a little slow to respond to the invitations which have from time to time been made to us, it has been solely from the conviction that we could not speak as fully and frankly as we should desire for reasons of that kind.

I might strengthen my argument by

reminding the House of what happened not many nights ago in this place. We had a short discussion, in the course of which Lord Morley of Blackburn addressed your Lordships. He, too, complained that the House was not taken sufficiently into our confidence, and he mentioned several points on which he personally would have been glad to have had information. What were those points? The number of the troops that were likely to be employed in these Balkan operations, the terms upon which we expected to obtain Russian and Italian co-operation, and, finally, what was the prospect of obtaining Greek and Rumanian adhesion. I venture to say that upon every one of these points it would, particularly at that moment, have been absolutely out of the question to make a full and complete statement without giving to the public information which we had no right to give them. [Cheers.]

I know Lord Cromer does not expect me to follow him into the question—not, perhaps, strictly relevant to the one on

The Battle Ground in the Balkans



the notice paper, but one of very great interest to all of us—as to the proper strength of an efficient Cabinet. I will take my courage in both hands, and I will tell him that up to this point I agree with him—that personally I am strongly of opinion that the efficiency of any body of that kind is apt to vary inversely with its numerical strength. [Laughter.]

I pass to the interrogatories which Lord Loreburn addressed to me. He wishes to elicit whether we have been advised that operations in progress, or in contemplation, in the Balkans are practical military operations, and whether we have been told by our naval and military experts that that is their opinion. There is an impression in the minds of some people that we civilian politicians are in the habit not only of devising great strategical plans and combinations of our own, but of imposing those plans upon persons to whom we ought to look for advice upon naval and military problems.

I suppose most of us have indulged in the amusement of making plans of our own, but I can assure Lord Loreburn that certainly not in this Government, nor in any Government with which I have ever been connected, has it been the practice, or would it be possible, for amateur strategists to impose their plans upon the responsible professional advisers of the Government of the day.

I would add that in this Government in particular it is especially unlikely that anything of the kind should have occurred. The present Cabinet includes in its members Lord Kitchener, who was called to the office of Secretary of War almost by public acclaim.

Lord Kitchener is present at every meeting of the Cabinet. He is a party to all its decisions, and, to my mind, it would be almost grotesque to suppose that he allows himself to be deflected from his course by the pressure of his civilian colleagues.

But quite apart from that, the present procedure of the Government by committees and councils is of a kind which gives far greater opportunities to

the military and naval experts of asserting themselves and making their views known than was the case in the days when I first entered public life.

There is another consideration which your Lordships will, perhaps, bear in mind. These great problems which from time to time confront the Government of the day are, as a rule, what might be described as mixed problems. They are problems into which political as well as naval and military considerations enter. It seems to me just as necessary, having that in view, that the expert advisers of the Government should have opportunities of considering the political aspects of the case as that the civilian members of the Government should take into account the naval and military side of the problem. In deciding whether an operation should be undertaken at all, or whether one operation is preferable to another operation, or whether, as the war goes on, it is desirable to modify the plans originally arrived at—those are all questions which have to be considered not only purely from the naval and military point of view, but from the point of view of broad moral and political considerations with which they are connected.

But I should like to enforce this further point, that, whatever opportunities you give to your naval and military advisers, the ultimate responsibility for the decision must rest with the Government. [Cheers.] I have heard that question discussed more than once in your Lordships' House, and so far as I am aware the view has always prevailed—and I think rightly prevailed—that no Government can be allowed to shelter itself behind the advice of its military and naval experts. [Cheers.]

Let me now say a word with regard to the Saloniki expedition. I can quite enter into the apprehensions which possess the mind of Lord Loreburn. I can quite understand that, having before him our commitments in the western theatre of war, the position in which we find ourselves in the Gallipoli Peninsula, and our interests in Egypt and in other possessions of the empire, it should be to his mind profoundly distasteful that matters should be complicated by our enter-

ing into new entanglements in a new theatre of war.

Earl Loreburn—I never said that or anything about that. I abstained from expressing a view, because I am not in possession of the facts. I did not wish to say for a moment that this is right or wrong, but merely desired to know whether the Government has not sufficient military and naval opinion to justify it in entering into it.

The Marquis of Lansdowne—I did not mishear Lord Loreburn when I thought he told the House that he remembered how we had become involved in the entanglement in Gallipoli, and that he was afraid we might inadvertently find ourselves involved in a new entanglement of the same sort. That is the argument to which I wish to address myself. I can understand that Lord Loreburn and others should dislike the idea of what might be described as a dispersive effort on our part at a time when we are making so many efforts in different parts of the world.

Under what circumstances has this little British force been sent to Saloniki? I should like to recall the position in which, let us say in the month of September, the central powers found themselves in the different theatre of war in which they were engaged. In the western theatre they had made no progress for a long time. They had, indeed, been successfully attacked and pushed back at several points.

On the Russian front their advance, at first so triumphant and overwhelming, had received a serious check, certainly at some points. The Italian forces were pressing their offensive hard, and in the minor and remoter theatres of war—Mesopotamia, for example—success was resting with our arms. That being the situation, the central powers naturally looked about them to discover some new direction in which to seek for a decision satisfactory to themselves, and their choice fell, as it obviously was likely to fall, upon a great attempt to make a push to the southeast through Bulgaria, threatening our forces in Gallipoli, threatening Constantinople, and perhaps

Egypt, to say nothing of vaster aspirations which perhaps lay behind.

That great project became doubly attractive to the central powers from the moment that, most unfortunately, Bulgaria threw her influence on their side. To such a thrust to the southeast there was one obstacle and one obstacle only. The key of the situation lay in the north-eastern corner of Serbia, and accordingly we found Serbia threatened by a formidable concentration of troops on the enemy frontier.

It is impossible to think or speak of Serbia without a tribute to the wondrous gallantry with which that little country withstood two separate invasions, and has lately been struggling against a third. [Cheers.] She repelled the first two invasions by an effort which, I venture to think, will form one of the most glorious chapters in the history of this great war. [Cheers.]

It was in these circumstances that Serbia made a direct appeal to us for help. I do not think Lord Loreburn will differ from me when I say that there is not a man in this country who, if there had been a good chance of coming to the rescue of Serbia, would not have risked a good deal in order to help. [Cheers.] But it was not only Serbia who invoked our military co-operation. Greece was bound to Serbia by geographical propinquity, by common interests obvious to all, and by treaty obligations. Moreover, it was only through Greek territory that help could possibly reach the Serbian people. It was only by the use of Greek ports that a base could be provided for any troops intended to take the pressure off Serbia.

In these circumstances, the good-will of Greece was obviously of the first importance to us, and we had at that time every reason to feel assured that we had that good-will.

M. Venizelos was still in power, and it was at his instance that we undertook to provide a force for the purpose of enabling Greece to fulfill her treaty obligations to Serbia.

It was in compliance with that twofold appeal that we sent such troops as were available to Saloniki. It was a

small force, because only a small force could be collected at the time.

The French Government on their side dispatched the force which is now on the spot, and which is apparently at this moment engaged with the Bulgarian enemy on the eastern frontier of Serbia. At the same time a larger force was prepared for service in Southeastern Europe, and transport was taken up for the purpose of conveying it to its destination.

I suggest to your Lordships that these steps, incomplete no doubt, but taken with great promptitude, because promptitude was of the utmost moment, were the only proper steps which could be taken to relieve the position in Serbia.

These steps were taken after full deliberation and consultation on the part of the Cabinet with its military and naval advisers. But the small British force which we sent to Saloniki—I think 13,000 in round numbers—was regarded as the precursor of a larger force which was put under orders at the same time.

Lord Loreburn may, perhaps, desire me to tell him how we propose that that larger force, when it arrives, shall be used. My answer to that is that the use to which that force is to be put must depend on the situation which exists when it arrives on the scene.

The noble and learned Lord spoke of the new enterprise, and asked me whether it was a practicable military operation.

I cannot answer that question, because the character of the new operation or enterprise has not been decided, and cannot be decided until we know more of the situation in Southeastern Europe. Events have moved very rapidly, and are moving very rapidly in that part of the world.

There have been two recent developments which profoundly affect the military as well as the political situation. The first is to be found in the change of attitude of the Greek Government. We all know that M. Venizelos resigned, and that Greece has arrived at the deliberate conclusion that her treaty engagements with Serbia do not require her to come to the rescue of that coun-

try in the present momentous crisis. That is one fundamental change which the situation has undergone.

But apart from that, and I say it with great regret, I am afraid we must admit that the progress of the campaign in Northern Serbia has been such as to render it highly improbable that the Serbian Army will be able to withstand for any great length of time the attack to which it is exposed from the Austro-German forces on the north, aided by the stab in the back which Serbia is receiving at the hands of Bulgaria.

My answer to the question of what we are going to do with the larger military force is that the military plans must depend upon the military situation. But I might add that upon this point the Allies are all of one mind.

These matters have been discussed, and both the French and British Governments realize that when further reinforcements reach the Eastern Mediterranean it will be necessary to take careful stock of the position.

It will be necessary that the military and naval advisers of both Governments should consult, and should endeavor to come to a conclusion.

It cannot be until these consultations have taken place that we can be in a position to say that we intend to use the British force either for this purpose or for that. What we shall endeavor to use it for will be to counter the movement of the central powers across Bulgaria, but the precise mode of countering that attack must obviously be left for further and very careful examination.

Discussions are at this moment proceeding with regard to this point, and I may add that the General whom we have just sent out to the Southeastern Mediterranean—Sir Charles Monro, who, I think, arrives in that part of the world today—has been instructed to report as soon as possible his opinion upon all the aspects of the case.

I therefore say, when Lord Loreburn asks me whether I can give him a general indication of our intentions, or whether I could describe the general outline of the new enterprise, I am obliged to tell him that I can do nothing of the

kind—that is a question which is being considered by those who have the best right to consider it.

For the moment it is quite impossible for me to add anything to his knowledge on the subject. But if he will take it from me, I can assure him that he need have no apprehension that in this matter, or in any other matter of the kind, we are likely to be led into precipitate action, owing to some hurried impulse or some vague sentiment, or some desire to achieve this object or that.

At every step we shall take the best naval and military advice obtainable, and that advice will have reference not only to what he calls the new enterprise, but to all subsidiary questions in regard to the safeguarding of the communications of our forces and the supplies of men and material. That is all the information I am able to give, and I trust Lord Loreburn will acquit me of any desire to avoid any of the points he raised from an undue tendency to reticence or secrecy. [Cheers.]

Attitude of the Greek Government

ALL the evening papers of Athens on Oct. 21, 1915, published an identical note, said to be an exact representation of the Government's view in the situation. The note expresses surprise at the intervention of the powers in the relations between Greece and Serbia, the faculty of interpretation of the treaty of alliance of those countries belonging exclusively to the contracting parties, the accord having been freely concluded without the intervention or guarantee of a third party.

It must not be forgotten, the note adds, that Greece is an independent nation that disposes of its fate in full sovereignty. The note goes on to say that the Austro-German attack on Serbia releases Greece at least from the obligation of armed intervention, and that independent of that attack it is materially impossible for Serbia to give Greece the support of 150,000 men stipulated in the treaty in case of war with Bulgaria, and that the Entente powers have not furnished a contingent equivalent. The note adds that the specialists best qualified consider that the Balkan expedition would require at least 400,000 men, and that under these conditions Greece would ruin herself without even the consolation of saving Serbia.

On the other hand, Greece offers all the service she can render in allowing the free passage over its territory of the Allies' troops going to the Serbian front, and in maintaining her own army on a war footing.

The note further expresses the gratitude of Greece for the offers made, though not yet concrete, and thanks England for the offer of Cyprus. It recalls the Greek sympathies for the Entente and the benevolence of the neutrality maintained thus far.

CABINET'S FALL

Quite unexpectedly as a result of a debate on Nov. 3, 1915, in the Greek Chamber, a Ministerial crisis broke out, and the Zaimis Cabinet tendered its resignation to King Constantine.

The trouble started over a bill for extra pay to army officers during mobilization or war. Thereupon a lively discussion ensued between General Yanakitsas, Minister of War, and Deputies of various parties.

Premier Zaimis read an answer, denying an apology was due from General Yanakitsas, and declaring that the Government would consider insistence on this point a question of confidence.

In the debate which followed, lasting until 5 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 4, all the political chiefs participated. M. Venizelos made two long speeches, defending his policy and condemning the policy of his opponents in regard to the Balkan situation. He said he deplored the fact that Serbia was being left to be crushed by Bulgaria, Greece's hereditary enemy, who would not scruple later to fall on Greece herself.

VENIZELOS'S SPEECH

Challenged by a Government Deputy

as to whether he thought the King wished the country's destruction, M. Venizelos said:

I should have preferred not to drag the King's name into the discussion, but since you ask me I will say that in a constitutional Government the Crown has no place in responsibilities. Only foolish political leaders can think of hiding behind the Crown, which is irresponsible, for if they admit that in a parliamentary Government there can be such a thing as a Crown policy they are unworthy to represent a free and sovereign people.

No, the King does not wish the country's destruction. That is absurd. But our State is a democracy presided over by the King, and the whole responsibility rests with the Cabinet. If you want monarchy, say so openly, and call for the necessary changes in the Constitution; but your efforts will be unavailing, because the nation wants the Constitution to remain as it is.

I admit that the Crown has a right to disagree with a responsible Government if he thinks the latter is not in agreement with the national will, but after the recent election nonagreement is out of the question, and now the Crown has not the right to disagree again on the same question. It is not a question of patriotism, but of constitutional liberties.

I know that the King is a distinguished General, but he is not equally experienced in things political. If I have tolerated the present Cabinet I have done so because of the constitutional deadlock created by the Crown's action and the impossibility of holding elections in the present state of mobilization. You are mistaking this toleration for approval of your policy, which I disagree with diametrically.

Instead of new elections you had better suspend the Constitution until the end of the war, that we may know exactly where the responsibilities lie, and not drag the Constitution and national will through the shams of empty constitutional forms.

Finally in the early hours of the morn-

ing of Nov. 4 a vote was taken, which showed 147 against and 114 for the Government, with three abstentions. The dissolution of the Cabinet followed.

King Constantine on Nov. 7, 1915, charged Stephanos Skouloudis with the formation of a Cabinet. The ex-Ministers retained office, M. Skouloudis taking the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, as well as assuming the Premiership. Soon after the Greek Chamber was dissolved by a royal decree, and the date for new elections was fixed for Dec. 19, 1915.

The French Government received on Nov. 9, 1915, from Premier Skouloudis, head of the new Greek Cabinet, formal assurance of "our neutrality, with the character of sincerest benevolence toward the Entente powers." The communication addressed to the Greek Minister in Paris, reads:

Please give to the President of the Council the most formal assurance on my part of our firm resolution to continue our neutrality, with the character of the sincerest benevolence toward the Entente powers.

Please add that the new Cabinet accepts as its own the declarations of former Premier Zaimis regarding the friendly attitude of the Royal Government as to the allied troops at Saloniki. It is too conscious of the real interests of the country and of what it owes to the powers which are protecting Greece to swerve from this line of conduct. It hopes that the friendly feelings of these powers for Greece will not for a moment be influenced by malicious and misleading news purposely circulated with the main object of changing the good relations that exist between the Entente and Greece.

The attitude of Greece and the evidence of continued pressure by the Teutonic authorities on the King and Cabinet having caused marked uneasiness in the allied capitals, steps were taken on Nov. 12, 1915, to get assurances on at least one point that the allied troops would not be interned if they fell back across the border from Serbia. A Reuter dispatch from Athens said:

The British, French, and Russian Min-

isters today interviewed the Premier and demanded that Greece define the attitude she would observe in the event of the allied forces seeking refuge in Greek territory in case of a reverse in Serbian Macedonia. They insisted that no dis-

tinction be made between the Anglo-French and their Serbian allies.

The Greek reply is not known, but in view of the good-will evident on both sides the conviction prevails that a satisfactory solution will be reached.

Bulgaria and the Germanic Powers

Manifesto Issued by the Ministry of M. Radoslavoff

The text of a manifesto circulated by the Bulgarian Ministry of M. Radoslavoff contains a full and frank statement of why considerations of pure self-interest dictated the Bulgarian Government's decision to cast its lot finally with the central powers and against the Quadruple Entente.

The wording of some paragraphs of the manifesto seems to indicate that it was written anonymously. Russia, it says, is fighting for Constantinople, France for Alsace-Lorraine, England for commercial supremacy over Germany, and Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro simply for loot.

The manifesto points out economic and political reasons why Bulgaria must side with the central powers and Turkey instead of with the Quadruple Entente.

TODAY we see races that are fighting, not indeed for ideals, but solely for their material interests, it says. The more, therefore, we are bound to a country in a material way, the greater is that country's interest in our maintenance and increase, since thereby that one will profit who helps us and is tied to us by economic bonds.

If, therefore, we are to change our previous policy for indefinite, unsafe, and to us even unknown advantages, that means the ruin of our agriculture and trade, and indeed everything that we have built up in thirty-six years, the reconstruction of our entire business as a people, and the seeking of new export markets for our goods.

In this connection the manifesto cites

statistics of Bulgaria's import and export trade with the various belligerent countries of the present war for the years 1907, 1909, and 1911, showing that in those years the central powers and Turkey enjoyed ever-increasing import and export trade with Bulgaria as compared with the amount of its export and import trade with the Entente countries.

The figures show that our trade, our interests, and our economic life are inseparably linked with Turkey, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, says the manifesto. It drives home this argument by pointing out the vast proportions of its foreign trade that consist of live stock and dairy products, saying that for the export of this it is dependent solely upon Turkey, while its exports of grain can go to any country in the world with equal advantage. It refers to the great hardships imposed on Serbia when Austria-Hungary, resenting the Serbian pro-Russian policy, placed obstacles in the way of the Serbian live stock exports, and it adds:

What would become of Bulgaria if Constantinople should become Russian and we should lose the Constantinople market? We have seen that almost our entire export trade in live stock, cheese, kashkawal, flour, &c., goes to Turkey—that is to say, to Constantinople. If, now, Constantinople is conquered by Russia, it will introduce there its autonomous protective staff, and will make impossible the present exports of Bulgarian products to Constantinople. Even as Bulgaria cannot now export anything to Russia, so it will be unable to export

anything to the Russian Constantinople. There are no other export markets for these products at present, and such cannot be easily found.

But if we go against Germany, it would for sanitary and veterinary [sic] reasons immediately cut off the imports of Bulgarian eggs and make more difficult our tobacco imports. All this would cause an economic crisis in Bulgaria such as we have never before witnessed and of which we can scarcely form a conception. Our live stock industry, as well as all mills that have been set up in Varna and Burgas to grind flour for Constantinople, will be ruined. Our finest and most useful industry will be destroyed, and the millions invested in them lost. The live stock industry is the basis of our agricultural life.

The manifesto calls attention to the German loan recently made to Bulgaria, adding that after the Balkan war, when, "humbled, but not destroyed," Bulgaria asked France for a loan, the request was refused categorically, unless Bulgaria would recognize the Bucharest Treaty and agree "not to carry on an independent policy," and to throw ourselves completely into the arms of the then Triple Entente, which would dispose of us as it pleased. It continues:

In those heavy days for Bulgaria Germany assisted and gave it the required loan without any political conditions whatsoever. Every impartial Bulgar is in duty bound to confess that through this loan Germany saved us from bankruptcy, as well as from political subjugation. The war has shown how mighty Germany, and even Austria-Hungary, is in an economic sense. If these States, therefore, desire it, they have always the power to render us valuable support. They have done so till now, and we have no reason to suppose that they will not support us also in the future. On the contrary, from the assurances in German newspapers and statements of German statesmen, we can with full confidence count upon German financial help. Even as we write these lines we are informed that Germany has again granted us a loan of 125,000,000 lewas (\$25,000,-

000) for the defraying of current debts, without any political conditions.

Our greatest foe today is Serbia. It has subjugated the purely Bulgarian Macedonia and is administering it in a barbarian manner never before witnessed. For the Macedonian populace there are no laws and no human rights of any sort. This populace is, without exception, exposed to slaughter; the streams are red with blood; women have been violated, and the male population suitable for military service has been sent into the field to die for the creation of a "Greater Serbia." One need only profess to be a Bulgar in Macedonia to be beaten to death like a dog, so great is the hatred of Serbia toward Bulgaria. After the wars the Serbs had grown so arrogant that the transit of a Bulgar through Serbia—no matter who he was—was absolutely dangerous to his life, because in that State, which, according to our Government organ, Narodni Prava, is ruled by liars, there exist no laws for Bulgars. If we do not more quickly deliver our brothers in Macedonia from the unbearable, cruel, and bloody yoke, not a Bulgar will be left in this purely Bulgarian land. Things are, moreover, already in such a condition that Bulgaria cannot possibly exist next to a "Greater Serbia," inasmuch as the latter, which lays claim to our country up to the Jantra, will continually challenge us until it destroys us.

We do not know the wording of the famous note which the Quadruple Entente has delivered to the Bulgarian Government, but from what has been said and written in the newspapers, these facts are seen:

1. That Russia and its allies give us nothing for our neutrality, but, on the other hand, demand that we shall take part in the war as soon as possible.
2. That Bulgaria is to turn over its armies to the Quadruple Entente, placing them fully at the Entente's disposal, leaving the Entente to command them and send them wherever it seems advisable.
3. That the Bulgarian Army must conquer Constantinople and then hand it over to Russia; and,

4. In return for all this Bulgaria is permitted to retain the territory up to the Enos-Midia line, and it is promised some obscure and insufficient compensations in Macedonia, but only in case Serbia is sufficiently compensated by Austria.

That means: give your army, so that we may mix it up with our wild hordes and send them out for destruction on the various scenes of battle; and then, when Serbia has grown great and has taken South Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and has grown to a State of from fifteen to twenty millions Bulgaria will get a small bit of land.

This shows most clearly how strong-ly the Quadruple Entente is allied to Serbia; how it is unwilling to persuade the latter to make concessions, and how it mocks our legitimate demands. The Triple Entente is known for its noise and its making of alarms. It is known, too, that during our last negotiations for a loan they published secret notes and even meddled in our internal affairs merely in order to evoke disturbances in the country to win Bulgaria for the Quadruple Entente. In this respect Germany and Austria-Hungary work quietly and without noise, so that we do not know in all their details their proposals to Bulgaria; but nevertheless from those which we can read in their newspapers and from what well-informed persons have told us we can with certainty state that the promises of Germany and Austria-Hungary to Bulgaria for its neutrality are, in the main, as follows:

1. All of Macedonia, including Skopie, Bitolia, Ochrida, &c.

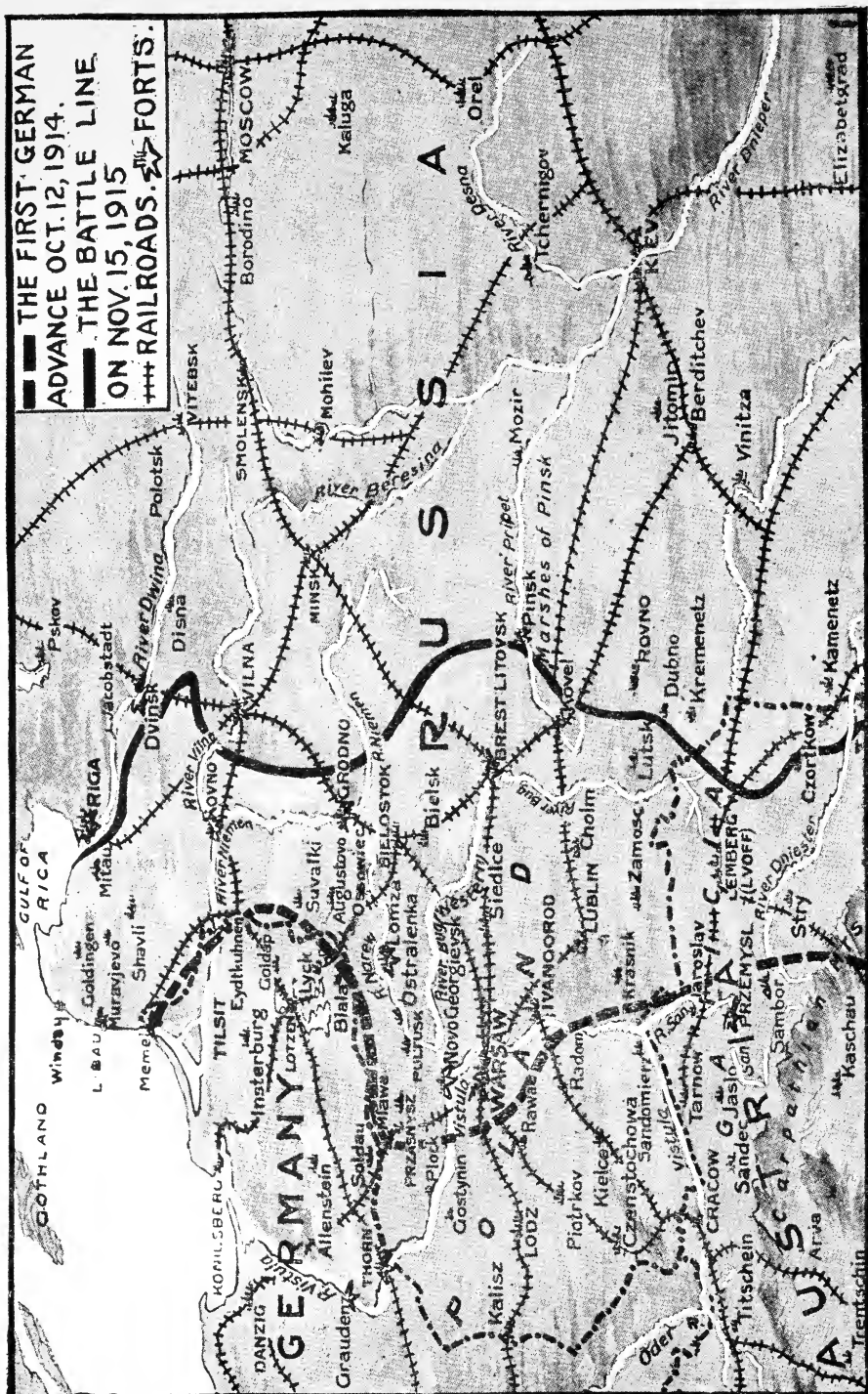
2. Friendly mediation between Bulgaria and Turkey for the purpose of ceding the line to Dedeaghat and the territory west of the right bank of the Maritza. This agreement with Turkey is expected in a short time.

Still further territorial promises have been made to us at the expense of Serbia by the central powers in case of our active military assistance. These promises are in accordance with our demands for a common frontier with Austria-Hungary along the Danube. The pres-

ent war has shown how absolutely necessary it is that we should have a direct and immediate connection with Hungary in order that we may be independent of a Serbia that has gone crazy, (sic.) But also other parts of Old Serbia have been set forth for us in prospect.

Here we can see clearly the Quadruple Entente, in return for slight, uncertain, and doubtful advantages, demands great sacrifices from us, and that Germany and Austria-Hungary give us clearly and categorically to understand the things they are willing to give us in return for incomparably slighter sacrifices on our part. But the question has another side as well—we do not believe in promises of any sort any more anyway, and still less those of the Quadruple Entente, which took up Italy as an ally after it had in such treacherous fashion trampled under foot its word of honor and broken a thirty-three-year-old treaty of alliance. On the contrary, we have full reason to believe in a treaty with Germany, which has always fulfilled its treaty obligations, and is fighting the whole world merely in order to live up to its treaty obligations to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. * * *

Finally, we must hold to that group of the powers which will win the victory in the present war, since only so can the important territorial extensions and further developments be insured. From the developments of the operations in the various theatres of the war, on the front against France and Belgium as well as the fronts against Italy, Russia, and Serbia, one recognizes more clearly day by day that victory is inclining on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary. We need not linger long over the question, inasmuch as it has become clear to the point of certainty for every observer that Russia, which has lost fortresses like Warsaw and Ivangorod, will soon be overthrown, and then the turn will come for France, Italy, England, and Serbia. Germany has proved that it is so strongly organized in a military and material sense and can dispose of such enormous, superior, and inexhaustible forces as will enable it soon to overthrow its foes.



Battle Line on the Eastern Front, Nov. 15, 1915.

Russia's Campaign

Lack of Success in the Teutonic Operations Against Riga and Dvinsk

A HIGH authority representing the Russian General Staff on Oct. 23, 1915, authorized the following official publication in The Times of London:

From May till October the Russian Army has been subjected to uninterrupted blows along a front of 700 miles. The Austro-Germans applied every possible means, not excepting such as are forbidden by international treaties, in order to increase the pressure against us. Masses of their troops were flung against this front and sent to destruction regardless of losses. Military history does not afford another example of such pressure.

During these months of continuous and prolonged action the high qualities and mettle of our troops under the difficulties and arduous conditions of the retreat were demonstrated afresh. Notwithstanding his obstinacy in fighting and his persistency in carrying out manoeuvres, the enemy is still confronted by an army which fully retains its strength, morale, and its ability, not only to offer a staunch and successful resistance, but to assume the offensive and inflict blows which have been demonstrated by the events of recent days. This affords the best proof that the Austro-Germans failed to destroy, or even to disorganize, our army.

Seeing that they failed in that effort during the five months which were most favorable to them, it would be impossible for them to repeat the Galician and Vistula exploits now that the successes of the Allies in the west have complicated the strategic position. The crisis has passed favorably for us. We issued safely from the difficult position in the advanced Vistula theatre, where we were enveloped on three sides, and now stand based upon the centre of our empire, unexhausted by the war.

It is true that there is still much fierce and determined fighting ahead. There may be movements rearward, but there will certainly be advances also. Our army lives in the expectation of a general offensive and looks with full confidence to the armies of its allies. It will march boldly and cheerfully forward, conscious that in so doing it is defending the interests of our country and the interests of our allies. Stern struggle with the forces of nature has schooled the Russians to hardships and ingrained in them the instinct

to hasten to the succor and relief of a brother in need. Hence an appeal from our allies will always find a warm response from the Russian Army.

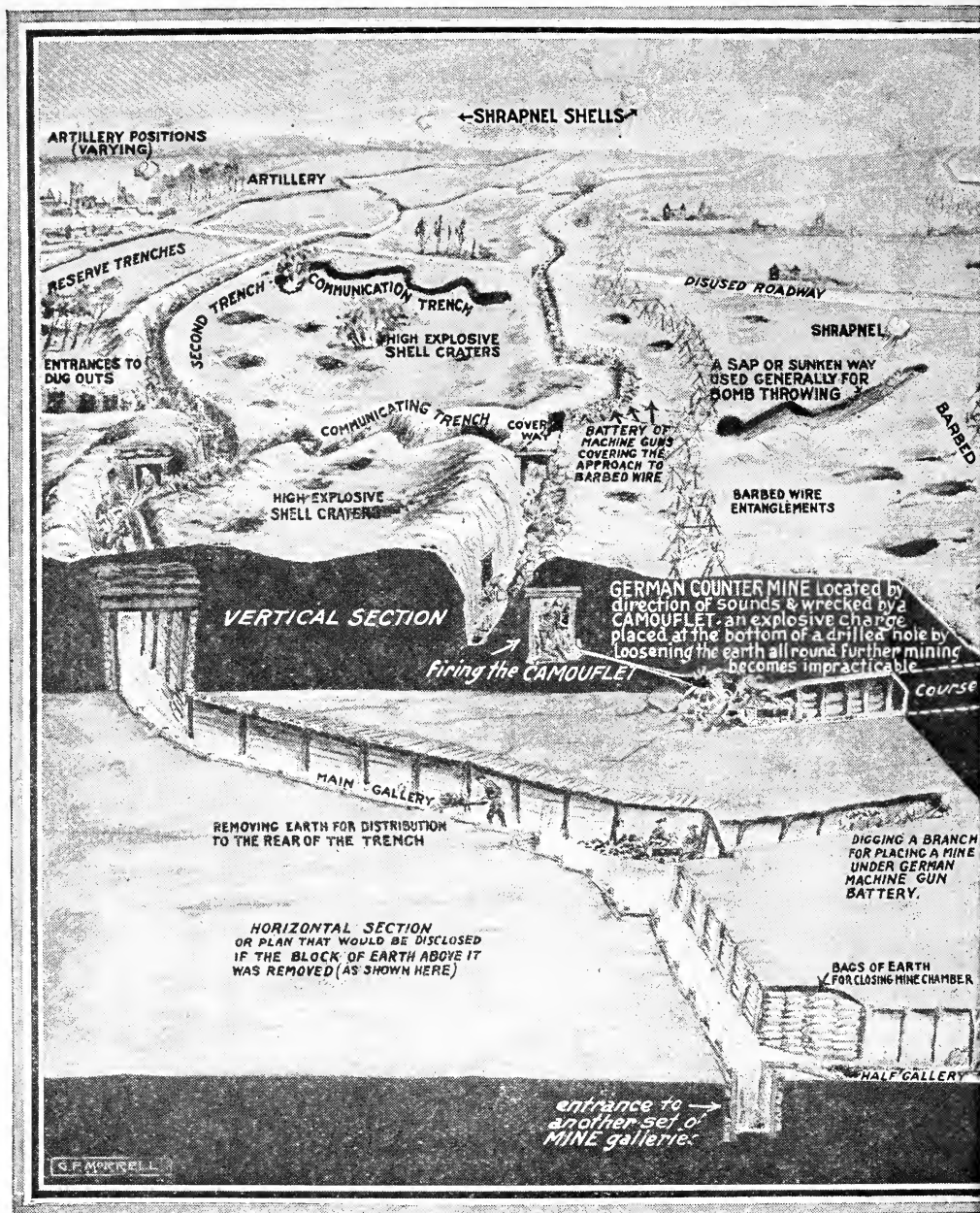
"By not advancing," General Ruzsky said on Nov. 15, "the enemy of Russia is really retreating." The words of the commander in charge of the aggressive campaign against the Austro-Germans in Russia indicate a pause in the activity of his foe.

Petrograd reported on Oct. 30 that the Austro-Germans were evacuating the South Russian Province of Volhynia, and that they had fallen back at Riga under heavy Russian attacks. Opening a counteroffensive west of Dvinsk, in Volhynia, in Galicia, and in Bukowina, the Russians on Nov. 4 claimed a victory on the Stripa River involving the capture of 5,000 prisoners.

A new movement, while continuing against both wings of the hostile forces, was begun on Nov. 10 by the Russians directed at the German centre. On the 12th the Germans admitted the withdrawal of their troops from ground west of Riga, and Petrograd reported continued success in Volhynia. While the Austro-Germans were falling back from the Dvina, a Russian outflanking movement in the Riga region proceeded within striking distance of the Tukum-Mitau railway, which connected the German fighting front with the fortress of Windau, and the Germans were yielding before Dvinsk as a result of the Russian offensive near Lake Svencion. In the south General Ivanoff reported that his repeated thrusts had during the past five weeks brought him nearly 130,000 prisoners.

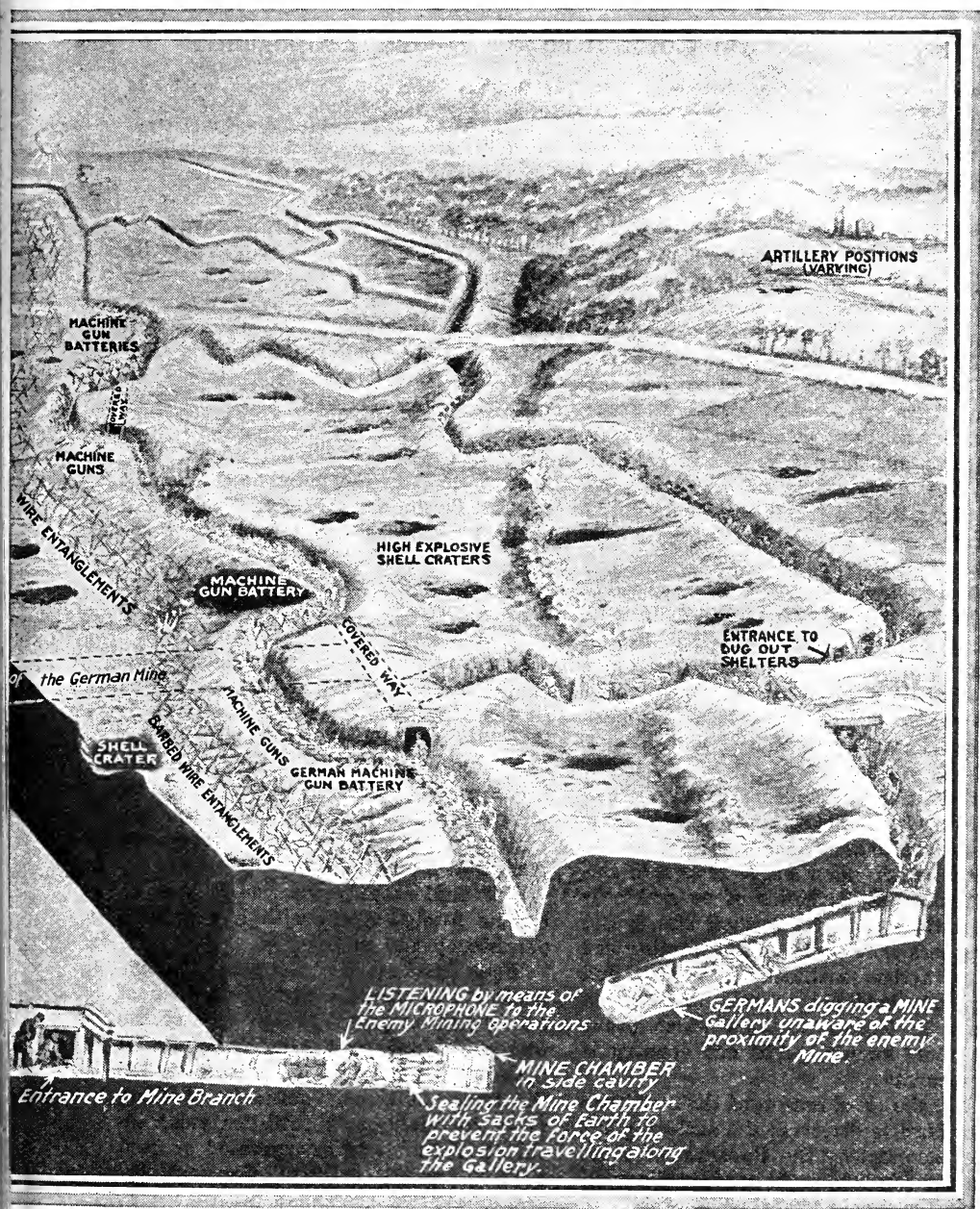
London reported on Nov. 15 advices to the effect that the Russians "have definitely repelled Field Marshal von Hindenburg's drive toward Riga and Dvinsk and along the Dvina River, and have themselves taken the offensive."

A Subterranean Battlefield



The perfection of modern weapons of offense—more particularly the machine gun—has necessitated a return to the immemorial tactics of siege or fortress warfare, adapted to the open field. "For some time," wrote the British Eyewitness, in a recent dissertation on underground warfare, "the character of the artillery fire has been such as to force both combatants, even for some distance behind the firing line, to burrow into the earth in order to obtain shelter and to conceal their work as far as possible. . . . This has been carried on to such an extent that behind the front line trenches are perfect labyrinths of burrows of various types. The principal feature of the battlefield, therefore, as has often been pointed out,

on the Western Front



is the absence of any signs of human beings." To modernize such elaborate schemes of defense has become quite an art, and an important part of modern warfare. Elaborate galleries are driven for long distances and at depths which in places reach 50 or 60 feet below the surface. They are roofed and paneled with logs and beams, and from these branch off the tunnels ending in mine chambers containing the explosives which devastate the enemy's point of vantage. The artist's pictorial model, partly in section, is designed to give a comprehensive idea of these underground operations.

(Drawing by G. F. Morrell, © U. S. A., Graphic-Leslie Service.)

France and Catholicism

By the Catholic Committee of French Propaganda

Over the signature "A Missionary," in *The German War and Catholicism*, published by the Catholic Committee of French Propaganda under the direction of Mgr. Alfred Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, is discussed what is termed "The Catholic Rôle of France in the World." The following extracts emphasize the importance of the contribution.

THE author of the following pages does not intend—even in these days when war is raging everywhere—to wage war against anybody. Being a Frenchman, he cherishes for France the feeling of a true citizen and earnest patriot. But as he lived for many years far from his country's frontiers, associating with men of "every language and tribe," he knows that no land has a monopoly of what is good and right, and he trusts that his mind is liberal enough to render what is due to each.

We may love our native country without hating that of other people. It is in such a disposition of mind that I purpose, in a few pages, very sincere if not altogether complete, to remind those who are ready to forget it of the part France has played in the world as a Catholic nation.

In the formidable conflict which has threatened for a long time, and has now broken out under the pretense of an incident seized upon as a favorable opportunity, the Catholics of several neutral nations have taken their stand; and it appears that many of them, influenced by an active, methodical, skillful, and singularly bold propaganda, manifest in regard to France feelings which prove that their knowledge of our country is not accurate.

Alas! the chief reason of their attitude is not hard to discover; the anti-religious policy adopted by the Government these last years has brought us into discredit before the whole world!

And after the disastrous surprise of 1870, after the unfortunate treaty of Frankfort and its consequences, this has been a new victory won by Bismarck, more humiliating for us than the others, because it has been accepted by part of

the nation and by those who govern it. Having experienced that religious strife in a country is an inexhaustible source of dissensions and weakness, Bismarck conceived the infernal idea, when he had put an end to the Kulturkampf in Germany, to pass it over to France. He succeeded only too well.

And it is after inoculating us with this virus which has poisoned and disfigured us that Germany points us out to the Catholics of Italy, Spain, and other places, saying: "Look at these atheists, these degenerate men! What good can be expected from them by the Holy Church? As to ourselves, it is another thing! * * * Gott mit uns!"

In a similar way, "the modern Babylon"—so Paris is called—is represented as the sink of all vices. The truth is that this very Babylon is chiefly known and frequented as such by foreign clients to whom she has been guilty of giving too willing a welcome in the past. But what a difference between this legendary Paris and the real one!

This unpleasant reputation is kept up by the foreign press with a wonderful persistency and uniformity.

When reading the German, English, Italian, and Spanish papers one cannot help being surprised at the tone of the correspondence sent over from Paris; nothing is mentioned but stories of the theatres, fashions, scandals, trifling news, entertainments, futilities, small incidents ridiculously exaggerated or generalized; social, political, financial, literary, artistic scandals; all that may serve to take away from us esteem and consideration by picturing us as a people falling into decay. Of the rest, no mention is made. The only excuse for those reporters is that their own morality does not allow them to rise above this level.

For a long time the German press has shown itself particularly brilliant in this way of relating history! On the whole, the Kulturkampf has met with better success than is generally believed. Its aim was to nationalize German Catholicism by enticing it away from Rome and turning it into a docile instrument for the use of the Emperor and the empire. The means were unsuccessful; but in some measure the result was obtained. Let the German Catholics be patriots; it is their right and duty; no one could think of blaming them for it. But what may cause some surprise is that they should have so easily consented for their own part to throw themselves into that sort of delirium germanicum which appears to have taken hold of the whole nation. In their eyes France, "that poor France," is an atheistic country utterly lost, out of which Christian life has almost entirely gone, and to which Germany so religious, so well organized, so strong ought to be substituted by means of a vigorous and methodical propaganda, at the same time national and Catholic. In other words, German Catholicism walks hand in hand with German imperialism. It has also its Weltpolitik!

Well, no! France does not deserve the reputation which is given her.

Certainly she does not deny her faults, sins, weaknesses, divisions, aberrations, for hypocrisy, at least, is not in her nature! But who will dare throw the first stone at her in Europe or out of Europe? * * *

We will not insist further!

Just now she is going through a severe ordeal, the ordeal of war; our young men face it gallantly, and the German Army does not find them as degenerate as they had been represented to be.

As soon as the cannon's powerful voice was heard at the frontier "l'Union sa-

crée" ("the sacred union") was concluded; the official label our country bore in the eyes of the world was torn, and beneath an artificial France apparently in decay appeared another France, partly hidden before, but which represented the real country much better. All of a sudden the old race turned around and revealed to the surprised world what lay concealed in the depths of her children's baptized souls; generosity, disinterestedness, valor, kindness, joined to a cool and calm determination of which nobody suspected them of being capable. Joan of Arc must have recognized her kindred!

A tremendous billow has swept away the froth lying on the surface. The history of France is full of such strange rebounds. Many a time the nation has seemed lost; the next moment it sprang up as by a miracle, to begin a new period of life and greatness. Such were the terrible crises of the nineteenth century, the English invasion, the Hundred Years' War, the religious wars, the Revolution and its consequences, the results of which are still felt. So many religious crises, so many national crises; so many restorations of France, so many restorations of Catholicism. The present period, which has seen all the principles that society rests upon questioned, seems to have reached its term; another has already begun.

A reaction was preparing in the minds, visible then to an attentive observer; since the war it has become evident. Maurice Barrès has remarked that with us revolutionary chivalry is united to Christian chivalry.

The German oppression has riveted one to the other, after the forty years of humiliation which she had forced upon us. The miracle will not cease.



President Wilson's Patience

By J. Shield Nicholson

Dr. Nicholson is Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh. The subjoined article, distinguishing between the principles of national sympathy and national interest, forms the first chapter of Professor Nicholson's pamphlet headed "The Neutrality of the United States in Relation to the British and German Empires," and published by Macmillan.

THE distinction between national interests and national sympathies is always of vital importance in balancing the issues of peace and war. Yet the distinction is very commonly ignored. The attacks made on the President of the United States on account of his patience are largely due to the failure to grasp this distinction.

The President, on the other hand, owing partly to his lifelong academic training, has perhaps been inclined to emphasize the distinction oversharply. He has persistently refrained from expressing in an official form the national sympathies because he did not wish to prejudice the national interests. With regard to the belligerent countries he has assumed the attitude of the impartial spectator. His mind is full of political science, theoretical and applied. Of the theory and the history of political science Woodrow Wilson knows more than all the other rulers of the world put together, if their learning could be tested in the old Chinese examination boxes by the most searching of Celestial examiners. Mr. Wilson's best-known book, "The State, Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," is a standard university textbook in all English-speaking countries. For five and twenty years (1885-1910) he was engaged in academic work, being in succession first Professor of Political Economy, then of Jurisprudence and Political Science, and finally Principal of his old university. Against this academic life he has to set two years as Governor of New Jersey, (1911-13.)

This life-long immersion in the academic treatment of politics considered as a preparation for the head of the greatest neutral State in the worldwide war was likely to be productive of one very

great merit and one very grave defect. The very great merit is infinite patience in looking at a case on all sides. Of Mr. Wilson's patience and impartiality as an examiner there can be no question. He himself is so reasonable and impartial that he wants to make all the people in the United States equally openminded and patient.

The people of the United States are a susceptible people, but no nation need take offense at being compared to Christian in "The Pilgrim's Progress." The best of nations wants to get rid of its burden, and to find in some way eternal glory. The horror of this war is oppressive. Surely a great nation can do something to put a stop to it. The nation wants to run like Christian to get rid of its burden. In his journey Christian came to the House of the Interpreter, where he was told he would be shown many excellent things. Here is one:

I saw moreover in my Dream, that the Interpreter took him by the hand, and had him into a little room; where sat two little children, each one in his Chair: The name of the eldest was Passion, and of the other Patience; Passion seemed to be much discontent, but Patience was very quiet. Then Christian asked, What is the reason of the discontent of Passion? The Interpreter answered, The Governour of them would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of next year; but he will have all now; but Patience is willing to wait.

This is the parable that the Interpreter of the White House tells his people in their progress to a better world: Patience not Passion must be their model.

But academic training is liable to beget not only the very great merit of patience, but the very grave demerit of indecision. The devastation of Belgium raised in the United States an outburst



EDITH CAVELL

English Nurse Executed by the German Authorities at Brussels



GENERAL VON BISSING

Military Governor of Belgium, Who Ordered the Execution of Edith Cavell

(Photo from *Underwood & Underwood*, © *Brown & Dawson*.)

of moral indignation which seemed to be the natural forerunner of intervention, or at least indignant official protest. But the President sat still in his judicial seat. He was content with saying that judgment was deferred. People began to ask: How long will you abuse our patience, Mr. President? Will you never move? If the German professors were as mad as March hares their own Professorial President seemed to the more restless ones as slow as an old tortoise. If ex-President Roosevelt did not use this similitude about his successor it was only because he did not think of it.

These strictures on Mr. Wilson's patience arose from the failure to grasp the distinction between national interests and national sympathies.

Mr. Wilson is clearly of opinion that the first duty of the President is to interpret the interest of his own country; and that it is only a secondary duty to voice the sympathies of the nation or of himself with the moral conduct or political aims of the belligerents except so far as American interests are concerned. Apparently he supposed that the expression of sympathies might safely be left to the press and the irresponsible "who's whos" who write to the papers. Not that he was indifferent to the national sympathies or indifferent to the sufferings caused by the war. Not that he thought that on no occasion should the President express any moral judgment on the conduct of the war, as the sequel plainly showed. But in plain English he thought, "least said soonest mended," especially having regard to the composite character of the United States population and their divergent sympathies.

This apparent want of firmness and decision in upholding international law was, in fact, capable of quite a different interpretation. By making a sharp distinction between interests and sympathies the President would be able to act with so much more vigor in case any real interest were involved, as again the sequel showed.

What, then, is the nature and bearing of this distinction between interests and sympathies?

That the distinction is very real is seen at once from the difference in the mere words in which the interests and the sympathies find utterance. The language of interests is the language of diplomacy, which always means a good deal more than it says, and leaves a good deal to be inferred. Here is an example:

When we say in that dispatch we are "satisfied" that those conditions will be observed, is it not obvious that we use a language of courtesy which is always most becomingly employed between independent powers? Who does not know that in diplomatic correspondence under the suavity of expression is implied an "or" which imports another alternative?*

The silent diplomatic "or" is more effective than reams of rhetoric.

British diplomacy has always excelled in this suavity, as is frankly acknowledged by its enemies. Says Mr. von Mach:†

The British state papers are always well written * * * they are written not only for the benefit of the recipient, but also for the world at large. If Germany and Austria would follow this example they would meet less opposition in foreign countries. It is not so much what they do as the way they do it that offends people.

Bismarck was the exception that proves the rule. His successors in the art of the new diplomacy have not done well. The present Chancellor spoiled all by his famous "scrap of paper" and his public statement that the violation of Belgian territory by Germany was "against the rules of international law."

Compared with the official expression of interests by the older diplomacy, the unofficial expression of sympathies is as thunder unto silence. Could there be any stronger contrast than between the official notes of the United States on the Lusitania and the unofficial language of the press? Mr. Wilson has followed the old tradition of suavity. In the second Lusitania note (June 10) there is a delightful example of the silent diplomatic "or." After "very earnestly, very solemnly" renewing the representations of

*Canning: Speech on Negotiations relative to Spain. April, 1823.

†What Germany Wants, p. 75. Boston, 1914.

the note of May 15, the second note concludes:

The Government of the United States does not understand the Imperial German Government to question these rights. It understands it also to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants cannot lawfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is of fact of a belligerent nationality, or is of fact carrying contraband under a neutral flag.

What if Germany does question these rights? Perhaps Mr. Bryan rightly divined it meant war.

When we look beneath the surface to the ideas the words stand for we observe that, while national interests are limited by practical possibilities, the range of national sympathies is unbounded so long as the freedom of the press is maintained. The first duty of the head of a responsible Government is to consider how far national aspirations are capable of realization. It is true that he must consider not only the present interest but the future; but the future which he considers must still be within the range of the practical, and not in the shifting cloudland of the ideal. The ancient Persians used to teach their boys to shoot strongly by aiming at the sun, but the statesman who is always aiming at the sun is likely to have his eyes dazzled for less exalted targets.

With the exponent of national sympathies it is otherwise. It may be his first duty to arouse the national conscience regardless of practicality, and not only to lay stress on the common virtues and sensibilities but on the finer commands of chivalry and honor. But it is one thing to enforce a high standard at home by purifying or exalting public opinion and quite another to try to enforce the same standard by force of arms or the threat thereof in the rest of the world or in some particular independent State. Whether we like it or not, knight errantry as a policy for nations, if it ever existed, has passed away. The religion of humanity is not strong enough to breed Crusaders. In the issues of peace and war, every nation looks to its own inter-

ests as interpreted by its responsible or recognized Government.

The attitude of the other neutral nations (apart from the United States) reveals this distinction between interests and sympathies in the most marked manner. Who would have supposed, having regard to the history and the sympathies of Greece, that she would not at once have rushed to support England against Turkey? Who would have supposed that month after month Italy could have refrained from joining England in the war against Austria? The sympathies of Holland were stirred to the depths by the forced incursion of thousands of refugees from Belgium; she must have known that the architects of Greater Germany always classed Belgium and Holland together, and yet Holland clung to her neutrality. The list of illustrations need not be further extended. We know from the testimony of the Germans that they know that the sympathies of the whole world are against them. They cannot understand it. In some cases they are even amazed at the want of sympathy with their cause and their culture. They admit the want of sympathies, but they hope for a counterpoise in interests. At the worst they suppose that the fears of the lesser neutrals will paralyze action. That is the logic of their frightfulness.

The people of the United Kingdom who are inclined to think that British policy is the exception to the rule and is always and pre-eminently disinterested should recall their own history and the many occasions even in recent years in which British moral indignation has not been followed by military intervention; and in which it has been recognized that official protests not backed by the real threat of war are often worse than useless. The end of last July revealed Sir Edward Grey as one of the strongest statesmen of history. Yet how many times had that same strong man declined to meddle with the affairs of other nations in spite of moral indignation and apparent diplomatic opportunity?

The article in *The Times* of March 8, which created so much indignation among those who like to think that

British foreign policy is solely dictated by altruistic chivalry, was very near the truth "which often thought was ne'er so ill expressed":

We keep our word [said The Times] when we have given it, but we do not give it without solid, practical reasons, and we do not set up to be international Don Quixotes, ready at all times to redress the wrongs that do us no hurt. * * * We reverted to our historical policy of the balance of power, and we reverted to it for the reasons for which our forefathers adopted it. They were not either for them or us reasons of sentiment. They were self-regarding and even selfish reasons. * * * When we subsidized every State in Germany and practically in all Europe in the great war, we did not lavish our gold from love of German or Austrian liberty or out of sheer altruism. No; we invested it for our own safety and our own advantage, and on the whole our commitments were rewarded by an adequate return.

Litera scripta manet. What The Times has said, perhaps under the spell of too much reading of the wisdom of Bismarck, has been said before in the language of the older diplomacy by all our strongest statesmen since England was a nation and not the name of part of an island.

In 1848 Lord Palmerston concluded a speech on the Polish question with these words:

If I might be allowed to express in one sentence the principle which I think ought to guide an English Minister, I would adopt the expression of Canning, and say that with every British Minister the interests of England ought to be the shibboleth of his policy.

Taken without its context this opinion may well seem to be one of unscrupulous selfishness, and such also appeared to be the argument of The Times. The article was published at a time when British public opinion happened to be on the crest of a wave of altruism; not the cheap altruism of words, but the costly altruism of spending blood and treasure for the benefit, as it seemed, of other nations. The Times said the right thing

at the wrong time. The truth it was concerned to preach out of season was apparently in direct opposition to facts; we were fighting (so we all believed) for Belgium and for Europe; this time at any rate we thought the stamp on the gold was of more worth than the gold itself—St. George and the Dragon was a fitting symbol of England crushing Germany. The Times told the truth, but in such a way and at such a time that it had the semblance of an untruth. For once the writer had forgotten his Dante: "Always to that truth that has an air of falsehood a man should close his lips if possible, for though he be blameless he incurs reproach."

But it will be asked, If The Times is right, what becomes of our championship of small nations? What of our wrath over the "scrap of paper"? Have we really got down to inconvertible notes not only in our currency but in our policy? Is the redemption to be suspended so long as it suits our interests?

By no means, but everything turns on the interpretation of our own interests and our own advantage.

Our most real interest is not to be measured in terms of money or in the magnitude of foreign trade. Our most real interest is to maintain those principles and ideas on which the British Empire has been built up; of such are liberty, humanity, and fidelity to agreements.

And to anticipate the moral of the argument, so it is with the United States. If the United States should be forced to go to war with Germany, it will be to lose the money but to save the soul of the nation.

Germany thought England would not go to war because war is so expensive; and in spite of the rude awakening in that case the same false reasoning is applied to the United States.

Execution of Edith Cavell

Official American Reports and a German Official Defense

Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador in London, on Oct. 18, 1915, transmitted to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs papers from the American Legation at Brussels, Belgium, containing a "report upon the case of Miss Edith Cavell, a British subject, who was recently executed at that capital." The telegram of Minister Brand Whitlock, and the reports prepared by Hugh Gibson, Secretary of the American Legation in Brussels, and Maître de Leval, Legal Counselor of the Legation, appear below, followed by a statement by Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann, German Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, defending this German execution of a woman.

MISS CAVELL'S DEATH

Brussels, Oct. 12, 1915.

TELEGRAM

American Ambassador, LONDON.

Your letter Sept. 23 and my replies Oct. 9 and 11. Miss Cavell sentenced yesterday and executed at 2 o'clock this morning despite our best efforts continued until the last moment. Full report follows by mail. WHITLOCK,

American Minister.

MR. GIBSON'S REPORT

Brussels, Oct. 12, 1915.

Sir: Upon learning early yesterday morning through unofficial sources that the trial of Miss Edith Cavell had been finished on Saturday afternoon, and that the prosecuting attorney (Kriegsgerichtsrat) had asked for a sentence of death against her, telephonic inquiry was immediately made at the Politische Abteilung as to the facts. It was stated that no sentence had as yet been pronounced and that there would probably be delay of a day or two before a decision was reached. Mr. Conrad gave positive assurances that the legation would be fully informed as to developments in this case. Despite these assurances, we made repeated inquiries in the course of the day, the last one being at 6:20 P. M., Belgian time. Mr. Conrad then stated that sentence had not yet been pronounced and specifically renewed his previous assurances that he would not fail to inform us as soon as there was any news.

At 8:30 it was learned from an outside source that sentence had been passed in the course of the afternoon, (before the last conversation with Mr.

Conrad,) and that the execution would take place during the night. In conformity with your instructions I went (accompanied by Mr. de Leval) to look for the Spanish Minister and found him dining at the home of Baron Lambert. I explained the circumstances to his Excellency and asked that (as you were ill and unable to go yourself) he go with us to see Baron von der Lancken and support as strongly as possible the plea which I was to make in your name that execution of the death penalty should be deferred until the Governor could consider your appeal for clemency.

We took with us a note addressed to Baron von der Lancken and a plea for clemency (*réquête en grâce*) addressed to the Governor General, (Inclosures 1 and 2 attached to this report,) the Spanish Minister willingly agreed to accompany us, and we went together to the Politische Abteilung.

Baron von der Lancken and all the members of his staff were absent for the evening. We sent a messenger to ask that he return at once to see us in regard to a matter of utmost urgency. A little after 10 o'clock he arrived, followed shortly after by Count Harrach and Herr von Falkenhausen, members of his staff. The circumstances of the case were explained to him and your note presented, and he read it aloud in our presence. He expressed disbelief in the report that sentence had actually been passed, and manifested some surprise that we should give credence to any report not emanating from official sources. He was quite insistent on knowing the exact source of our information, but this I did not feel at liberty to communicate

to him. Baron von der Lancken stated that it was quite improbable that sentence had been pronounced, that, even if so, it would not be executed within so short a time, and that in any event it would be quite impossible to take any action before morning. It was, of course, pointed out to him that if the facts were as we believed them to be action would be useless unless taken at once. We urged him to ascertain the facts immediately, and this, after some hesitancy, he agreed to do. He telephoned to the presiding Judge of the court-martial, and returned in a short time to say that the facts were as we had represented them and that it was intended to carry out the sentence before morning. We then presented as earnestly as possible your plea for delay. So far as I am able to judge, we neglected to present no phase of the matter which might have had any effect, emphasizing the horror of executing a woman, no matter what her offense, pointing out that the death sentence had heretofore been imposed only for actual cases of espionage and that Miss Cavell was not even accused by the German authorities of anything so serious. I further called attention to the failure to comply with Mr. Conrad's promise to inform the legation of the sentence. I urged that, inasmuch as the offenses charged against Miss Cavell were long since accomplished and that as she had been for some weeks in prison, a delay in carrying out the sentence could entail no danger to the German cause. I even went so far as to point out the fearful effect of a summary execution of this sort upon public opinion, both here and abroad, and, although I had no authority for doing so, called attention to the possibility that it might bring about reprisals.

The Spanish Minister forcibly supported all our representations and made an earnest plea for clemency.

Baron von der Lancken stated that the Military Governor was the supreme authority (*Gerichtsherr*) in matters of this sort; that appeal from his decision could be carried only to the Emperor, the Governor General having no authority to intervene in such cases. He added that under the provisions of German martial

law the Military Governor had discretionary powers to accept or to refuse acceptance of an appeal for clemency. After some discussion he agreed to call the Military Governor on the telephone and learn whether he had already ratified the sentence and whether there was any chance for clemency. He returned in about a half hour and stated that he had been to confer personally with the Military Governor, who said that he had acted in the case of Miss Cavell only after mature deliberation; that the circumstances in her case were of such a character that he considered the infliction of the death penalty imperative, and that in view of the circumstances of this case he must decline to accept your plea for clemency or any representation in regard to the matter.

Baron von der Lancken then asked me to take back the note which I had presented to him. To this I demurred, pointing out that it was not a "*réquête en grâce*" but merely a note to him transmitting a communication to the Governor, which was itself to be considered as the "*réquête en grâce*." I pointed out that this was expressly stated in your note to him, and tried to prevail upon him to keep it; he was very insistent, however, and I finally reached the conclusion that inasmuch as he had read it aloud to us and we knew that he was aware of its contents, there was nothing to be gained by refusing to accept the note, and accordingly took it back.

Even after Baron von der Lancken's very positive and definite statement that there was no hope, and that, under the circumstances, "even the Emperor himself could not intervene," we continued to appeal to every sentiment to secure delay, and the Spanish Minister even led Baron von der Lancken aside in order to say very forcibly a number of things which he would have felt hesitancy in saying in the presence of the younger officers and of Mr. de Leval, a Belgian subject.

His Excellency talked very earnestly with Baron von der Lancken for about a quarter of an hour. During this time Mr. de Leval and I presented to the younger officers every argument we could think

of. I reminded them of our untiring efforts on behalf of German subjects at the outbreak of the war and during the siege of Antwerp. I pointed out that while our services had been rendered gladly and without any thought of future favors, they should certainly entitle you to some consideration for the only request of this sort you had made since the beginning of the war. Unfortunately our efforts were unavailing. We persevered until it was only too clear that there was no hope of securing any consideration for the case.

We left the Politische Abteilung shortly after midnight, and I immediately returned to the legation to report to you.

(Signed.) HUGH GIBSON.

M. DE LEVAL'S REPORT

October 12, 1915.

Sir: As soon as the legation received an intimation that Miss Cavell was arrested, your letter of Aug. 31, of which copy is herewith annexed, numbered 1, was sent to Baron von der Lancken. The German authorities were by that letter requested, *inter alia*, to allow me to see Miss Cavell, so as to have all necessary steps taken for her defense. No reply being received, the legation, on Sept. 10, reminded the German authorities of your letter.

The German reply, sent on Sept. 12, was that I would not be allowed to see Miss Cavell, but that Mr. Braun, lawyer at the Brussels court, was defending her and was already seeing the German authorities about the case.

I immediately asked Mr. Braun to come to see me at the legation, which he did a few days later. He informed me that personal friends of Miss Cavell had asked him to defend her before the German court, that he agreed to do so, but that, owing to some unforeseen circumstances, he was prevented from pleading before that court, adding that he had asked Mr. Kirschen, a member of the Brussels bar and his friend, to take up the case and plead for Miss Cavell, and that Mr. Kirschen had agreed to do so.

I therefore at once put myself in communication with Mr. Kirschen, who told me that Miss Cavell was prosecuted for

having helped soldiers to cross the frontier. I asked him whether he had seen Miss Cavell, and whether she had made any statement to him, and to my surprise found that the lawyers defending prisoners before the German military court were not allowed to see their clients before the trial, and were not shown any document of the prosecution. This, Mr. Kirschen said, was in accordance with the German military rules. He added that the hearing of the trial of such cases was carried out very carefully, and that, in his opinion, although it was not possible to see the client before the trial, in fact the trial itself developed so carefully and so slowly that it was generally possible to have a fair knowledge of all the facts and to present a good defense for the prisoner. This would specially be the case for Miss Cavell, because the trial would be rather long, as she was prosecuted with thirty-four other prisoners.

I informed Mr. Kirschen of my intention to be present at the trial so as to watch the case. He immediately dissuaded me from taking such attitude, which he said would cause a great prejudice to the prisoner, because the German Judges would resent it and feel it almost as an affront if I was appearing to exercise a kind of supervision on the trial. He thought that if the Germans would admit my presence, which was very doubtful, it would in any case cause prejudice to Miss Cavell.

Mr. Kirschen assured me over and over again that the military court of Brussels was always perfectly fair and that there was not the slightest danger of any miscarriage of justice. He promised that he would keep me posted on all the developments which the case would take and would report to me the exact charges that were brought against Miss Cavell and the facts concerning her that would be disclosed at the trial, so as to allow me to judge by myself about the merits of the case. He insisted that of course he would do all that was humanly possible to defend Miss Cavell to the best of his ability.

Three days before the trial took place Mr. Kirschen wrote me a few lines, saying that the trial would be on the next

Thursday, the 7th of October. The legation at once sent him, on the 5th of October, a letter (copy No. 2) confirming in writing, in the name of the legation, the arrangement that had been made between him and me. This letter was delivered to Mr. Kirschen by a messenger of the legation.

The trial took two days, ending Friday, the 8th.

On Saturday I was informed by an outsider that the trial had taken place, but that no judgment would be reached till a few days later.

Receiving no report from Mr. Kirschen, I tried to find him but failed. I then sent him a note on Sunday, asking him to send his report to the legation or call there on Monday morning at 8:30. At the same time I obtained from some other person present at the trial some information about what had occurred, and the following facts were disclosed to me:

Miss Cavell was prosecuted for having helped English and French soldiers, as well as Belgian young men, to cross the frontier and to go over to England. She had admitted by signing a statement before the day of the trial, and by public acknowledgment in court, in the presence of all the other prisoners and the lawyers, that she was guilty of the charges brought against her, and she had acknowledged not only that she had helped these soldiers to cross the frontier, but also that some of them had thanked her in writing when arriving in England. This last admission made her case so much the more serious, because if it only had been proved against her that she had helped the soldiers to traverse the Dutch frontier, and no proof was produced that those soldiers had reached a country at war with Germany, she could only have been sentenced for an attempt to commit the "crime" and not for the "crime" being duly accomplished. As the case stood, the sentence fixed by the German military law was a sentence of death. Paragraph 58 of the German Military Code says:

Will be sentenced to death for treason any person who, with the intention of helping the hostile power or of causing harm to the German or allied troops, is guilty of

one of the crimes of Paragraph 90 of the German Penal Code.

The case referred to in above said Paragraph 90 consists in:

* * * conducting soldiers to the enemy
* * * (viz.: "Dem Feinde Mannschaften zuführt.")

The penalties above set forth apply, according to Paragraph 160 of the German Code, in case of war, to foreigners as well as to Germans.

In her oral statement before the court Miss Cavell disclosed almost all the facts of the whole prosecution. She was questioned in German, an interpreter translating all the questions in French, with which language Miss Cavell was well acquainted. She spoke without trembling and showed a clear mind. Often she added some greater precision to her previous depositions.

When she was asked why she helped these soldiers to go to England she replied that she thought that if she had not done so they would have been shot by the Germans, and that therefore she thought she only did her duty to her country in saving their lives.

The Military Public Prosecutor said that argument might be good for English soldiers, but did not apply to Belgian young men whom she induced to cross the frontier and who would have been perfectly free to remain in the country without danger to their lives.

Mr. Kirschen made a very good plea for Miss Cavell, using all arguments that could be brought in her favor before the court.

The Military Public Prosecutor, however, asked the court to pass a death sentence on Miss Cavell and eight other prisoners among the thirty-five. The court did not seem to agree, and the judgment was postponed. The person informing me said he thought that the court would not go to the extreme limit.

Anyhow, after I had found out these facts, (viz., Sunday evening,) I called at the Political Division of the German Government in Belgium, and asked whether, now that the trial had taken place, permission would be granted to me to see Miss Cavell in jail, as surely there was no longer any object in refusing this per-

mission. The German official, Mr. Conrad, said he would make the necessary inquiry at the court and let me know later on.

I also asked him that permission be granted to Mr. Gahan, the English clergyman, to see Miss Cavell.

At the same time we prepared at the legation, to be ready for every eventuality, a petition for pardon, addressed to the Governor General in Belgium, and a transmitting note addressed to Baron von der Lancken.

Monday morning at 11 I called up Mr. Conrad on the telephone from the legation (as I had already done previously on several occasions when making inquiries about the case) asking what the military court had decided about Mr. Gahan and myself seeing Miss Cavell. He replied that Mr. Gahan could not see her, but that she could see any of the three Protestant clergymen attached to the prison; and that I could not see her till the judgment was pronounced and signed, but that this would probably only take place in a day or two. I asked the German official to inform the legation immediately after the passing of said judgment, so that I might see Miss Cavell at once, thinking, of course, that the legation might, according to your intentions, take immediate steps for Miss Cavell's pardon if the judgment really was a sentence of death.

Very surprised to still receive no news from Mr. Kirschen, I then called at his house at 12:30 and was informed that he would not be there till about the end of the afternoon. I then called at 12:40 at the house of another lawyer interested in the case of a fellow-prisoner, and found that he also was out. In the afternoon, however, the latter lawyer called at my house, saying that in the morning he had heard from the German Kommandantur

that judgment would be passed only the next morning, viz., Tuesday morning. He said he feared that the court would be very severe for all the prisoners.

Shortly after this lawyer left me, and while I was preparing a note about the case, at 8 P. M. I was privately and reliably informed that the judgment had been delivered at 5 o'clock in the afternoon; that Miss Cavell had been sentenced to death, and that she would be shot at 2 o'clock the next morning. I told my informer that I was extremely surprised at this, because the legation had received no information yet, neither from the German authorities nor from Mr. Kirschen, but that the matter was too serious to run the smallest chance, and that therefore I would proceed immediately to the legation to confer with your Excellency and take all possible steps to save Miss Cavell's life.

According to your Excellency's decision, Mr. Gibson and myself went, with the Spanish Minister, to see Baron von der Lancken, and the report of our interview and of our efforts to save Miss Cavell is given to you by Mr. Gibson.

This morning Mr. Gahan, the English clergyman, called to see me and told me that he had seen Miss Cavell in her cell yesterday night at 10 o'clock, that he had given her the holy communion and had found her admirably strong and calm. I asked Mr. Gahan whether she had made any remarks about anything concerning the legal side of her case and whether the confession which she made before the trial and in court was, in his opinion, perfectly free and sincere. Mr. Gahan says that she told him she perfectly well knew what she had done, that according to the law of course she was guilty and had admitted her guilt, but that she was happy to die for her country. (Signed) G. de LEVAL.

[On the opposite page appears the German official defense
of Miss Cavell's execution]

A Defense of the Execution

By Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann

German Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs

Moved by foreign denunciations of the execution of Miss Edith Cavell, out of which he said Germany's enemies were making capital, Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on Oct. 24, 1915, made the authorized statement to the staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES in Berlin:

IT was a pity that Miss Cavell had to be executed, but it was necessary. She was judged justly. We hope it will not be necessary to have any more executions.

I see from the English and American press that the shooting of an English-woman and the condemnation of several other women in Brussels for treason has caused a sensation, and capital against us is being made out of the fact. It is undoubtedly a terrible thing that the woman has been executed; but consider what would happen to a State, particularly in war, if it left crimes aimed at the safety of its armies to go unpunished because committed by women. No criminal code in the world—least of all the laws of war—makes such a distinction; and the feminine sex has but one preference, according to legal usages, namely, that women in a delicate condition may not be executed. Otherwise man and woman are equal before the law, and only the degree of guilt makes a difference in the sentence for the crime and its consequences.

I have before me the court's verdict in the Cavell case, and can assure you that it was gone into with the utmost thoroughness, and was investigated and cleared up to the smallest details. The result was so convincing, and the circumstances were so clear, that no war court in the world could have given any other verdict, for it was not concerned with a single emotional deed of one person, but a well-thought-out plot, with many far-reaching ramifications, which for nine months succeeded in doing valuable service to our enemies to the great detriment of our armies. Countless Belgian, French, and English soldiers are again fighting in the ranks of the Allies who owe their escape to

the activities of the band now found guilty, whose head was the Cavell woman. Only the utmost sternness could do away with such activities under the very nose of our authorities, and a Government which in such case does not resort to the sternest measures sins against its most elementary duties toward the safety of its own army.

All those convicted were thoroughly aware of the nature of their acts. The court particularly weighed this point with care, letting off several of the accused because they were in doubt as to whether they knew that their actions were punishable. Those condemned knew what they were doing, for numerous public proclamations had pointed out the fact that aiding enemies' armies was punishable with death.

I know that the motives of the condemned were not base; that they acted from patriotism; but in war one must be prepared to seal one's patriotism with blood whether one faces the enemy in battle or otherwise in the interest of one's cause does deeds which justly bring after them the death penalty. Among our Russian prisoners are several young girls who fought against us in soldiers' uniforms. Had one of these girls fallen no one would have accused us of barbarity against women. Why now, when another woman has met the death to which she knowingly exposed herself, as did her comrades in battle?

There are moments in the life of nations where consideration for the existence of the individual is a crime against all. Such a moment was here. It was necessary once for all to put an end to the activity of our enemies, regardless of their motives; therefore the death penalty was executed so as to frighten off all those who, counting on

preferential treatment for their sex; take part in undertakings punishable by death. Were special consideration shown to women we should open the door wide to such activities on the part of women, who are often more clever in such matters than the cleverest male spy. The man who is in a position of responsibility must do that, but, unconcerned about the world's judgment, he must often follow the difficult path of duty.

If, despite these considerations, it is now being discussed whether mercy shall be shown the rest of those convicted, and if the life which they have forfeited under recognized law is given back to them, you can deduce from that how earnestly we are striving to bring our feelings of humanity in accord with the commandments of stern duty. If the others are pardoned it will be at the expense of the security of our armies, for it is to be feared that new attempts

will be made to harm us when it is believed that offenders will go unpunished or suffer only a mild penalty. Only pity for the guilty can lead to such pardons; they will not be an admission that the suspended sentence was too stern.

Dr. Zimmermann said in conclusion that there was not a word of truth in the report that the soldiers at first refused to shoot Miss Cavell, and then aimed so badly that an officer was forced to give the coup de grace. He stated:

The weakness of our enemies' arguments is proved by the fact that they do not attempt to combat the justice of the sentence but try to influence public opinion against us by false reports of the execution. The official report before me shows that it was carried out according to the prescribed forms, and that death resulted instantly from the first volley, as certified by the physician present.

The Case of Edith Cavell

By James M. Beck

Late Assistant Attorney General of the United States and author of "In the Supreme Court of Civilization: 'The Dual Alliance vs. the Triple Entente,'" (which appeared in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* in January, 1915.) Mr. Beck's fame as an analyst of the issues of this war is international. We present below his conclusions regarding the case from an article originally appearing in *THE NEW YORK TIMES*.

WILL the American people or the people of any nation hesitate to accept the clear, positive, and circumstantial statements of Minister Whitlock, Secretary Gibson, and Counselor de Leval, at least two of whom are wholly disinterested in the matter, as against the self-exculpatory, general, and anonymous denials of a "semi-official" press bureau, especially when it is recalled that, from the beginning of the great war, the German Foreign Office, with whom military honor is supposed to be almost a religion, has stooped to the most shameful and barefaced mendacity?

When the world recalls how Austrian Ambassadors in Paris, London, and Petrograd made the most emphatic state-

ments that the forthcoming ultimatum to Serbia would be "pacific and conciliatory," and assured the Russian Ambassador that he could therefore safely leave Vienna on his vacation on the very eve of the ultimatum, and when the German Ambassadors in the same capitals gave the most solemn and unequivocal assurances that

"the German Government had no knowledge of the text of the American note before it was handed in and had not exercised any influence on its contents,"

and later admitted, when the lie had served its purpose by lulling the world into a sense of false security, that it had been fully consulted by its ally before the ultimatum was prepared and had given it a *carte blanche* to proceed,

when these notable examples of Prussian Machiavellism are recalled, little attention will be given to these futile attempts to wash from the shield of German honor the blood of Edith Cavell.

One can to some extent understand the Berserker fury which caused a von Bissing to say in effect to this gentle-faced English nurse, "You are in our way. You menace our security. You must die, as countless thousands have already died, to secure the results of our seizure of Belgium"; but can we understand or in any way palliate the attempt to hide the stains of blood on that prison floor of Brussels with a cobweb of self-evident falsehoods?

These stains can never be washed out to the eye of imagination.

"Let none these marks efface,

For they appeal from tyranny to God."

In the last interview between our representative and Baron von der Lancken, which took place a few hours before the execution, our representative reminded these Prussian officials

"of our untiring efforts on behalf of German subjects at the outbreak of the war and during the siege of Antwerp. I pointed out that, while our services had been gladly rendered and without any thought of future favors, they should certainly entitle you to some consideration for the only request of this sort you [the American Minister] had made since the beginning of the war."

Even our Minister's appeal to gratitude and to one of the most ordinary and natural courtesies of diplomatic life proved unavailing, and at midnight the Secretary of the American Legation and the Spanish Minister, who was acting with him, left in despair. At 2 o'clock that morning Miss Cavell was secretly executed.

Even the ordinary courtesy accorded to the vilest criminal, of being permitted before dying to have a clergyman of her own selection, was denied her until a few hours before her death, for the legal counselor of the American Legation on Oct. 10 applied in behalf of this country for permission for an English clergyman to see Miss Cavell, and this, too, was refused, as her jailers preferred to assign her the prison chaplains as well as her counsel. Even the

final appeal of our Minister for the surrender of her mutilated body was denied, on the ground that only the Minister of War in Berlin could grant it.

Apart from the brutality of the whole incident there is one circumstance that makes it of peculiar interest to the American people and which gives to it the character of rank ingratitude. Our representative, as above stated, did advise the German officials that a little delay was asked by our Legation *as a slight return for the innumerable acts of kindness which our Legation had done for German soldiers and interned prisoners in the earlier days of the war before the German invasion had swept over the land.* The charge of ingratitude may rest soundly upon far greater and broader grounds.

This great nation had contributed in money and merchandise a sum estimated at many millions for the relief of the people in Belgium. In so doing it did to the German Nation an inestimable service, for when Germany conquered Belgium the duty and burden rested upon it to support its population to the extent that it might become necessary. The burden of supporting 8,000,000 civilians was no light one, especially as there existed in Germany a scarcity of food. As bread tickets were then being issued in Germany to its people, the supplies would have been substantially less if a portion of its food products had been required for the civilian population of Belgium, for obviously the German Nation could not permit a people, whom it had so ruthlessly trampled under foot, to starve to death. Every dollar that was raised in America for the Belgian people, therefore, operated to relieve Germany from a heavy burden.

Moreover, when the war broke out, Germany needed some friendly nation to take over the care of its nationals in the hostile countries, and in England, France, Belgium, and Russia the interests of German citizens were assumed by the American Government as a courtesy to Germany, and no one can question how faithfully in the last fourteen months Page in London, Sharp in Paris, and Whitlock in Brussels have labored to

alleviate the inevitable suffering to German prisoners or interned civilians.

In view of these services, it surely was not much for the American Minister to ask that a little delay should be granted to a woman whose error, if any, had arisen from impulses of humanity and from considerations of patriotism. To spare her life a little longer could not have done the German cause any possible harm, for she was in their custody and beyond the power of rendering any help to her compatriots. To condemn any human being, even if he were the vilest criminal, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon and execute him at 2 A. M. was an act of barbarism for which no possible condemnation is adequate.

Under these circumstances, it would be incredible, if the facts were not beyond dispute, that the request of the United States for a little delay was not only brutally refused, but that our Legation was deliberately misled and deceived until the death sentence had been inflicted.

This makes the fate of Miss Cavell our affair as much as that of the Lusitania. And yet we have the already familiar semi-official assurance from Washington that while our officials "unofficially deplore the act, officially they can do nothing." Concurrently we are told in the President's Thanksgiving proclamation that we should be thankful because we have "been able to assert our rights and the rights of mankind," and that this "has been a year of special blessing

for us," for, so the proclamation adds, "we have prospered while other nations were at war."

I venture to say in all reverence that the God of nations will be better pleased on the coming Thanksgiving Day—which also should be one of penitence and humiliation—if we do a little more *in fact* as well as in words to safeguard the rights of humanity. Our initial blunder was in turning away the Belgian Commissioners, when they first presented the wrongs of their crucified nation, with icy phrases as to a mysterious day of reckoning in the indefinite future. An act of justice now will be worth a thousand future "accountings" after the long agony of the world is over. "Now is the accepted time, this the day of salvation."

Let our nation begin with the case of Edith Cavell, and demand of Germany the dismissal of the officers who flouted, deceived, and mocked the representative of the United States. That concerns our honor as a nation.

And you, women of America! Will you not honor the memory of this martyr of your sex, who for all time will be mourned as was the noblest Greek maiden, Antigone, who also gave her life that her brother might have the rites of sepulture? Will you not carry on in her name and for her memory those sacred ministrations of mercy which were her lifework?

Make her cause—the cause of mercy—your own!

German-Americans Against Wilson

In its issue of Oct. 25, 1915, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported from Worcester, Mass.:

A convention described as representing forty-six organizations of German-Americans, with a membership of 20,000 in this State, today adopted a resolution "firmly opposing" the re-election of President Wilson. The meeting was called by John Albrecht Walz, Professor of German Literature at Harvard University and State Chairman of the German National Alliance. The purpose was said to be largely to induce Americans of German descent to take a more active interest in political affairs, and no permanent organization was attempted. Announcement had been made previously that the gathering probably would indorse one of the candidates for Governor at the State election next month, but it was decided not to take such a step. The resolution, which was adopted after considerable debate, follows: "Resolved, That we, American citizens, assembled at Worcester, do not desire as an organization to indorse any candidate for Governor, but we believe in the desirability of unitedly discussing the question of the gubernatorial candidates. We are, however, firmly opposed to the re-election of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States."

The American Note to Britain

By Albert Bushnell Hart

Professor of Government in Harvard University

A vigorous declaration of intention to champion the integrity of established neutral rights "against the lawless conduct of belligerents" is contained in the note of Oct. 21, 1915, which the United States has addressed to Great Britain as a response to the several communications of that nation concerning the American protest against British interference with American trade with Europe. Incidentally notice is served that the United States does not recognize as legal the British blockade of European ports. The note to Great Britain, which, because of its great length, was sent to London by special messenger, was made public by the State Department on Nov. 7. With it are pertinent papers, including a copy of instructions to American naval officers in the civil war, and a "statement regarding vessels detained by British authorities," signed by Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, who in the name of his Government serves notice on Great Britain that the United States "cannot submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights" by the British Orders in Council and prize court rules. The British measures, it is asserted, "are admittedly retaliatory and therefore illegal, in conception and in nature." Below appears a statement of the chief points involved, taken from an article by Professor Hart which appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 14, 1915.

THE Germans have complained that, while the State Department has been very sharp in following up their delinquencies, it has not found time to deal with similar difficulties with Great Britain. The dispatch of Oct. 21 described itself as a formal reply to British "notes of Jan. 7, Feb. 10, June 22, July 23, July 31, (2,) Aug. 13, and to a note verbale of the British Embassy of Aug. 6"; it is therefore safe to say that this is not exactly a frenzied and impulsive appeal, based upon imperfect information. The State Department is nothing if it is not deliberate; and deliberation has made it possible to bring together a formidable array of principles, precedents, and cases.

The official reason for delay is that the United States had hoped that his Majesty's Government would be a good boy and would keep his written promises to reduce the delays and inconveniences in the treatment of American ships and cargoes. Naturally, in the ten months since the first dispatch on this general subject, there has been time for a lot of new cases to accumulate. From that point of view the note would have been stronger if the department had waited six weeks or six months longer. Still it would be most unfair to twit the department with delay if, now that the dispatch has appeared, it covered in a vigorous and statesmanlike manner all

the solvable difficulties relating to our neutral trade.

Notwithstanding the rapid transit of intelligence, of diplomatic information and of the orders of shipowners, the note calls attention to an exasperating delay in handling American vessels, and other vessels with American cargoes on board, which have been overhauled by British cruisers. In the old days of sailing ships it was not easy nor common for the captor to bring his captures into port himself. He put a prize crew on, with orders to take the vessel to a specified port where a prize court could sit upon the capture. The capturing ship had every interest in saving the capture because otherwise there would be no prize on it; and the destruction of a prize on the grounds that it could not be brought into court was rare. Most of the captures of American ships and cargoes by the British have been near a British port, particularly that vast mart of world traffic, Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands. Whoever heard of Kirkwall before? Why Kirkwall? Because the English have virtually barred the Strait of Dover and compelled shipping bound for North Sea ports to go around the North of Scotland, and there has pocketed American and other vessels. The tables show a great number of vessels which were thus obliged to lie up from a day to a week, or in some cases several

months. This is vexatious; and the United States is quite right in the contention that it is also illegal and unfriendly to compel vessels to interrupt their voyages and to submit to inquisitorial searches of their cargo. The grievance is a real one and is aggravated by the fact that it is a return in another form to practices of which the United States complained nearly a year ago, and which the British Government promised to discontinue.

No part of the dispatch will provoke more British comment than the flat-footed assertion that the British prize courts are not judicial tribunals, making decisions solely on the general principles of international law, but a branch of the British military system; yet no part of the dispatch is sounder or more needed. The United States of America had experience of the impartiality of British prize courts a century ago, when, in 1805, the British Judges began to reverse their own previous decisions because their Government had changed its policy with regard to neutral trade. International law had not changed, the conditions had not changed, but something new had to be contrived to make it unpleasant for Napoleon.

Another part of the dispatch deals with the stoppage of cargoes, bound from the neutral United States to neutral Holland and the Scandinavian countries, such cargoes not being made up of munitions of war or other genuine contraband. This interference was hardly made in the worst days of the British Orders in Council and French Decrees, in the period just before the War of 1812. The British Government thus constitutes itself the distributor of American trade, deciding for us what foreign countries have enough oil or cotton or manufactures. The British trade experts watch the barometer of international commerce in every European neutral country; and when the trade rises above what the English think normal they take it upon themselves to cut off a part.

As Secretary Lansing forcibly shows, this policy amounts to a blockade of neutral ports, which is contrary to all

principles of international law and common sense. In many ways the Scandinavian countries and Holland are now treated by Great Britain as though they were at war. On the other side there are some curious twists by which British shipments are made to such neutral powers, running the risk of their being re-exported to Germany, while similar American exports are stopped.

The dispatch clearly and definitely commits the United States to the conviction that the interference with American trade, which the British have sometimes called a blockade, is not a real blockade, even against the German coast, and is therefore in no way binding upon the United States. The dispatch is on that point perfectly clear; this country will henceforth protest every case of capture under the so-called blockade.

The logical foundation for that policy is that the United States as a neutral recognizes war where there is war and not where it does not exist. We have never denied the right to post a fleet off the German coast and to capture vessels attempting to enter or leave the German ports, whether those vessels be German or neutral. We have not recognized the right of the British to post ships in the Strait of Dover and the passages north of Scotland and assert that they are thereby blockading the German coast. Those water passages are avenues to other countries besides Germany. There is no more right to block them to our shipping than there would be to put a fleet ten miles off of New York Harbor, call it a blockade of the German coast, and capture American vessels cleared for Germany. No matter what the pressure upon the British Nation, they must confine their hostilities to the hostile and not extend them to the neutral. Otherwise any two powers that chose to go to war could compel all the rest of the world to suspend their commerce while these two chose to remain at war.

On the other hand, the British have a right to seize cargoes of contraband wherever found on the high seas, whether bound to a belligerent port or bound to a neutral port whence they are likely to reach the belligerents. The United

States Government claimed that right during our civil war and has never had the least disposition to deny it in the present worldwide war. Why should this right of capture be legal anywhere on the high seas, while captures for the reason of blockade are good only when a vessel is bound for a particular stretch of coast? Capture for contraband is a part of the general military operations; it is akin to destroying the ships of an enemy, and the offense which justifies capture occurs wherever the vessel is. Blockade applies only to a localized warfare. Ships that have notice that a particular port or coast is blockaded, clear for it at their peril; but they are not liable to capture if bound to unblockaded ports. The British are trying to avoid the restrictions of blockade by declining (for reasons best known to their naval authorities) to place a fleet off the German coast; and at the same time they are claiming the fullest privileges of blockade, and going far beyond them, by undertaking to limit and control the commerce of the world that is bound into the North Sea.

The question is often asked why the British, since they have the physical power, should not stop a commerce, some of which is certain to leak through to the Germans. The answer is very simple: the United States and other neutral powers have a right of navigation on

the high seas which does not spring from the consent of belligerent powers, but from the inherent right of all maritime nations to make use of the sea as a common possession.

Up to this point the dispatch covers the ground in a wholesome and manly fashion. Its chief and crying defect is that upon the great question of what shall be contraband goods, Secretary Lansing has no more to say than: "There is no intention in this discussion to commit the Government of the United States to a policy of waiving of any objections which it may entertain as to the propriety and right of the British to include in their list of contraband of war certain articles which have been so included. The United States Government reserves the right to make this matter the subject of a communication to his Majesty's Government at a later day." This seems a weak expansion of Secretary Bryan's remark nearly a year ago that he would not "at this time" go into the question of the British list of contraband. By a vicious application of contraband American ships are being held up almost every day and sent into British ports, obliged to discharge and forfeit part or the whole of their cargo, even to forfeit the vessel, because they are carrying American products which have nothing to do with war, and are as innocent as babies' milk.



American Defense

By Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States;
William J. Bryan, Late American Secretary of State;
Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States

President Wilson, addressing, in New York on Nov. 4, 1915, a gathering representative of every phase of party democracy, assembled to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Manhattan Club, announced to the people his program of preparedness, his plan for a national defense. The text of the speech, together with the comment thereon by William J. Bryan and ex-President Roosevelt, appears below.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

MR. TOASTMASTER and Gentlemen: I warmly felicitate the club upon the completion of fifty years of successful and interesting life. Club life may be made to mean a great deal to those who know how to use it. I have no doubt that to a great many of you has come genuine stimulation in the association of this place and that as the years have multiplied you have seen more and more the useful ends which may be served by organizations of this sort.

But I have not come to speak wholly of that, for there are others of your own members who can speak of the club with a knowledge and an intelligence which no one can have who has not been intimately associated with it. Men band themselves together for the sake of the association, no doubt, but also for something greater and deeper than that—because they are conscious of common interests lying outside their business occupations, because they are members of the same community and in frequent intercourse find mutual stimulation and a real maximum of vitality and power. I shall assume that here around the dinner table on this memorial occasion our talk should properly turn to the wide and common interests which are most in our thoughts, whether they be the interests of the community or of the nation.

A year and a half ago our thought would have been almost altogether of great domestic questions. They are many and of vital consequence. We must and shall

address ourselves to their solution with diligence, firmness, and self-possession, notwithstanding we find ourselves in the midst of a world disturbed by great disaster and ablaze with terrible war; but our thought is now inevitably of new things about which formerly we gave ourselves little concern. We are thinking now chiefly of our relations with the rest of the world, not our commercial relations—about those we have thought and planned always—but about our political relations, our duties as an individual and independent force in the world to ourselves, our neighbors, and the world itself.

Our principles are well known. It is not necessary to avow them again. We believe in political liberty and founded our great Government to obtain it, the liberty of men and of peoples—of men to choose their own lives and of peoples to choose their own allegiance.

Our ambition, also, all the world has knowledge of. It is not only to be free and prosperous ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free or who desire freedom the world over. If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambitions, they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a nation and we have put them aside. We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest. We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose their own alle-



CZARINA ALEXANDRA FEODOROVNA



BRAND WHITLOCK
American Ambassador at Brussels, Belgium

giance and be free of masters altogether.

For ourselves we wish nothing but the full liberty of self-development; and with ourselves in this great matter we associate all the peoples of our own hemisphere. We wish not only for the United States but for them the fullest freedom of independent growth and of action, for we know that throughout this hemisphere the same aspirations are everywhere being worked out, under diverse conditions, but with the same impulse and ultimate object.

All this is very clear to us and will, I confidently predict, become more and more clear to the whole world as the great processes of the future unfold themselves. It is with a full consciousness of such principles and such ambitions that we are asking ourselves at the present time what our duty is with regard to the armed force of the nation.

Within a year we have witnessed what we did not believe possible—a great European conflict involving many of the greatest nations of the world. The influences of a great war are everywhere in the air. All Europe is embattled. Force everywhere speaks out with a loud and imperious voice in a titanic struggle of Governments, and from one end of our own dear country to the other men are asking one another what our own force is, how far we are prepared to maintain ourselves against any interference with our national action or development.

In no man's mind, I am sure, is there even raised the question of the willful use of force on our part against any nation or any people. No matter what military or naval force the United States might develop, statesmen throughout the whole world might rest assured that we were gathering that force, not for attack in any quarter, not for aggression of any kind, not for the satisfaction of any political or international ambition, but merely to make sure of our own security.

We have it in mind to be prepared, not for war, but only for defense; and with the thought constantly in our minds that the principles we hold most

dear can be achieved by the slow processes of history only in the kindly and wholesome atmosphere of peace, and not by the use of hostile force. The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good-will among men. She has become the home and asylum of men of all creeds and races. Within her hospitable borders they have found homes and congenial associations and freedom and a wide and cordial welcome and they have become part of the bone and sinew and spirit of America itself. America has been made up out of the nations of the world and is the friend of the nations of the world.

But we feel justified in preparing ourselves to vindicate our right to independent and unmolested action by making the force that is in us ready for assertion.

And we know that we can do this in a way that will be itself an illustration of the American spirit. In accordance with our American traditions we want and shall work for only an army adequate to the constant and legitimate uses of times of international peace. But we do want to feel that there is a great body of citizens who have received at least the most rudimentary and necessary forms of military training; that they will be ready to form themselves into a fighting force at the call of the nation; and that the nation has the munitions and supplies with which to equip them without delay should it be necessary to call them into action. We wish to supply them with the training they need, and we think we can do so without calling them at any time too long away from their civilian pursuits.

It is with this idea, with this conception, in mind that the plans have been made which it will be my privilege to lay before the Congress at its next session. That plan calls for only such an increase in the regular army of the United States as experience has proved to be required for the performance of the necessary duties of the army in the Philippines, in Hawaii, in Porto Rico, upon the borders of the United States, at the coast fortifications, and at the military posts of the interior.

For the rest, it calls for the training

within the next three years of a force of 400,000 citizen soldiers, to be raised in annual contingents of 133,000, who would be asked to enlist for three years with the colors and three years on furlough, but who during their three years of enlistment with the colors would not be organized as a standing force, but would be expected merely to undergo intensive training for a very brief period of each year. Their training would take place in immediate association with the organized units of the regular army. It would have no touch of the amateur about it, neither would it exact of the volunteers more than they could give in any one year from their civilian pursuits.

And none of this would be done in such a way as in the slightest degree to supersede or subordinate our present serviceable and efficient National Guard. On the contrary, the National Guard itself would be used as part of the instrumentality by which training would be given the citizens who enlisted under the new conditions, and I should hope and expect that the legislation by which all this would be accomplished would put the National Guard itself upon a better and more permanent footing than it has ever been before, giving it not only the recognition which it deserves but a more definite support from the National Government and a more definite connection with the military organization of the nation.

What we all wish to accomplish is that the forces of the nation should indeed be part of the nation, and not a separate professional force, and the chief cost of the system would not be in the enlistment or in the training of the men, but in the providing of ample equipment in case it should be necessary to call all forces into the field.

Moreover, it has been American policy time out of mind to look to the navy as the first and chief line of defense. The navy of the United States is already a very great and efficient force. Not rapidly, but slowly, with careful attention, our naval force has been developed until the navy of the United States stands recognized as one of the most efficient and notable of the modern time.

All that is needed in order to bring it to a point of extraordinary force and efficiency as compared with the other navies of the world is that we should hasten our pace in the policy we have long been pursuing, and that chief of all we should have a definite policy of development, not made from year to year, but looking well into the future and planning for a definite consummation.

We can and should profit in all that we do by the experience and example that have been made obvious to us by the military and naval events of the actual present. It is not merely a matter of building battleships and cruisers and submarines, but also a matter of making sure that we shall have the adequate equipment of men and munitions and supplies for the vessels we build and intend to build.

Part of our problem is the problem of what I may call the mobilization of the resources of the nation at the proper time if it should ever be necessary to mobilize them for national defense. We shall study efficiency and adequate equipment as carefully as we shall study the number and size of our ships, and I believe that the plans already in part made public by the Navy Department are plans which the whole nation can approve with rational enthusiasm.

No thoughtful man feels any panic haste in this matter. The country is not threatened from any quarter. She stands in friendly relations with all the world. Her resources are known and her self-respect and her capacity to care for her own citizens and her own rights. There is no fear among us. Under the New World conditions we have become thoughtful of the things which all reasonable men consider necessary for security and self-defense on the part of every nation confronted with the great enterprise of human liberty and independence. That is all.

Is the plan we propose sane and reasonable and suited to the needs of the hour? Does it not conform to the ancient traditions of America? Has any better plan been proposed than this program that we now place before the country? In it there is no pride of opinion. It represents the best professional and

expert judgment of the country. But I am not so much interested in programs as I am in safeguarding at every cost the good faith and honor of the country.

If men differ with me in this vital matter, I shall ask them to make it clear how far and in what way they are interested in making the permanent interests of the country safe against disturbance.

In the fulfillment of the program I propose I shall ask for the hearty support of the country, of the rank and file of America, of men of all shades of political opinion. For my position in this important matter is different from that of the private individual who is free to speak his own thoughts and to risk his own opinions in this matter. We are here dealing with things that are vital to the life of America itself.

In doing this I have tried to purge my heart of all personal and selfish motives. For the time being, I speak as the trustee and guardian of a nation's rights, charged with the duty of speaking for that nation in matters involving her sovereignty—a nation too big and generous to be exacting and yet courageous enough to defend its rights and the liberties of its people wherever assailed or invaded. I would not feel that I was discharging the solemn obligation I owe the country were I not to speak in terms of the deepest solemnity of the urgency and necessity of preparing ourselves to guard and protect the rights and privileges of our people, our sacred heritage of the fathers who struggled to make us an independent nation.

The only thing within our own borders that has given us grave concern in recent months has been that voices have been raised in America professing to be the voices of Americans which were not in deed and in truth American, but which spoke alien sympathies, which came from men who loved other countries better than they loved America, men who were partisans of other causes than that of America and had forgotten that their chief and only allegiance was to the great Government under which they live. These voices have not been many, but they

have been very loud and very clamorous. They have proceeded from a few who were bitter and who were grievously misled.

America has not opened its doors in vain to men and women out of other nations. The vast majority of those who have come to take advantage of her hospitality have united their spirits with hers as well as their fortunes. These men who speak alien sympathies are not their spokesman, but are the spokesmen of small groups whom it is high time that the nation should call to a reckoning. The chief thing necessary in America in order that she should let all the world know that she is prepared to maintain her own great position is that the real voice of the nation should sound forth unmistakably and in majestic volume, in the deep unison of a common unhesitating national feeling. I do not doubt that upon the first occasion, upon the first opportunity, upon the first definite challenge, that voice will speak forth in tones which no man can doubt and with commands which no man dare gainsay or resist.

May I not say, while I am speaking of this, that there is another danger that we should guard against? We should rebuke not only manifestations of racial feeling here in America where there should be none, but also every manifestation of religious and sectarian antagonism. It does not become America that within her borders, where every man is free to follow the dictates of his conscience and worship God as he pleases, men should raise the cry of church against church. To do that is to strike at the very spirit and heart of America.

We are a God-fearing people. We agree to differ about methods of worship, but we are united in believing in Divine Providence and in worshipping the God of Nations. We are the champions of religious right here and everywhere that it may be our privilege to give it our countenance and support. The Government is conscious of the obligation and the nation is conscious of the obligation. Let no man create divisions where there are none.

Here is the nation God has builded by

our hands. What shall we do with it? Who is there who does not stand ready at all times to act in her behalf in a spirit of devoted and disinterested patriotism? We are yet only in the youth and first consciousness of our power. The day of our country's life is still but in its fresh morning. Let us lift our eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be con-

quered in the interests of righteous peace. Come, let us renew our allegiance to America, conserve her strength in its purity, make her chief among those who serve mankind, self-reverenced, self-commanded, mistress of all forces of quiet counsel, strong above all others in goodwill and the might of invincible justice and right.

A Reply to the President

By William J. Bryan

Late American Secretary of State

Washington, Nov. 5, 1915.

I HAVE read the President's speech at New York with sorrow and concern.

He is doing what he believes to be his duty, and so long as a man follows his conscience and judgment we cannot criticise his motives, but we may be compelled to dissent from his conclusions. I feel it my duty to dissent, and, as he has given his views with clearness and emphasis, those who differ from him are under a like obligation to express themselves with equal clearness.

He says that his position is different from that of the private individual in that the individual is free to speak his own thoughts and risk his own opinion. This sentence is a little obscure. In so far as he expresses his own opinion, he does not differ from the private citizen except that he speaks under a sense of official responsibility, but, where a nation's fate is involved in a policy, every private citizen who loves his country and tries to serve it is conscious of responsibility.

The President will not assume that he is more deeply interested in the welfare of his country than the millions who elected him to be, for the time being, their spokesman. And if, as he evidently believes, he is giving voice to the opinions of his countrymen, he is, of course, anxious to have them as frank with him as he has been with them—how otherwise can he know whether he represents or misrepresents their views?

He has announced a policy which has

never before been adopted in this country and never indorsed by any party in the country, and he has no way of knowing, until he hears from the people, whether he has correctly interpreted the will of the public. His appeal is not to any party, but, as he says, to men of "all shades of opinion." He asks for the hearty support of the country, meaning, of course, that he wants the support, provided the people favor the policy which he has outlined. He could not, of course, ask them to support a policy they did not indorse, especially if they considered the policy dangerous to the country.

From my view of the subject, the plan which he proposes is not only a departure from our traditions, but a reversal of our national policy. It is not only a menace to our peace and safety, but a challenge to the spirit of Christianity which teaches us to influence others by example rather than by exciting fear.

The President says that we should be prepared "not for aggression but for defense." That is the ground upon which all preparation for war is made. What nation has ever prepared for war on the theory that it was preparing for aggression? It is only fair to assume that the European rulers who are involved in the present war thought that they were contributing toward the maintenance of peace when they were making elaborate preparations for defense. It is a false philosophy, and, being false, it inevitably leads into difficulties.

The spirit that makes the individual

carry a revolver—and whoever carries a revolver except for defense?—leads him not only to use it on slight provocation, but to use language which provokes trouble. "Speak softly but carry a big stick" is one of the delusive maxims employed by those who put their faith in force. There are two answers to it—first, the man who speaks softly has not the disposition to carry a club, and if a man with a soft voice is persuaded to carry a club his voice changes as soon as he begins to rely upon the club.

If there is any truth in our religion, a nation must win respect as an individual does, not by carrying arms, but by an upright, honorable course that invites confidence and insures good-will. This nation has won its position in the world without resorting to the habit of toting a pistol or carrying a club. Why reverse our policy at this time? The President himself admits that there is no reason for a change. He says:

"The country is not threatened from any quarter. She stands in friendly relations with all the world. Her resources and her self-respect and capacity to care for her own citizens and rights are well known." And to make the statement more emphatic he adds: "There is no fear among us."

If we're not threatened by any nation, if our relations with all nations are friendly, if everybody knows that we're able to defend ourselves if necessary, and if there is no fear among us, why is this time chosen to revolutionize our national theories and to exchange our policy for the policy of Europe? Why abandon the hope that we have so long entertained of setting an example to Europe? Why encourage the nations of Europe in their fatal folly by imitating them? Why im-

pose upon the Western Hemisphere a policy so disastrous?

May we not expect all Latin America to be stimulated to preparation if we enter upon a new era of preparation? And will not such a policy make conflicts between these republics more probable? We shall do infinite harm to the neighboring nations, as well as to ourselves, if we are drawn into this policy which provokes war by a preparation which is impossible without a large increase in taxation and the arousing of a military system which sets up false standards of honor.

We are now spending more than \$250,000,000 a year on preparedness—ten times as much as we are spending on agriculture—and I feel sure that the taxpayers are not in favor of increasing this sum at this time when a change is not only unnecessary but a menace to our national ideals.

There has not been a time in fifty years when there was less reason to add to the expenses of the army and navy, for we are not only without an enemy, but our preparedness is increasing relatively as other nations exhaust themselves. And there never was a time, and there never has been a time, in our whole history when our duty to the world more imperatively demanded self-restraint and the counsels of peace.

I hope the President will not be deceived by the atmosphere of the Manhattan Club. That is the one place in the United States where the mammon-worshipping portion of the Democratic Party meets to exchange compliments—there is no group further removed from the sentiment of the masses, whether you measure that sentiment by economical, social, or religious standards.

On the next page appears ex-President Roosevelt's criticism of President Wilson's speech on American defense.

A Shadow Program

By Theodore Roosevelt

Ex-President of the United States

The program announced by President Wilson at the Manhattan Club dinner is assailed by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt in a statement made public on Nov. 11, 1915, as a policy of adroit delay and make-believe action put forward for political purposes. The statement is part of an article which will appear in the January issue of *The Metropolitan Magazine*. The ex-President's statement appears below.

ASSERTING that the proposed plan is entirely inadequate, Colonel Roosevelt calls upon the "ordinary citizens" to wake to their needs and "lead the should-be leaders" who have failed them. He advocates a regular army of 250,000, with enough officers to command an army of 1,500,000 if a crisis should arise, and immediate action to make our navy the second in the world. He also pleads for permanent munition plants west of the Alleghanies.

The question of expense is secondary, the Colonel asserted, as "five years hence it may be altogether too late to spend any money."

Here is Colonel Roosevelt's statement:

There are two immediately vital needs of this nation: 1. That our navy shall at the earliest possible moment be made the second in the world in point of size and efficiency. 2. That our regular army shall be increased to at least a quarter of a million men, with an ample reserve of men who could be at once put in the ranks in the event of a sudden attack upon us; and provision made for many times the present number of officers; and in administration, provision made for a combination of entire efficiency with rigid economy that will begin with the abandonment of the many useless army posts and navy yards.

Neither of these needs is in any way met by the President's proposals. I am sincerely glad that he has now reversed the attitude taken in his message to Congress a year ago, in which he advocated keeping this nation unprepared and helpless to defend its honor and vital interest against foreign foes. But I no less sincerely regret that he has not thought out the situation and is not prepared to

present a real and substantial plan for defense instead of a shadow program.

During the last three years our navy has fallen off appallingly in relative position among the nations. The Administration now proposes a plan, to be followed mainly by the next Administration, which, if hereafter lived up to, would perhaps replace the navy where it formerly was, in five years' time—a plan which in reality, therefore, is merely an adroit method of avoiding substantial action in the present. This will not do. There should be no policy of adroit delay and make-believe action. Our Government should make provisions this year which will insure the regaining of our naval place at the earliest possible moment. The work should begin on a large scale at once. This is of the first importance.

But is also vital to bring the army abreast of national needs. The proposed plan to create a rival National Guard of half-trained or quarter-trained volunteers—for that is what the absurdly named "continental army" would amount to—if tried will prove very expensive, very detrimental to the existing National Guard, and entirely useless from the standpoint of meeting the real needs of the country. It would put a business premium on the unpatriotic employer, who would not permit his men to take part in it. It would be much wiser to spend the money in increasing the size and efficiency of the National Guard.

The proposed increase in the size of the regular army is utterly inadequate to serve any real purpose. It is one of those half measures which are of service, if at all, only from the political standpoint. Either we need to prepare or we do not.

If we do, then we should prepare adequately.

I should not regard as wise a proposal for doing away with the New York Fire Department—the wisdom of such a proposal being about on a par with the wisdom of the attitude of the professional pacifists as regards what they are pleased to call “militarism.” Yet it would not be materially less wise than a proposal to compromise by, on the one hand, having fire engines, but, on the other hand, not fitting them to throw a stream of water higher than the second story. The military plans of the Administration are on a level with plans for the New York Fire Department which should provide only for second-story hose; they go on the theory that it is desirable to try to put out a fire a little, but not too much. Now, it is always wise either to let a fire alone or to deal with it thoroughly.

I very earnestly hope that the ordinary citizens of this country, since their official leaders refuse to lead them, will themselves wake to their own needs and lead the should-be leaders. Let us at once take action to make us the second naval power in the world. Let us take the action this year, not the year after next. Do it now.

As regards the army, first and foremost let us have the plan of the General Staff made public. Let us know the ad-

vice of the experts. Then provide a regular army of a quarter of a million men. Relatively to the nation their army would be no larger than the New York police force is relatively to the City of New York. Provide a real reserve of enlisted men. Provide as many officers, active and reserve taken together, as will enable us to officer a million and a half of men in the event of war. Meanwhile do everything possible for the National Guard, providing the necessary Federal control to make it really efficient; and provide for many training camps like that at Plattsburg.

Drop the undemocratic continental volunteer army which discriminates between employer and employed, which would help the unpatriotic employe who refused to do as his patriotic rival was glad to do, and which would result merely in the establishment of an inefficient rival to the National Guard.

People speak in praise of volunteers. I also praise the volunteer who volunteers to fight, but I do not praise the volunteer who volunteers to have somebody else fight in his place. Universal service is the only way by which we can secure real democracy, real fairness and justice. Every able-bodied youth in the land should be proud to and should be required to prepare himself thoroughly to protect the nation from armed force.

The Germans and Louvain

An Associated Press dispatch dated at London on Oct. 19, 1915, reports:

Plans and descriptions of a rebuilt Louvain, prepared by German artists and architects, have been distributed in Louvain in order to get the Belgians interested in this work, but so far only a few new houses have been erected among the ruins. The descriptions are in the Flemish language. An English governess, who has just been released by the German authorities and who has come to London, declares that the Germans are using every means to ingratiate themselves with the people of Louvain. As the ruins serve to remind the Belgians of their woes, the Germans are doing all they can to enforce rebuilding, but the people are antagonistic, and want the ruins to stand until they can be seen by all the world.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

Several articles by German writers, notably those by Count Reventlow, Captain Persius, and Rudolf Eucken, translated from German periodicals, have separate places elsewhere in this issue. But the excerpts from the world's reviews are this month unusually rich and varied, beginning with articles by several French Academicians and working through the best current comment by leading Italian, Russian, British, and German authorities. Altogether it forms an accurate and carefully chosen assemblage of the best European informed opinion.

The French Navy

By Jean Aicard

Member of the French Academy

In Les Annales for Sept. 19, M. Jean Aicard of the Académie Française salutes the heroes of the French Navy in a stirring article:

ONE day—you remember—the spectacle surpassed in sumptuous beauty anything that the imagination of men can dream. On that day the Russian fleet was visiting France. Those ships, glorious isles detached from the flank of distant Russia, were entering the Harbor of Toulon. On all those islands, on all those traveling edifices, a people of sailors were moving briskly but in order, saluting France and acclaiming her. They passed in front of the French squadron, which returned their salutes and acclamations in the warlike smoke of peaceful cannon. In the splendid harbor, Russia was evolving. She was entering our doors. * * * What a moment! I remember the flood of joyous tears mounting from hearts to eyes. My own were blurred. My Parisian associates joked a little. The wit of the boulevard reigned as absolute master in those days.

"Ah, these southerners! Where we find reason to shed a tear, they weep a torrent!"

Paris did not yet consider that the great emotions were "in good taste."

* * * I said to myself: "For the first time since 1870, France is not all alone." I recalled the saying of Michelet: "Germany will crack, pressed in between Russia and England."

And a great hope went through our hearts. We were waiting for England. She has come. Let us give her our love! Let us give ever more love to our navy and to that of the Allies.

Under what protection are our patient heroes of the trenches fighting? Under the protection of the fleets that bar the horizon to prudent, insolent, and infamous Germany.

No, the Summer of 1915 will not bring forth enough flowers on our Continent, if we want—according to the usage of the Greek women and our Bretonnes—to cast flowers as a funeral homage on the mortal waters that engulfed the Bouvet and the Gambetta.

* * * I have under my eyes a letter from a sailor, the son of one of my neighbors, who escaped drowning with the Gambetta. He writes:

Immediately there were cries from all over. No light anywhere; one groped to get out of the battery where one slept. A minute later there came a second detonation. Happily for me I was near the ladder that leads down to my sleeping place. * * * Immediately some officers got there and, with electric lanterns, they made light for us. I succeeded in mounting the ladder. The ship was about to sink. I threw myself into the water. * * *

One asks oneself about the attitude of the officers of the Gambetta. Could they save themselves? Should they try at least to preserve their lives for the country that needed them? Beyond doubt, the officers should save themselves in

such a case, if they can. But can they, while a single man of the crew stays on board? Now, on the Gambetta almost the whole crew was about to perish. So what do these officers who have arrived do? A simple and sublime thing that I have not seen mentioned anywhere: They light the steps of the men who are pressing together, groping at the foot of the ladders—they "make light for them!" "To make light" is the Provençal expression for "to illuminate," and here it takes on a grandeur worthy of those

glorious officers. Does it not seem as if you could hear them say to their men: "This way, boys! Look out, and lively there!" Are they thinking of themselves? No. They are "making light," and the ship sinks.

Now, when we are asked: "What did the officers of the Gambetta do, when that morsel of France was being engulfed?" We shall answer:

"They made light."

And that light is one that horrible Germany can neither kindle nor quench.

India and England in Flanders and in Normandy

By Maurice Barrés

Member of the French Academy

M. Maurice Barrés, of the Académie Française, writes in Les Annales for Sept. 26 of his visit to the headquarters of General French:

TWO days after I had admired that mysterious infantry, (the Gurkas,) those enigmatical visages from deepest Asia, I was permitted to see a parade of cavalry, the Sikhs of the Punjab, tall and strong, noble figures mounted on fine horses. All—beasts and men—bursting with health. Unlike the Gurkas, the Sikhs never cut their beard or their hair. Their beard is curiously rolled on their cheeks, their hair is bound back and hidden under high turbans. Here are no longer the pouchy eyes that had surprised me, and that seem planted awry in the face, but fine regular features, long ovals, a light golden color. * * *

I asked myself: "What are these Indians thinking, these Sikhs and Gurkas? What idea have they of the war? For whom do they fight, and why?"

"Why?" said an Englishman, laughing, "they know that a German is an ugly brute."

There is a good deal of sense in that joke. After more than a year of war, men fight to give back the blows received. I keep on asking, however, and am told:

"They fight because it is the order of the 'Raj.' As a believer obeys God, they obey the Government, the 'Raj,' who is their Providence on earth, the cornerstone of all things, the central something that is not discussed. Just as God has said 'Thou shalt not steal' so the 'Raj' has said 'Thou shalt fight.'"

Russian Strategy

By Emile Faguet

Member of the French Academy

M. Emile Faguet of the Académie Française publishes in the column of "Impressions" which he writes each week for Les Annales, his judgment of the Russian campaign as it appeared to him in September. The distinguished critic and philosopher sees the German

Army in as much danger of "melting" on one front as the other.

DECIDEDLY, the Russians knew what they were doing, and did what they wanted to do. When a strategic retreat is spoken of, one does not at first know what to believe. It

may be, in fact, a simple manoeuvre to seek for a better field of operation, one that is known and is counted on. But it may also be a mere euphemism and an "honorable name" to cover a defeat. The things that follow can alone teach us what it really is. Now, some things have followed the retreat of the Russians and have shown us that it really was a strategic manoeuvre. They are at this moment taking the lead in their affairs everywhere. In the north, they are resisting with serious advantage while the Germans are getting deep into the marshes, where their movements, forward or backward, are of equal difficulty. In Galicia, they are having a success to report each day, and are taking an imposing number of prisoners.

The German army in Russia is melting as if in a crucible. The Russians offer the Germans the hospitality of the tomb.

The Russians owe this good fortune to their tenacity, and their impassibility, to their phlegm. They are astonished at nothing. They lacked munitions; they fought without munitions or with an enormous inferiority of munitions. They had to evacuate important cities; they evacuated them, slowly, dispassionately, after having stripped them so bare that they could not be of any use to the enemy. They had to appear to be beaten, which is hard on one's pride; they resigned themselves to that, and even made of it an element of victory by inspiring in the enemy a feeling of confidence that has pushed him on to precipitous and rash movements. They have shown themselves adroit strategists and men of great coolness and of imperturbable decision. The new Russia, the Russia of glorious destinies, entitled to a great place, a place of honor in the European union, will date from 1915.

"Leave All Hope Behind"

By Alfred Capus

Member of the French Academy

IT is with Dante's legend for the gates of Hell that Alfred Capus apostrophizes the Kaiser on the occasion of the Czar's assuming supreme command of his armies. The article is a recent editorial in the *Figaro*. M. Capus, member of the *Académie Française* and author of many successful novels and plays, is editor in chief of the *Figaro*.

Public opinion everywhere has immediately understood the design of the Czar in placing himself at the head of his armies. It is the *Lasciate ogni speranza* for German peace, which our enemies hoped to find before the Winter at the gateway to the plains of Russia. They know that that peace, so solemnly promised by the Kaiser, can now be gained by them only through crushing all Europe, through destroying the British fleet, forcing our lines, and taking London, Moscow, Rome, and Paris—which would be a disproportioned task for the talents of Marshal von Hindenburg and of von Tirpitz.

So there is no means for an arrangement, (of a separate peace with Russia.) Germany is faced with that implacable "all or nothing," which, since the beginning of the war has been accepted by the Allies. Germany will have everything, or the world which she was tending to render uninhabitable will be rid forever of her hegemony and her threats.

* * * Neither the uncertainty of military operations in these last months nor the retreat of the Russian army, nor the cries of triumph from the press across the Rhine has succeeded in making us look on the situation differently. Bad days have not inclined us to the slightest concession: hope has remained unanimous and integral.

In Germany, and we cannot too much insist on this, the reverse is the case. Their views are changing ceaselessly and their ambitions are modified every day, according to events. * * *

The fact is that between the Kaiser and his people there is a tragic misunderstanding—the one having sworn to give to the other, in exchange for three million of her sons, a victory which no longer belongs to him.

The German Socialists

By Jean Bourdeau

In the Revue des Deux Mondes for Oct. 1st, M. Jean Bourdeaux of the Académie des Sciences Morals et Politiques writes on the effect of the war on the Internationalists. He examines their movement in the fifty years which have passed since it was founded, notes its great development, but is compelled to conclude from actual events that "The facts deny the truth of the idea, their conduct refutes their dogma."

DURING July, 1914, Vorwaerts, the official journal of the German Socialists, published numerous articles against militarism. * * * The Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia was condemned more severely by the German and Austrian Socialists than by those of other countries. * * * The directing committee of the Social Democracy, in a manifesto, blamed the assassination of Serajevo in an energetic manner, but protested not less forcefully against the provocation of Serbia by Austria-Hungary.

The German Government was rendered responsible, not for the ultimatum, but for the decision that Austria would take, for Germany could influence her and assure peace. At the end of the manifesto the directing committee took a demagogue's tone, saying—"Not a drop of German blood must flow in this cause; the proletariat must not serve as cannon-meat for the classes that exploit it."

In France, M. Bourdeau explains, the Confédération Générale du Travail issued a manifesto recalling the decisions of the Internationalist Congress to declare a general strike in case of war.

No strike movement could be attempted by the French if isolated from their German and Austrian comrades; a previous agreement with them was necessary. * * * An interview took place in Brussels between Jouhaut, Secretary of the C. G. T., Legion, member of the

Reichstag and Secretary of the centralized Gewerkschaften, and Mertens, Secretary of the Belgian Syndicates. To Jouhaut's urgent question: "What do you count on doing to obstruct the war that is preparing—are you resolved to attempt a movement?" Legion insisted on giving no reply. Jouhaut concluded from that that there was nothing to expect from the Germans.

M. Bourdeau describes the vote at the Reichstag on the credits for the war: "Long and passionate controversies agitated the Socialist group of the Parliament." It decided finally that the credits be voted unanimously.

The violation of Belgian territory, with indemnity, had been announced by Bethmann-Hollweg before the close of the sitting. The Socialists could change nothing in their declaration; but not one of them protested.

How vain, hypocritical, and empty was the pretention of the Social-Democrats to justify their vote by ignorance of conditions in which the war was begun. They belied their whole past. Julian Borchardt, author of a pamphlet, "Before and after the Fourth of August," writes that on that date the Socialists abdicated; that if they were right on that day, everything that they had taught for forty years was nothing but falseness and dupery. * * *

* * * That solemn acquiescence with imperialism caused immense disappointment in foreign countries. Bebel and Liebknecht had declared against the war in former days, when France attacked Germany, and this time it is Germany who attacks, who tramples treaties beneath her feet, and the Social-Democrats approve and follow. They cut the bond of that internationalist movement that they have been directing and governing for a quarter of a century, they transgress the laws they have decreed.

Individual, State, and Nation in Light of the War

By Romolo Murri

Under this title Signor Romolo Murri publishes in the Nuova Antologia a study of the deeper phases of the human mind revealed by the war. Signor Murri, who began his career as a priest, has gained a high place in the estimation of Italians for his writings and his work as a Deputy.

A YEAR of war has not yet liberated us from the stupor into which it threw us itself at its outbreak. The spiritual unpreparedness among the nations of the Entente was even graver and more profound than the military unpreparedness—and this was enormous. And the first had naturally far more complex causes, and vaster ones, than the second, and was the cause of it.

All the currents of culture in recent times had contributed to draw men to the surfaces of social facts; the laws for these were searched for outside of human consciousness, outside of man, in so far as he is spiritual reality, will. * * *

And in the always broader vision of inferences and relations and accords there appeared also manifold contrasts; but when the latter had also been reduced to concrete and external things they lost their intimately tragic quality, and ended by being an argument for ever more ingenious researches for combinations and accords.

We can now perceive, as in a bright light, that this mode of seeing ourselves and history from without, becoming—as it was—always more familiar to our thought, detaching us from the true and intimate reasons and fountains of human action—was not adapted to make us understand the satanic ambush that was concealing the war—and to prepare us for the struggle. * * *

And today it is evident that the whole of mankind (not simply certain nations) is in action; that is to say that we are struggling, not for immediate interests, but for all that we are, as individuals, as peoples—and for all that we love—for traditions, the future, for honor, for dignity, for liberty; all the things whose value is before all else ethical touch men to the extent that they represent conscience and will—spirit, in a word. * * *

And now [says Signor Murri at the end of his article] even in the sorrow of this infinite spectacle of massacre and destruction an intimate and joyous hope rises within us, the hope that in the war, and by virtue of it, the human conscience may regain its equilibrium in public and international life, and the individual and the State, recomposed in the superior harmony of the nation, may become quicker and more efficient instruments in the history of the conscious creation of pacific social institutions.

Our War: From Trieste to the Summit of Italy

By Paolo Revelli

This article and the one which follows are of especial value in giving different phases of Italian opinion on the war. From the pages of Emporium, the admirable review published in Bergamo, we take the opening paragraphs of an article by Signor Paolo Revelli. After a careful study of the history of the disputed territory, he gives a lengthy discussion

of it from the geographical and ethnographical standpoint.

THE army goes on: slowly, surely, tenaciously, with the proud courage of sacrifice which makes victory, even at the price of death, beautiful and to be desired. * * *

It is not a conquest, it is a reclaiming; it is not imperialism, it is a defini-

tive national adjustment; it is not the oppressive amputation of a unit or a right of another nation, it is the logical and necessary reaction from the inhuman and anti-historical principle of the fusion of races, which latter is the epilogue to the Catholic fusion of consciences that was the system of government of the least homogeneous State in Europe. This system was perpetrated in silent conspiracy with the most antiquated and politics-loving Church, in fealty to the fallen Holy Roman Empire from whom the monarchy hereditarily holds forty titles of nobility—a sort of mediaeval farce. This war is not one of competition for wealth or possessions, it is not one of military adventure, it is not the betrayal of an alliance imposed by a master on a slave, it is not a thing involving a compromise with conscience or with blind impulse or with taking advantage premeditatedly; it is the most imperious, most irresistible and most magnificent necessity in our history, it is the completion of the epic of our revolution, it is Italy redeeming herself finally from servitude, from the extortion—systematic, acute, silent and formidable—that has been carried on at the expense of her dignity as a nation.

* * * [They say in Vienna] “Italy’s finances are ruined; the treasury of the Court is empty; the Italian is the perfidious hero of the dagger, the enemy of our country, the perjurer before God. The song of the recruits of the Trentino, a song imposed on ignorant peasants who kneel before a bribing priest, their conscience bowed under the fatigues of the day, is a song of crusaders against Rome, who would reconquer the imprisoned Pope, crusaders against the “Italian dogs” whom they would make subjects of Austria.

And when the tragic days of Messina gave to many a heart the noble and brotherly impulse of pity and help, the systematic preaching of hate was brutally, inhumanly intensified and counseled “not to make any haste but to consider calmly whether it is not a time for each man to think of himself alone and avoid every other aspect of the world,” (V. Gayda.)

In military circles, in the military papers, it was even said quite openly that this was the moment to attack Italy. And the intimidation was more open yet, more aggressive and more insolent when the Italian Army was busy with Tripoli.

I Am Not an Irredentist

By Giuseppe Prezzolini

Irredentist, from the famous watchword “Italia Irredenta”—unredeemed Italy, the allusion being to the portions of Italy that were redeemed from foreign rule during the nineteenth century. Signor Giuseppe Prezzolini writes in La Voce of Florence of Italy’s broader ideal in the war.

I AM so little an Irredentist that if Austria were to offer us Trento, Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia on condition that we abstain from entering the war against the central empires, I should be in favor of refusing. (This was written before Italy did enter the war.) If we obtained Trento, Trieste, Istria, Dal-

matia and Vallona into the bargain, but at the same time and thanks to that act Germany succeeded in crushing France, striking down England and controlling Russia, we should have a state of things worse than we have now, when we do not possess Trento, Trieste and the rest, but we do have our liberty.

The problem of the war is not a problem of Irredentism. It is the problem of Italian freedom * * * of the existence of all we call Italian. And it is not to be discussed or decided on the basis of the fate of Trento and Trieste, but on the basis of the fate of Italy. We shall not fight for 700,000 Italians,

(those of the unredeemed provinces,) we shall fight for 40,000,000 Italians. Irredentism is provincial.

These are ugly words, but in this present infatuation necessary ones. There are too many people who see Italy today through a glass marked "Trieste," and "Pola" of course, or even through one marked Lussinpiccolo, perhaps.

What you must do is to see Lussinpiccolo, or even Trieste, through a glass marked "Italy." Is that clear?

The problem is not to plant our banner on San Giusto, (in the Trentino.) The problem is to free Europe from German domination; a somewhat more important thing, it will be agreed. For what would it matter if the Italian flag flew over San Giusto and at the same time the German flag were at Tangier and Bona, and the Austrian at Saloniki? And would it be very important for the people of Trieste to become Italian citizens if Italy were about to become a vassal of Germany?

But Irredentism is a force. As such, it is opportune for politics to use it, for the crowd to take it up, for the sentimental man to give himself to it. It is also a very good thing for poets.

But for those who see clearly, what does Irredentism mean? The danger of turning a great action into a mean one.

Trento, Trieste, Fiume and the rest lie on our road. We shall take them if we can, for these reasons above all: to insure for ourselves relatively safe frontiers, (I say relatively because the only absolutely safe frontiers would be

the north and south poles,) and to obtain the dominion of the Adriatic and cut the knot of this problem of Irredentism once for all. * * * But there is another side of the matter wherein the Irredentists are wrong. It is thus: that in Italy, there is everywhere an atmosphere of thought that makes narrowly patriotic problems appear out of date, they are no longer deeply felt, and even when reason makes us admit that they exist, they have not that tremendous importance that the Irredentists say they have. The latter must spend their whole time thinking about Slavs, Germans, and Hungarians. They are in a passion about some trifle or other—a school, a speech from the bench or at the Board of Aldermen. Their savings are applied to fighting foreign languages. These are excellent efforts on the part of minorities or majorities of no very great strength—against police and government oppression, against race and caste hatreds sharpened by imperial malignity. But to them * * * every instant given to the culture that elevates man, through which the spirit rises above the particular details of language, blood, and tradition and incorporates it in the living current of the higher humanity—every such instant, I say, seems to them lost. The nationalist struggle turns such Italians into provincials. It makes them belong to Trento, Trieste and Dalmatia, before they belong to Italy. In the best cases, even, it makes them Italians before they are men.

The Hunters of the Alps

(I Cacciatori delle Alpi)

By Eduardo Ximenes

Signor Eduardo Ximenes, in Emporium, gives some stirring chapters in the history of the famous Alpine Brigade.

PEPPINO, Ricciotti, Menotti, Ezio and Santa Garibaldi have donned their uniforms as officers in the army and presented themselves at their regiments, the Fifty-first and Fifty-second of infantry.

These regiments form the "Alpi" brigade and have their origin in the regiments known in '59 as the "Cacciatori delle Alpi," (the "Hunters of the Alps,") and commanded by the great Giuseppe Garibaldi, the grandfather of these present-day officers. To be incorporated in these regiments, which in all military and civil contingencies have

shown themselves worthy of their tradition, was always the legitimate ambition of the sons of Ricciotti. One of them had taken part in the battle of Gargaresc in Tripolitania, Jan. 19, 1912.

At that battle, I remember, in the darkness that was filled with fever, movement, shots and cries, a strange vision came to me: the figure of a young man in civil dress, on horseback, who was seconding the impetuous ardor of the battalion. The line of the forehead of the beautiful young head descended straight with the nose, without a change of angle—as in the profile of Mars or in the leonine head of Gari-

baldi. Who was it? It seemed to me as if on that field of battle one heard the flutter of the wings of Garibaldian spirits. I could not stop considering the apparition, so strange in this place and at this time; I was so dumfounded by it that I really thought it a hallucination.

"Don't you know him?" said Corrado Zoli as he came up to me. "It's Ricciotti, the son of Ricciotti Garibaldi."

A spurt of sand flew among the hoofs of the horses. "Look out," I said to Zoli, "your horse is wounded."

"Well, all right, as long as he doesn't fall," answered he.

"Freedom of the Oceans"

By Archibald S. Hurd

Author of "The War-Readiness of the Fleet," &c.

In England Archibald S. Hurd occupies a position corresponding to that of Captain Persius, Germany's foremost writer on naval affairs. In the following, taken from an article in the October issue of The Fortnightly Review, Mr. Hurd makes reference to the need for maintaining international maritime law.

THE Imperial Chancellor, on behalf of the Emperor, has claimed that Germany is fighting, among other things, for "the freedom of the oceans." In the new issue of the North German Lloyd Company's year book appears an article with the same burden. It is assumed that sea conditions will undergo, as a result of the war, "a complete transformation"; that an international prize court will be established as "a sort of conscience against the British acts of violence"; and that the "theory of mare liberum will form a whole program of further progress in the development of international law as soon as England's naval power has been broken down under the German arms, and, so far from being able further to hinder the advance movement of an international law at sea, she would at last become ripe for co-operating in the crea-

tion of such a sea law as would redound to the blessing of the entire world."

It is well that the British people should recognize that, though the British Navy has more than fulfilled the hopes which resided in it on the outbreak of war, they are involved already in controversies of a serious if not critical character with neutral nations, and particularly with the United States, as to the extent to which British sea power may legitimately be employed without infringing the freedom of the seas as defined by ancient precedent, regulated by the general body of the law of nations, and governed by international usage. In fact, the British Government is confronted with a situation which takes the mind of a historian back to the opening years of the nineteenth century. We then became parties to a controversy which was concerned with the freedom of the seas, and that controversy led to one of the most deplorable and unnecessary wars in the world's history.

But we are now confronted once more with the century-old controversy as to our right to command the sea in time of war against our enemies. A widespread and insidious effort is being made by

German agents to undermine the influence which we exercise in virtue of our fleet. It is not, let it be noted, supreme against the world, but supreme against any probable combination of foes. In other words, as our history has illustrated, we exercise sea command, even in war time, only so long as we exercise it in accordance with the general sense of justice entertained by neutral and friendly powers. The German campaign against what is described as "British navalism" is peculiarly dangerous, because it makes an appeal to sentiment and passivism. We have an illustration of this tendency in the speech delivered on Jan. 9 at the Republican Club, New York, by Herr Dernburg.

Herr Dernburg's ideas are diametrically opposed to those expressed by the German Emperor when he was promoting the naval movement in Germany. Then Germany was determined that the trident should be in her hands; now, since, in spite of all her efforts, she has failed in her ambition, it is demanded that the trident shall be abolished.

Germany has everything to gain by recommending to the world the new doctrine of the freedom of the seas, because she is today—and hopes to continue to be tomorrow—the greatest of

all military powers. So long as the existing conditions at sea continue her army is imprisoned; it cannot move beyond the confines of the Continent which, for decades past, she has found too narrow for her ambitions. If once she could prevail upon the peoples of the world to agree to her conception of the "freedom of the seas," as expounded by Herr Dernburg and Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg, or even the alternative scheme advocated by President Eliot, then, indeed, world domination would no longer be merely an idle dream.

But at the same time, even at some temporary inconvenience, let us be on our guard against committing acts even savoring of illegality or injustice. A temporary advantage may prove a permanent embarrassment. We are not less the champions of the freedom of the seas than we are the immemorial champions of freedom on land. If the war should close leaving on the minds of neutral observers an impression that "British navalism" is in any sense the equivalent at sea of "Prussian militarism," grave injury will have been inflicted on the future of the British Empire, and the war will leave as a legacy seeds which may produce a renewed and fierce and, it may be to us, disastrous competition for naval power.

England's Third War Budget

By H. J. Jennings

[In the October Nineteenth Century and After]

ADJECTIVES of magnitude have been well-nigh exhausted over the figures of the September budget. They have been described as "unprecedented," "colossal," and "enormous," and at least one writer has employed Dominie Sampson's favorite exclamation, "Prodigious!" If these hard-worked adjectives had not become somewhat meaningless by everyday use we might say that they were appropriate to the occasion. For certain it is that the third war budget deals with an estimated expenditure and a tax revenue

such as no country has ever had an experience of before.

It may be well to summarize here the main features of the tax. All incomes over £130 a year, whether salary or wage, will be taxed. This will add about 700,000 persons to the list of income-tax payers. Allowance for children will continue to be claimed by persons whose total income does not exceed £500, £20 being free of tax in respect to each child under 16 years of age. Since the beginning of the war the tax on earned incomes has very nearly trebled, and so,



ARISTIDE BRIAND
New Premier of France and Minister of Foreign Affairs



JULES CAMBON

Formerly French Ambassador at Berlin, Now General Secretary of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs in the New Briand Cabinet

(Photo from M. E. Berner.)

also, has that on unearned incomes. Putting together the additions in the first and third budgets, we get an extra contribution on account of income tax and super-tax of £103,085,000.

The Chancellor expects to get an additional £2,240,000 a year by assessing farmers on the rent paid instead of, as hitherto, on one-third of the rent. This opens up a large and important question. Anything which may tend to check the enterprise of the farmer at the present time is to be regretted. To explain this it is necessary to revert to the American exchange question. Whatever temporary expedients may be adopted in order to alleviate the situation, it is clear that, so far as Great Britain is concerned, the only real cure would be such a change in our agricultural conditions as would enable us to do with less food produce from abroad, and especially with less wheat from America.

The question of restoring the exchange otherwise than by sending away our gold had therefore become an urgent one, but it was with the future rather than with the present aspects of the question that Mr. McKenna had to deal. His object is to restrict imports, especially of luxuries, to discourage extravagance, and, at the same time, to find money with the least amount of economic disturbance. To effect this he hits all around. No class escapes. The income tax is increased by 40 per cent., the exemption limit is reduced so as to bring in the wage earner from 50 shillings a week upward, the abatements are lowered, the super-tax is brought down heavily on the rich, excess war-time profits are to be shared equally with the State, we shall all have to pay more for our tea, sugar, cocoa, tobacco, and dried fruits, also for our motor spirit and patent medicines, and certain specified articles of foreign manufacture are to pay an import duty of one-third of their value.

In connection with direct taxation, the most novel move of the Government is that of taxing war-time profits. All trades, manufactures, concerns in the nature of trade and business, including agencies, whether engaged in the manufacture or sale of war materials or not,

whose profits exceeded those of the previous year by more than £100 are to pay a special tax of 50 per cent. of such profit. In most cases the datum line will be the known average of profit assessed to income tax for 1914-15, but if the profit for 1914-15 is less than 6 per cent. on the capital employed, then that percentage may be taken as the datum line.

An independent tribunal will decide on the datum line for businesses for carrying out Government contracts for munitions which before the war earned less than a fair return on their capital. Interest will also be allowed on additional capital invested within the war period and on capital invested in the three years before the war which was unremunerative during that period.

These exceptions or allowances do not invalidate the important principle established in the new tax—the principle that the State has a right to share in the profits made out of the emergency of the State. As the 50 per cent. will be reckoned in addition to the income tax, it works out, after deducting the latter, at just over 60 per cent. net of the profits. For the current year its operation is limited to the business year of those firms or companies making up their balance sheets on or before the 30th of June last. This limitation will restrict the product of the tax for 1915-16, and it is not expected to yield more than £6,000,000, but for 1916-17 a much larger number of firms will come under its operation, and then a revenue of £30,000,000 is looked for—an estimate that appears to err on the side of over-restraint. It is even predicted in some quarters that shipping alone will furnish more than that amount.

The abolition of the halfpenny postcard will not only be a widely felt inconvenience, but it will be a serious blow to the picture-postcard industry as well. Apart from the consequences to the picture-card trade, is the game worth the candle? The deliveries of postcards in the United Kingdom are about 100,000,000 a year, which brings in over £200,000. Is it likely, if the minimum postage is raised to a penny, that the same amount will be obtained? This proposal is the

one serious flaw in the budget, and at the time of writing it seems probable that the Chancellor will have to bow to public opinion and withdraw it. The universal experience has been that the cheaper the postal facilities the greater and more profitable the business.

The complete result, or anticipated result, of these various new taxes will be practically to double tax revenue since the war began. German statesmen and editors make a boast of the fact that so far they have not raised any war funds by taxation. That is true, but—Mr. Hope, M. P., notwithstanding—they are pursuing the far less commendable course of raising the money by loans and by

“hanky-panky” manipulations of currency paper. Dr. Helfferich, the Imperial Minister of Finance, recently admitted that he dared not impose further taxation, and it is a fair inference that he knew any such proposals would be futile—that the burdens of the German taxpayers are already as heavy as they can bear. We, too, might have carried on the war on loans without new taxation, and left posterity to foot the whole bill, but we have “chosen the better part.” When the financial day of reckoning comes it will be found that the countries that have met at least a portion of their war expenditure out of revenue are in the sounder position.

Registration in Britain

By Clement Kinloch-Cooke

“The National Register and After” is the title of an article in The Nineteenth Century and After, of which the following is part:

ORGANIZATION in any undertaking, in any contest, in any campaign is an essential precedent to success. To disregard it is to court failure, to invite disaster. No sane person will cavil at these conclusions, no unbiased critic will challenge their accuracy. That being so, it follows logically and conclusively that if we are to win the war in a reasonable time, and without undue or unnecessary expenditure of life and money, the entire community must be organized. It is therefore with a sense of extreme satisfaction that the nation welcomes the appearance on the statute book of the National Registration act.

National service is the corollary of national organization. The one is of no avail without the other. Just as a shell does not become operative until the fuse is attached, so national organization is powerless without national service. In other words, the whole work of the register will be wasted unless the service it entails is made effective.

Yet, strange as it may seem, the call

that the register involves was for a time in danger of being treated in some quarters as though it were an infringement of the rights of the people, and this because a suspicion was abroad that service under the act must necessarily mean compulsory service. That is not so.

No one denies, no one can deny, that the voluntary system has been most prolific in its results. Under that system we have raised an army of which the empire may well be proud. No country in the world can boast of a voluntary army equal in magnitude to the British Army; we possess a military force of volunteers such as the world has never seen. All that is readily and willingly conceded by the advocates of conscription.

But is our voluntary army large enough to accomplish the purpose in hand? Will it meet the enormous wastage that modern warfare entails? Has every recruit been so carefully chosen that, not only is he able to undergo training on this side, but is equally fitted to perform the more strenuous duties that await him when he reaches the actual theatre of war? Can we afford any longer to let married men with large

families enlist while single men stay behind?

We are fighting for our existence as a nation, our existence as a race; if the British Nation goes down in this conflict the British Empire goes down too. We must win, and we shall win. But it is no use thinking that victory is to be gained by following the old lines and pursuing the old methods. Everything must change, and above all our recruiting system must change. Just as France, Russia, and Italy have staked their all, so must Great Britain stake her all. Not only have the industries of the country to be organized, but the manhood and the womanhood of the country must be mobilized. Every man of military age who can be spared from the factory or the workshop and from the occupations necessary to transact the business of the State must bear arms.

In so momentous a crisis in our history it is only fitting that the Government should inform the public, as indeed they have done, that Ministers are engaged in examining the subject of conscription with a view of coming to a right decision. I cordially welcome the statement made by the Minister of Munitions that "the issue is one of fact, not of principle." Conscription is not a political but a military question, and it is on the conclusions arrived at by their military adviser that the decision of the Cabinet will be taken.

But let there be no hesitation. We have glorious traditions behind us and a splendid future in front of us, but there must be no halting between two opinions. Now is the time for action. Let that action be taken and success is assured.

The Vatican and the War

By Mgr. Canon Moyes, D. D.

The Right Rev. Mgr. Canon Moyes, D. D., in the October issue of The Nineteenth Century and After, discusses this situation under the chapter of "The Pope and the German Atrocities."

TO certain minds it has been a subject of surprise, and even of scandal, that the Pope has not publicly condemned the outrages committed by Germany during the present war. It has been pointed out that the struggle is one in which the leading nations of Europe are engaged, and that horrors surpassing all that we have hitherto heard of have been perpetrated. Vital issues of national equity and comity, and therein of national morality, have arisen and cried out for judgment. And yet at this historic crisis, when, if ever, plain and fearless speech is most wanted, the Papacy—the one power which claims to be at once spiritual and international, the power which can speak with authority to some two hundred and fifty millions of consciences—is found to remain strangely silent and to wrap itself up in its neutrality!

The answer may be summed up in saying that the Pope stands in an international position, and that he has not been able to make the condemnations which some people have expected from him because such condemnations require investigations of facts, and these investigations have been largely outside his reach and, in many cases, outside his province.

It is undoubtedly true that the report of Lord Bryce's commission of inquiry stands upon a level of testimony notably higher and more authentic than anything which could be gathered from the ordinary columns of the press. In truth, it would be difficult to conceive, within the limits of its scope, any examination of the facts more thorough, more conscientious, or more convincing. Benedict XV. could hardly, any more than any other fair-minded reader, have risen from a study of its tragic pages with any doubt left as to the reality, the multitude, and the revolting character of the outrages committed. In the mind of the Pope the conviction would be even more

irresistible, as the findings of the report would be the echo and corroboration of the account already submitted to the Holy See by Cardinal Mercier.

And yet, however much the Pope may be personally convinced, if he is to act officially and judicially, it is plain that he cannot base an accusation upon what is, despite its excellence, an *ex parte* statement, emanating from one side only of the belligerent parties.

It is just because we have the conviction that the counterpleas of the Germans are so utterly hollow and fictitious, and that the real inspiration of

the ideals and methods of their leaders are so hopelessly in contradiction to the Gospel, that we feel assured that time cannot fail to lift the mask from the face of our adversaries. Meanwhile, in the growing light of fuller evidence, facts which are the basis of judgment, now obscured or temporarily placed in judicial doubt by mendacious denials or lack of investigation, will emerge as undeniable; and at the fitting moment, when the cause of right and truth and humanity and civilization will claim its verdict, the witness from the Chair of Peter will not be wanting.

A German on the War

By G. Lowes Dickinson

In The Hibbert Journal, Mr. Dickinson comments on Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Förster's "Germany's Young Men and the War":

IT is one of the evils of war that it cuts off the belligerent nations from all knowledge of the enemy's point of view. Whole nations may thus come to be regarded as something monstrous and outside the pale and the re-establishing of mutual comprehension be made unnecessarily difficult. Now, in the present war, nothing is more remarkable than the conviction of the people of every belligerent country that they are fighting a righteous war of self-defense, and even that they are fighting it honorably and their enemies dishonorably.

To illustrate this, I have brought together a few passages from a pamphlet by Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Förster, entitled "*Deutschlands Jugend und der Weltkrieg*." Dr. Förster is Professor of Education at Munich, and exercises a great influence over the youth of Germany. He is, it will be seen, a pacifist, in spite of his idealization of the moral discipline of war, and an internationalist, in spite of his German patriotism. And though, of course, he speaks only for himself, his opinions may be taken to be at least as representative as those of

men like Reventlow or Rohrbach. The reader will supply his own comments.

First, then, as to the origin of the war. Dr. Förster repudiates all responsibility for his own Government and nation:

Our Kaiser allowed our opponents to get the advantage in mobilizing that he might have the advantage in love of peace. This moral advantage is of much greater significance, even for military power, than any external advantage that can be won at the cost of conscience. We neither desired nor caused the war.

On the contrary, the war was a conspiracy against Germany. And for this conspiracy our author attributes a chief share of blame to England. He pleads, nevertheless, for a just estimate of the English contribution to civilization, and against the passion of hate that has swept through Germany:

Hate disorganizes, love disciplines. Fill yourselves with deepest sympathy for all who suffer in war, whose hearts are crushed, whose bodies are broken, whose homes are burned. Fill yourselves with enthusiasm for everything which your nation in the future shall build above these wrecks and ruins, and then charge and fight as one consecrated to death, doing your utmost to end this horror and win a peace which shall make a recurrence of such things impossible. Such a purification from the passion of hate is often easier on the field than at home. Those who remain behind have an abstract enemy in view.

With regard to the effects of the war upon the national conscience, our author seems to alter his position as he proceeds. At the beginning he is full of that kind of hot idealism of war which seems to be peculiar to Germans, and which constitutes their chief menace to civilization. He speaks sometimes as though life existed for the sake of sacrifice, and as though the sacrificing of life more than made up for the taking of it. But later he asserts roundly that war is opposed to Christianity:

Christianity must not be swallowed up in the war spirit. Much has been said on this point in the last few months in an unchristian spirit, and the Divine truth has been betrayed to temporal interests and passions. Christ stands against war and above war. He who loses sight of

this truth slays that deep conscience of civilization which is meant to goad us unceasingly on to allay this fury of war. We know well that if we were Christians there would be no war.

These extracts will serve to give some idea of the contents of this popular tract. There are in it many statements and assumptions which an Englishman cannot accept, many omissions of what he regards as essential points—for instance, there is no reference to Belgium—and much in the tone and manner which is distasteful to our less romantic temperament and more sober intellect. Nevertheless, a candid reader, who may have been swept off his balance by the events of the war, will recognize that it is not a nation of "barbarians" that the author represents.

A Theological Holiday—and After

By L. P. Jacks

ONE hears often nowadays the comment that current geographies will be tossed aside as a result of Europe's mighty conflict. And, indeed, the interlocked armies are engaged in making over—if not renovating—politically and even, in spots, topographically, a continent. Mankind will emerge from war's clouds to find new fields of thought, too, outspread for his incursions. One such is suggested by L. P. Jacks, writing in *The Hibbert Journal*, of which he is editor. Mr. Jacks says in part:

Is there not ground for believing that a theological holiday, partial at all events, has actually been imposed upon Europe, and to a lesser extent also upon America, by the present war? A glance at the publishers' lists reveals at once an enormous reduction in the number of theological books issuing from the press; and in this connection it may be noted that an important theological journal which devotes its pages to the reviewing of these books has recently announced its suspension for "lack of material." * * *

A "new theology" began in fact to form around the war itself; but so different from the old both in topics and method, and in the persons from whom it originated, as to suggest the conclusion that many of our former friends, the

theologians of ante-bellum days, were taking, or being forced to take, a holiday. * * *

The intellectual eminence of Germany in the field of theology is challenged, and to some extent already discredited, by its association with the spectacle of present German conduct. * * * The sudden and complete cessation of the new supply of German theology, and the diminished respect for the old supply already on our hands—have had the effect for the time being of damping the ardors of theological speculation in so far as these were dependent, as to a great extent they were dependent, on German sources for their inspiration. * * *

The war has suddenly launched us all into a new world where the laws and formulae of the old order are difficult to apply. * * * Is the world good? Is the world bad? Hardly a day passes but we are ready to shout an affirmative answer to both questions. Meanwhile our speculations about God are held in abeyance; the time for them will not come until we have recovered our lost bearings in the actual world. Let us first know what kind of a world it is in which we are living, and whether our human nature has or has not the force to establish the thing it believes to be good. * * *

What, when the present lull is over, will be the effect of the war on the interpretation of religion in theology? The

analogy of the past suggests that, whatever happens, there will be no arrest or breakdown. Religion and theology have proved over and over again that they are able to maintain themselves in presence of the most deeply pessimistic views of the world and of human nature. * * * When all goes well and man seems to be making a success of his life, the theology of moral excellence will be in the ascendant. When all goes ill and the devil seems master of the world, the theology of salvation is bound to assert itself. * * * We may be tolerably sure that the effect of war will be to promote development in one or other of the two directions indicated. Which of the two directions will be taken depends very largely on the visions we are gaining during our present theological holiday; on the general impression left by the state of the world which the war will leave behind; and on our interpretation of the war itself when its full significance shall have been disclosed to us, as it will not be till long after the issue is determined. It may be that the issue of events will be such that we shall be able to look back on this tragedy as the most splendid episode of history and a crowning evidence of the nobility of man. That will be good for the theology of moral excellence. But this is by no means sure, and can only happen if certain forces, not yet victorious, get the upper hand. It is possible that humanity may emerge from this conflict not proud of its achievements but thoroughly ashamed of itself. * * *

The war has provided an astonishing revelation of man's capacity to sacrifice himself for an ideal. But what ideal? Had we been in earnest with the pursuit of moral excellence our ideal would have been one which would have rendered this

war impossible. Consider only one among the multitudes of causes which produced the present crisis—I mean the enormous amount of deliberate lying which went on in certain places high and low. Had not the liars done their deadly work the war would never have taken place; and even now would cease automatically if all the newspapers, orators, professors, statesmen, Kaisers, and other users of language in Europe were to speak the truth consistently for a week on end. * * *

Who, then, can doubt that if the pursuit of moral excellence is to turn out a success, man will have to do much better in the future than he has ever done in the past? There is no reason why he should not. Nay, rather, the disgrace which has been brought on the human family as a whole by the actions of some of its members creates an opportunity for the others, as well as for the chief sinners themselves, to wipe out the disgrace by actions of a contrary kind. What, for instance, is to be the answer of every nation of seafaring men to the German outrage on the great and solemn traditions of the sea? I imagine it will be the resolve to uphold those traditions with a more unswerving loyalty than ever. That is the spirit which, if extended to the whole horrible situation created by the present war, might cause it to issue in a moral triumph.

Man, meanwhile, is neither as wise nor as good as he thought he was. A damaging blow has been dealt at the reputation of human nature; man's self-respect is for the moment lowered; and unless humanity redeems its character by some great act of atonement, as it conceivably may, it is probable that the theology which interprets religion as the pursuit of moral excellence will remain below the horizon for some time to come.

The Quintessence of Austria

By Henry Wickham Steed

UNDER the above title Henry Wickham Steed discusses in *The Edinburgh Review* the revelation which, he says, the hitherto misapprehended Austrian Empire and its ruling house have made of themselves in the course of months of warfare. Austria, Mr. Steed regards as a country "or, rather, an Imperial Estate, more Eastern than Western in character"; while Francis Joseph is "more nearly a Sultan

than a true constitutional monarch." The writer says:

* * * Attempts to understand Austria from the outside are almost certain to fail. * * * The racial strife, of which so much has been heard in reports from Austria and Hungary, is not in itself a proof of hopeless incompatibility of temperament among the Hapsburg peoples. It is rather the outcome of a deliberate system of State which aims at setting off one race against the other, favoring those which behave well toward the dynasty,

curbing those whose power seems dangerous, and creating an equilibrium of moderate discontent in which no one race is ever entirely satisfied, never without jealousy of its neighbors, but in which each and all are taught to look to the Crown as the sole dispenser of benefits. * * * When all is said and done, the Austrian regards himself as a better fellow than the North German, a superior and more polished human being. * * * In these feelings the people are at one with the imperial family. Pride is still the strongest characteristic of the dynasty, most of whose blunders it has inspired. The Hapsburgs cannot stoop to conquer. They cannot place themselves in the position of others or treat them with that imaginative tact which smooths away obstacles and wins hearts. * * *

Mr. Steed takes up in some detail all the facts and fancies available regarding the Serajevo tragedy of June 28, 1914—the trigger-pulling of the war. He sees sinister, subterranean influences from the Kaiser's realms in the preceding and succeeding circumstances. In part he says:

* * * There was undoubtedly a plot to assassinate the Archduke. In part, at least, it was organized at Belgrade—but so were most of the bogus anti-Austrian manifestations of 1908 and the majority of the anti-Serbian forgeries exposed during the Friedjung trial. It is possible that some corrupt or fanatical Serbians may have been implicated in it, but there is not a shred of evidence to implicate the Serbian Government. More enlightening than any circumstantial evidence is, however, the application of the test: *Cui prodest?* Serbia and the Serbian Government had nothing to gain and everything to lose by a crime which was bound to revive memories of the assassination of Alexander and Draga, and to put Serbia out of court in most European countries. Serbia, moreover, had just emerged exhausted, albeit victorious, from two Balkan wars, and was in no condition to pick a quarrel with the neighboring monarchy. The monarchy, on the other hand, had been repeatedly foiled in its efforts to pick a quarrel with Serbia. Had a pretext been deliberately manufactured to put all the apparent right on the side of Austria, and all the wrong on the side of Serbia, and to reduce to a minimum the Serbian chances of receiving sympathy or help from Russia, England, or France, no apter pretext than the Serajevo assassination could have been forged.

But, whether fatality or design came to the help of the central powers, whether they profited by an accident or jogged the elbow of Providence, they were not slow to take advantage of the crime. Whereas

the Emperor Francis Joseph's first proclamation to his peoples, in which he abjured them not to make the whole Serbian race responsible for the act of a few fanatics, seemed to betray a disposition not to push matters to extremes, it is certain that, a fortnight later, he had been persuaded by the German Emperor to sanction the ultimatum to Serbia which was designed to render her submission impossible. The German Ambassador, Herr von Tschirschky, then, as always, in closest agreement with the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, worked hard and successfully to prevent a pacific solution. It is uncertain whether either Germany or Austria really believed that a European conflagration would ensue. They may have expected to "pocket" Serbia without undue trouble. They may have thought that Russia and France would "back down," and that England would not intervene. The attitude of the British Radical press and of some Unionist organs which advocated the punishment of Serbia certainly encouraged such a belief. Thus things drifted toward the catastrophe.

The time has not yet come fully to discuss the diplomatic history of the first year of the war. It can only usefully be said that not until after the first six months of the war did the diplomacy of the Allies really reveal comprehension of the main German purpose in precipitating it. That purpose can only be defeated decisively and irrevocably, if the diplomacy of the Allies is guided by the settled determination so to reconstitute Europe that a renewal of the struggle shall become impossible. Europe cannot be so reconstituted without the dismemberment of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The overthrow of the Turkish Empire and the settlement of the Balkan problem would necessarily involve the solution, once and for all, of the Austrian problem. The aim of the central empires is domination; the aim of the Allies must be, not passively or reluctantly but actively and constructively, liberation in accordance with the principle of nationality. Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania should receive as nearly as possible their ethnographical boundaries. Serbia should be united with all the Southern Slavs hitherto under Hapsburg rule, that is to say with the Serb and Croat inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, part of Istria, and the Slovene country. Bohemia and Moravia, with the Slovak country of Hungary, should be constituted an independent principality with a port on the Danube at Pressburg and a port on the Elbe at Aussig—of which the traffic before the war exceeded that of Trieste. An autonomous, reunited Poland under the Russian sceptre is indispensable to European stability. * * *

A Polish Socialist on Poland's Future

By Dr. Wittboldt Jodko

The position of the Russian-Polish Democracy is outlined in the subjoined interview with the leading member of his party, as given by the Stockholm Social Democrat:

OF all the nations subject to other powers, the Polish people feel their nationalistic self-consciousness most strongly. That is the reason why our striving for independence is so pronounced. I must state at once that all Poles are not antagonistic to Russia. This is due to the political situation, which makes a division logical. In the eyes of the Democratic element to which liberty becomes a question of life and death, it is essential to seek salvation in Western Europe. Without such affiliation, it could not even exist.

On the other hand, the conservative element—the landed proprietors and the bourgeois—leans toward Russia, and it is constantly utilizing its position for its own interest. This element lacks confidence in the people's movement and is resting in the belief that Russian domination will continue in Poland. Selfishness is the actuating force that makes the Conservatives support the Russian régime.

Even before the war these two divisions asserted themselves. One party aims at pulling away from Russia; the other strives to maintain the present relations. We, who belong to the first-named class, are firmly convinced that only by a deliverance from Russian control can we develop our political, social, and nationalistic consciousness. We do not believe in the possibility of a normal development under absolutism, even less under a liberal Russian régime. The tradition of centralization is a fixed matter for Russia. The all-penetrative bureaucracy exists because of this centralization and derives its nutriment therefrom. And a modern Russian state is to us Social Democrats an even more dangerous condition than the bureaucratic organization. In order that the

bureaucracy can become a suitable governing force it would have to centralize to a still further degree than have the old Conservatives.

An independent development under any Russian Government is a sheer impossibility for Poland. And as the middle class in Russia gains greater and greater influence, the less of a chance will the Poles have to establish their political freedom. Those of us who firmly oppose Russia have been frank enough to give this opposition expression in the forming of the Polish Legion. More than half of the number in the legion belong in Russian Poland.

We of Russian Poland have organized military bodies. Six regiments have been completed, with the seventh under way. We have cavalry and several batteries, as well as a number of machine guns. It is not to be forgotten that the members of the legion are constantly in the field with the regular armies, and that the losses sustained have not been inconsiderable.

The Russians themselves have organized a Polish Legion, but it counts not over 1,500 men. As a matter of fact, it was a trick of the Russians to organize this body from among the soldiers. Nobody ever hears about this legion, what its purpose is or what it stands for, so we may as well discard the element as a factor in the Russian Polish situation.

The Duma does not furnish us any encouragement. We do not believe in Russian promises. Always, when Russia is in trouble, comes the promise of Polish autonomy. I believe that the central powers will give us liberty and that it is to their interest to create a buffer State between them and Russia.

In case, however, that the central powers should divide Poland between them then the question remains open, and Russia would continue to agitate within our country. The Russophile agitation will cease only when Polish soil is relieved of foreign control. In so far as concerns Posen, there a somewhat dif-

ferent condition prevails. In Posen the German and Polish elements mingle satisfactorily. So soon as the Russian Polish people are free they could also labor for the retention of the Polish idiom among the German Poles.

I believe unqualifiedly in a final victory for the central powers. The strength

of the Russian armies is broken. They cannot for a long time to come prove dangerous. A sign in that direction is the great number of Russian prisoners. I know for a certainty that there is a great scarcity of officers. Where formerly three or four officers held command one now has charge.

The German Government in Relation to Belgian Works of Art

By Dr. W. von Bode

Chief Director of the Berlin Museums

The following statement by Dr. von Bode appeared in a leaflet issued by the League of German Scholars and Artists for the Advancement of Culture, Berlin:

UGO OJETTI, a writer of fiction in Florence, has invented and spread a foolish story according to which the chief director of the Berlin Museums is supposed to have given the German military authorities a "proscriptive" list of works of art to be taken from various public collections in France. Further, Ojetti says that as this plan could not be carried out, the director had advised the destruction of the Rheims Cathedral. This absurd and infamous libel was repeated and perhaps believed in all countries. But while we have been thus denounced as robbers and barbarians, Germany and Germany alone has in reality taken steps in order to protect works of art in the enemies' country. Directly after the occupation of Brussels the director of the Industrial Art Museum in Berlin, Herr von Falke, was appointed on my suggestion to superintend the protection of works of art in Belgium and their preservation for Belgium.

Herr von Falke, with the help of gentlemen employed in the Belgian public collections, has examined the works of art in the occupied parts of Belgium, and it has been ascertained that in all large towns ancient buildings, paintings, works of sculpture and of industrial

art of any importance are in a perfect state of preservation, and are in safety with one single exception—the library of Louvain. The statement made in various towns that pictures or church treasure have been brought to London seems not to have been true, not even in the case of the van Eyck altar in Gand. In reality, such precious objects seem to have been hidden in cellars and other safe places. The preservation of these art treasures and the almost perfect state of preservation of all architectural masterpieces are wholly due to the extreme care taken by the Germans to avoid damaging the buildings during the bombardment of towns, wherever the bombardment was absolutely necessary from a military point of view.

In the case of the treacherous attack made on our troops by the people of Louvain, German soldiers saved the Town Hall and the churches from destruction by fire at the risk of their own lives. The burning of the library was entirely the fault of the library officials, who had all fled, neglecting their obvious duty.

That the Belgian Government took no pains to preserve Belgian buildings is proved by the fact that while Herr von Falke was examining the cathedral of Malines the Belgian artillery fired shells at the building.

During the siege of Antwerp General von Beseler himself requested the Belgian commander to give him a list of

artistically valuable buildings and succeeded most admirably in preserving these from harm during the bombardment. In Gand and Bruges all monuments of architecture are intact. In Rheims also the German commander did all that was in his power to preserve not only the cathedral but also the older church of St. Remy from serious damage during the bombardment, although

the French repeatedly placed batteries in the neighborhood of the cathedral and made use of the towers as posts of observation.

Religious feeling and knowledge and love of art, which are as widely spread in the army as in the nation, have everywhere made our army a protector of architectural masterpieces and of all works of art.

Poland's Deliverance

By Ignacy Daszynski

The Vienna weekly publication, Polen, recently contained the following article dealing with the situation in the war-torn territory between Germany, Austria, and Russia:

WITH the fall of Brest-Litovsk the last Russian soldier has been driven from Polish soil. The entire Kingdom of Poland, counting 13,000,000 souls, is thereby delivered from the Russian yoke. Central Europe is no longer in danger from the appearance of the Russian armies gathered along the Vistula.

The Kingdom of Poland, wrongly called Russian Poland, has been the greatest standing battlefield in the world. Two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, the best in Russia, concentrated in ten great fortresses and fortified camps, threatened Germany and Austria, north, south, and west, ready to march at the command from Petersburg, which had allied itself with France and England. So formidable was this mass of soldiers that there were parts of the country where for each five of unarmed Polish men there was one Russian soldier to keep watch over them.

Four times during the nineteenth century Poland rose against this military oppression. Each time they struggled without Europe lending any assistance whatever. Capitalistic Europe had something else to do than support Polish uprisings. Poland itself had to sow the seeds of blood-bought liberty. And after each revolution stretched long lines of

exiles bound for Siberia, where they were left to die. In this way the best elements among the people were systematically being destroyed during the course of a century.

Is it then to be wondered that later generations in Poland, finding themselves in the minority as against Russian aggression, and considering the fight an impossible and insane proposition, began to aim at an understanding with the Czar's empire? We repeat, however, that only a small proportion of the political element in Poland lost hope. On the whole the common people themselves, as well as the highly cultured, were far from believing that future justice for Poland was to be looked for in the Russian Chancellery. Even before any one was thinking of war with Russia, the people were secretly getting their weapons into shape for use against the enemy. It is true that these weapons were of an insignificant sort, but, such as they were, they were at hand. The revolutionary group was not numerous, but in which modern State—or, rather, in what country with such a police organization as in Russia—would it have been possible to get together 10,000 persons to war against the State? Yet the Polish people have understood the art!

Many observers of the grand events of the past, as reflected in the happenings in Poland, are inclined to attribute to the Polish people too much enthusiasm as regards the victories won by the Teutonic forces. But how difficult did not

this seem to have been some months back! It was the opinion that the lines along the Dunajec and the Vistula, the fronts of the Narew and the Niemen, would hold for at least a year. Why, then, belittle the victories won over the Russians?

The flight of the Russians from Brest-Litovsk makes possible a calm contemplation regarding Poland's future. The resistless victory of the Teuton armies strengthens the belief that a new era is at hand. The Polish Nation is gathering itself together; it rises from its sickness; it begins to rid itself of its chains. With the exception of that despicable element that left the country voluntarily with the Russians, the people of Poland breathe easier.

Everything in its religion, in its history, its culture, turns the Polish people away from Russia; Poland belongs to Western Europe. And this western influence cannot possibly bring the same pressure to bear that Russia so long exerted. For the present the armies of the central powers have the word. That is the reason why the situation still remains hazy. The people cannot speak out. But when the opportunity comes, Poland will say that it wants only to gain its liberty and chance to develop. The task will then devolve on twenty millions of people at the door of Russia to create a barrier against Russia.

Poland is also the natural ally of the people of the Ukraine and the Jews. All must prepare to fight the absolutism of the Czar. Only the enemies of Poland can countenance the destruction of the Ukrainians and the Jews as necessary to the nation's deliverance. The Austrian policy regarding the development of the Ruthenians would have been impossible had it not been for the Polish majority willing to grant concessions to the Ruthenians in Galicia. As for the Jews, they found in Poland their second native country.

The relationship of a freed Poland to its deliverers is a question that comes under the future issues of the war. The question should not long wait for an answer. There is only one thing that I desire to emphasize in this auspicious hour that sees the Russians driven from Brest-Litovsk. The nations and peoples that desire to live in closer union with Poland must consider it as their equal. No interests based on opportunistic politics, no explication of what is best for the moment, no nationalistic illusions, can serve here. The Polish question is a very big question. Its solution is to be sought on the fields of battle of this gigantic world war, and constitutes one of its most significant factors. Let us make ready to aid in solving this question—a question on which may rest the peace of Europe for decades after the war ends.

Some Recent German War Literature

By M. Epstein

DR. EPSTEIN, who is assistant editor of *The Statesman's Year-Book*, has been wandering over the mountains of printed matter—books, booklets, pamphlets, and brochures—built by German writers with the war as a basis. Such publications had attained at the close of nine months of conflict a total of 4,518, including many books of verse, which Dr. Epstein dismisses as by-products of war literature. He discusses in *The Hibbert Journal* and, naturally, in no mental frame of amity, some of the more

recent and pretentious outgivings of Teutonic historians, philosophers, and economists. He feels with evident astonishment that war fever has made them delirious. Speaking of "Heroes and Hucksters," written by Dr. Werner Sombart, he says:

The great mass of the German people do not as yet care about the peace of the world, and have but little wish for friendship with England. Their political writers tell them that England's ideals are so totally opposed to their own that not only is a *rapprochement* with her unthinkable, but also undesirable. It is to be feared that this point of view is wide-

spread in Germany, and one of its doughtiest champions is Werner Sombart. * * * Sombart was the *enfant terrible* at the University of Breslau, opposed to all that the authorities stood for; to whom nothing was holy, not even the Kaiser. And now this man is among the staunchest supporters of German militarism and all that it connotes; he is the prophet of a new gospel for the German people. Such is the influence of the Demon of War.

"Heroes and Hucksters" is the title of the booklet wherein Sombart utters the burden of his message—for Germans only; he cares not what the rest of the world thinks. The English are the hucksters, the Germans the heroes; the English are the warehousemen, the Germans the warriors. * * * In the present war the religion of the shopkeeper is at death-grips with that of the warrior. Would you know what the shopkeeper's religion is, go to his philosophers. From Francis Bacon to Herbert Spencer, they are all only "philosophers," (in inverted commas.) He scoffs at them for being political economists, practical fellows, loving comfort and material well-being. Only a nation of shopkeepers could produce philosophers such as these; a nation with common sense, a nation whose leaders pride themselves on being able to understand the man in the street. Look at the quality of their Ministers. Compare Grey with Bethmann-Hollweg! * * *

Sombart next attacks English ethics. "The greatest good of the greatest number"—there you have the highest ideal of a trafficker's soul. His virtues? They are "the negative virtues" of contentment, honesty, moderation, diligence, justice, self-control, modesty, patience. One could not desire a better enumeration of English characteristics. Truly, Sombart

is here "a Daniel come to judgment," but he knows it not. On he stalks, telling his countrymen that the State in England is in no wise a living organism, but a mechanical entity; that English world-politics is but the policy of an enlarged universal provider or store; that war for the Englishman is something in the nature of sport; and that England has contributed but little to the world's intellectual values, (he is careful to add "since Shakespeare.") Nothing in religion; a few poets, who were, however, of Irish birth, "and therefore anti-English"; nothing in music; in painting, ditto. In fact, a nation of shopkeepers cannot evolve any intellectual values, neither now nor in all eternity, even if they wished to. But they do not wish to; all they want, all they find delight in is comfort and sport. * * *

Herbert Kraus's defense of the invasion of Belgium as justifiable on international legal bases draws this comment from Dr. Epstein:

The manner of the defense of "the holiest possessions" has been carefully considered too. In "The Present War in the Arena of International Law" Herbert Kraus admits that Germany when it invaded Belgium acted contrary to international agreements; but seeing that the measure was in self-defense, it was justifiable, as witness the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 and the Caroline case in 1837. Pretty much the same argument is advanced by Ludwig Beer in his "Public Law and War." A candid admission of wrongdoing such as the Chancellor made in his famous Reichstag speech of Aug. 4, 1914, is much more straightforward than a series of twistings to attempt to prove that Germany did not sin against the law of nations. * * *

Psychological Defeat

By R. Arseneff

R. Arseneff, the celebrated Russian author and journalist, in discussing current political events in the September issue of the Vestnik Yevropi, (European Messenger,) deals at some length with the problem of what he terms the "psychological defeat," or feeling of despondency, resulting from the uninterrupted onward march of the Teutons. Mr. Arseneff begins his article with the question:

IS it true that there exists among the broad masses of the Russian people a negative feeling as to the advisability of further continuing our warlike

measures, a passionate desire for peace at any price, a desire—terrible to utter—for defeats, which might hasten the end of the war? Has this come into life? Does it grow—this phenomenon for which the term "psychological defeat" is best fit? And if the "psychologically defeated" are not the creation of evil and fear, then what is their true status? Are they mere units or huge groups? The future alone can give the correct answer to these questions. It is, however, difficult to believe in the popularity of a feeling so radically adverse to the meaning

of this great moment. True, there were times when the prospects of a humiliating and difficult peace compared with one of complete victory seemed the lesser evil; they were the times when it was generally assumed that disaster to our arms outside would bring about a change for the better within the boundaries of our empire; but a great abyss lies between the conditions prevalent then and these prevailing now. It is one thing to wage a war undertaken without extreme necessity—a conflict having nothing in common with the vital interests of a people; it is another thing to wage a war, forced upon us by our adversary, conducted in a manner that violates the most elementary precepts of humanity and right, threatening, in case of victory, countless disasters.

It is a case of one country, inhabited by millions of slaves, systematically held in ignorance, rising against another country, which has awakened to new life, choosing a path where obstacles are likely to be met, but where turning back is utterly out of question.

Referring to the Russian treaties of Paris, Berlin, and Portsmouth as treaties

of peace that did not in the least affect the might of the huge empire, Mr. Arsen-eff goes on:

The results of a treaty of peace between Russia and the Teutonic powers would be entirely different. This would be a peace of "defeat," inseparably linked with terrible loss and countless sacrifices. Above all, a peace of this sort would not be lasting. In the footsteps of one war would follow another war more sanguinary than the one waged at present.

Those high aims for the attainment of which Russia united with the leading nations of Europe would remain unattained; the deep wounds inflicted on the Russian people and their allies would remain unhealed.

Conditions and rules of life stamped and sealed by a victorious Germany would least of all facilitate the movement forward to the ideal aims so dear to the hearts of the masses of Russia and those of Western Europe. On the path to such aims there are no obstacles that can be removed by a German victory—that victory of which our "psychologically vanquished" dream.

Russia's Fourth Enemy—Bulgaria

By A. Menshekoff

The entrance of Bulgaria into the war was the cause of the bitterest disappointment to the Russian people. The Novoye Vremya of Oct. 21, 1915, publishes an article, written by the Russian writer and journalist, A. Menshekoff, a life-long friend of Count Leo Tolstoy, and for years known as a Liberal. With the opening of the first Duma, however, and thereafter, he became the soul of conservative Russia. In his article headed: "Our Fourth Enemy," the distinguished journalist gives free expression to the deep resentment caused in Russia by Bulgaria's turning traitor to the Slav cause:

A FOURTH front has been presented. War is declared on Bulgaria. For us—the old generation of Russians, who well remember the time when

there was no such a thing as Bulgaria, when in her place were only Turkish raiders, it is especially hard to think of this fratricidal war. The war for Bulgaria's freedom in 1877 deeply shook all Russia, and even that part of our youth, too young to go forth to the front, took a most ardent unreserved part in waging the combat. That war was undertaken by Russia for no advantage or conquest, but with a view of freeing the Slav subjects from the Turkish yoke and persecution, threatening them with total destruction. The Bashibazooks, who soon after the outbreak of the war overran defenseless Bulgaria, subjected the Bulgars, their wives and children to ruthless death and destruction. Previous to an attempt at freeing the Bulgars, Russia

had to save them from an imminent death. That the threat of total destruction was not merely a threat is amply proved by the present wholesale murder of the Armenians, which still goes on in those outlying villages not as yet reached by our Caucasian troops. The saving of 2,000,000 Bulgars from certain death cost us, even according to Bulgarian figures, 200,000 lives, and two milliards in money.

Of course, we had every right to expect that the little Slav nation, virtually dragged by us from the jaws of a waiting grave and returned to a life of right and freedom, would remain with us—united in heart and mind for a long time to come, if not forever. It is useless to say that we made a bitter mistake. The mistake we made was already known to those Russian heroes who fought under the banners of Radyetsky, Gurko, and Skobelyoff, covering Bulgaria with their bodies and drenching her soil with their blood. Many of the officers and men coming home from the war of 1877 had a great deal to say about the treatment they received at the hands of our "little brothers."

Having learned to know the Mussulmans and Bulgars alike, many of our warriors showed a decided preference for the manly and honest character of the Turk, as compared with the evasive and shrewd traits of our co-religionists. Apparently the 500 years of slavery did not fail to effect a decided change in the Slav blood, of which little, indeed, runs through the veins of the present-day Bulgars.

After discussing at some length the character of the Bulgarian King and that of some of the Bulgarian statesmen, a great many of whom, according to the author, owe their education and position in life to the generosity of Russia, Menshekoff asks the question:

By what miracle has Germany accomplished the subjugation, by peaceful means, of the monarchs and Governments of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria? Some great and tempting concessions were undoubtedly offered by the Governments of Central Europe, and, like scattered robbers gradually flocking in the well-organized band, Turkey and Bulgaria hastened to throw their fortunes in with that of the Teutonic powers. They are clearly tempted with the outlook of a huge world robbery, Bulgaria swayed from side to side for a whole year. But when she saw the Germans, according to the Bulgarian Premier Radoslavoff, "capture a great strip of the enemy's territory, without losing one foot of their soil," the argument advanced was final and decisive.

The Government, which came into life thirty-seven years ago, now joined hands with the highway nations of Europe, and together with them it will undoubtedly suffer a terrible fate. A hunger for the proper belonging to other peoples, the ambition to set up the Bulgarian crown supreme in the entire Balkan Peninsula, a desire not to give Russia her right of way to her only outlet to the ocean—here is the Bulgarian plot in a nutshell. This we must realize as a fact and deal with it accordingly.

Germany's Losses

A Copenhagen dispatch to The London Daily Mail, dated Oct. 25, 1915, reported:

The last thirty Prussian casualty lists issued contain the names of 159,901 officers and men killed, wounded, or missing. This brings the total Prussian losses published to 2,026,209. The lists do not include 228 Bavarian, 211 Saxon, 288 Württemberg, and 54 navy lists. The last lists included the names of seventy-seven airmen killed, seventy-five wounded, nine missing, and two prisoners, and four Generals killed and two wounded. The total German losses up to date are estimated at about 4,500,000. Among the latest casualties are many killed by poison gas. The losses of telephone and telegraph battalions in the trenches are very heavy.

A Festival Sun Near the Battle Front

By Pierre Loti

This article by Pierre Loti, (Captain Viaud,) recording his experience on the French battle front, appeared originally in *L'Illustration*, and is here translated by Charles Johnston.

IT was about 11 o'clock in the forenoon of that day that I arrived at a village whose name I have had to forget. I was in the company of an English commanding officer, whom the fortune of war had given me as a traveling companion on the day before, and we were graciously followed by a great magician—who was the sun. A radiant sun, a festival sun, transforming and beautifying everything. This happened in a department of the extreme north of France, I have never learned which, but one would have believed one's self in Provence, so lovely was the day.

To get there we had been hemmed in for nearly two hours between two files of soldiers who were marching in opposite directions. On our right were the English, who were going forward to the battle, very clean and fresh looking, bright, and in good spirits, admirably equipped, with fine, plump horses. On our left the artillerymen of France, who were returning from the front, from the titanic battle, to get a little rest; dusty, they were, sometimes with bandages on their arms or heads, but with a joyful expression, with healthy faces, and marching in good order, in sections; they were even bringing back loads of empty shell cases, which they had had the time to pick up, showing conclusively that they had retired without haste and without fear, as victors whose commanders have ordered them a few days' respite. We could hear far away what sounded like a storm, at first only a low rumble, but which we drew nearer and nearer to. In the fields around us the peasants were laboring as though everything were as usual, yet uncertain whether the savages, who were making so much noise over there, might not come back one of these days to destroy everything. Here, there, and everywhere, on the grass of the meadows, there were groups that would

have been pathetic under a gloomy sky, but which the sun found a way to brighten; refugees, in flight before the barbarians, cooking like gypsies around little fires of sticks in the midst of bundles of their poor household goods, packed up in haste during the terrible flight.

Our auto was filled with packets of cigarettes and newspapers which kind souls had charged us to carry to the combatants, and so closely were we pressed and held back by the files of soldiers on either side that we were able to distribute them through the windows of the auto, on the right to the English, on the left to the French; they held their hands out to catch them on the wing, and, smiling, thanked us with a quick military salute.

There were also villagers, who were walking, mingled with the soldiers, on this heavily incumbered road. I call to mind one very pretty young peasant woman, who, trudging between two English ammunition wagons, was dragging by a cord two babies asleep in a little cart; she was toiling along; the ascent was steep just there; a handsome Scotch Sergeant with a golden mustache, who was smoking a cigarette, sat with his legs dangling on the tail of the front wagon; he made a sign to her, "Pass me the end of your cord!" She understood, accepted with a pretty, shy smile, the Scotchman wrapped the fragile towing cord around his left arm, keeping the right arm free, to continue smoking, and thus he carried forward the babies of France, whose tiny cart the heavy truck pulled like a feather.

When we entered the village the sun was growing more and more magnificent. Everything there was in confusion, a mingling such as was never seen before and will never be seen again after this war, unique in history. All possible uni-

forms, every kind of weapon, Highlanders, French cuirassiers, Turcos, Zouaves, and Bedouins, whose military salute lifted their burnouses with a noble gesture. The church square was incumbered by enormous English autobuses, which had formerly plied between the districts of London, and still carried the names of the different parts of that city, in big letters. You will say I exaggerate, but really they had an astonished look, these autobuses, to find themselves bowling over French soil, chockful of soldiers. . . .

All these people mingled together were preparing breakfast. And all the time, one heard the great symphony carried forward by the savages, (who might come tomorrow; who knows?) the ceaseless cannonade; but no one paid any attention to it. Besides, how could one be anxious with such a splendid sun, such a wonderful sun for October, with roses still on the walls and dahlias of every color in the gardens hardly touched by the white frosts! . . . Every one settled himself as best he could for breakfast; one would have said a festival, a festival rather incoherent and strange, indeed, improvised close to some Tower of Babel. Young girls moved among the groups, little fair-haired children made presents of fruit gathered in their orchards. The Highlanders, considering themselves in a warm country, compared to their own, were in their shirtsleeves. Village priests and nuns of the Red Cross were seating wounded men on boxes; one kind old sister, with a face of parchment and lovely, honest eyes under her nun's cap, was settling, with a thousand precautions, a Zouave, both of whose arms were swathed in bandages, whom she was doubtless going to feed like a little child.

We were very hungry ourselves, the Englishman and I, and we discovered the inn, very prepossessing, where officers and soldiers were already at table together. (There are no longer any hierarchical barriers in these days of trial through which we are passing.) "I could give you some roast beef and stewed rabbit," the innkeeper tells us;

"but as for bread, for example, no! You won't find any anywhere at any price." "Ah," said my companion, the English commanding officer, "and those two fine loaves there, standing before that door?" "Oh, those loaves belong to a General, who sent them because he is coming to breakfast with his aids." Hardly was his back turned when my companion, quickly pulling a big knife from his pocket, cut off the end of one of the golden loaves, and hid it under his cloak. "We have found some bread," he calmly told the innkeeper; "you may serve us." And, beside an Arab officer of the Great Tent, in a red burnoose, we breakfasted gayly with our guests, the soldiers of our auto.

The festival of the sun was at its height, joyously illuminating the variegated crowd and the strange autobuses, when we left the inn to resume our voyage. A convoy of German prisoners was traversing the square; sullen and furtive, they were marching between soldiers who looked a thousand times better, and people hardly noticed them. The old nun I have spoken of, the old nun with the pure eyes, was making her Zouave, helpless for the moment, smoke a cigarette, presenting it to his lips with the trembling and slightly awkward hand of a grandmother. She seemed at the same time to be telling him something very amusing—that innocent and childlike humor that the good sisters know the secret of—for they were both laughing. Who can tell what childish little story it may have been? An old priest who was smoking his pipe near them—without any grace, I am forced to admit—was also laughing to see them laugh. And at the moment when we were getting into our car again to continue our journey toward the region of horror where the cannon thundered, a little girl, a dozen years old, ran to bring from her garden a bunch of Autumn asters to adorn us.

What good people there still are in the world! And how much the aggression of the savages from beyond the Rhine has developed the sweet bonds of brotherhood among all those who really belong to the human race.



CROWN PRINCE CAROL OF RUMANIA

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



GENERAL FITCHEFF
Chief of Staff of the Bulgarian Army

The Superfeeders

By Valentine Ward

The article presented below was published originally in *New Days*, a British weekly.

HAVE you noticed that people who eat too much, and too fast, generally want their own way about everything? And that those who are very impatient and determined to get on in the world are almost certainly great trenchermen who bolt their meals?

A self-made man who had amassed a lot of money and eaten a lot of food in too short a time, once told me that all people who carry through great projects are large eaters.

I knew what he meant by "great projects," and did not contradict him.

And a popular journalist once stated that "all the world's work is done by the gouty," and nobody took any exception to his statement.

That "world's work" is the same as the "great projects" of the self-made man.

From which it would appear that there is some connection between overfeeding, gout, and the accomplishment of great things in life.

It is true that when a man is preparing to "Will to Power" on a considerable scale, he stokes up for the effort in true German style. According to the magnitude of his design will food be needed for its achievement? Any traveler in Germany in recent years who knew this rule would have seen that a great national undertaking was going forward. The people were feeding with grim determination, mainly upon those foods which create gout and unscrupulousness. There were rumors that twenty-two courses to a dinner were by no means unusual in the Fatherland. The nation plowed its invincible way through them all, no *pièces de résistance* being able to withstand them.

Now, when people eat like that something must give way, their clothes, their health, or their moral principles; and it

was their principles that went, for the gout incidental to such an effort is not an illness, but a state of the soul.

There were, of course, a few nervous people in the country who grew seriously alarmed that the nation might overdo it. They wrote cautionary books on health, and counseled restriction to the one helping of each course at dinner and other cowardly measures; but they were looked upon as eccentric and were little regarded. It was neck or nothing. The world's work must be done, the national destiny fulfilled, and a place secured either in the sun or in a sanatorium.

Cure places sprang up all over the country, into which many a Boche would retire annually for a six weeks' treatment when the tension became too great. This acted as a safety valve and prevented a premature explosion of that racial energy which was being accumulated for a great occasion.

They began to consider war to be holy, and I suppose it is by comparison with peace as they had known it.

The energy born of overeating is not a mere neutral force, capable of being put to both good and evil uses. Its origin being vicious, it is an evil thing in itself, incapable of any good. Harness the glutton to the car of virtue and his legs fail him. Hitch him to the chariot of Satan, and he has the speed of Atalanta and the strength of Hercules. His goal is always self. Your minor glutton will want the largest egg at breakfast. Your major glutton will want the earth.

Against his brother, the drunkard, the finger of condemnation has ever been pointed, but he himself has escaped reproach. Now that he has set the world afire his light no longer is hidden, and we may know him for what he is.

But humanity is hopeful of the drunkard and tries to save him, while the glutton is the despair of all who really

know him. To him no pledge, even of partial abstinence, is offered, for he would sign none. Those strange optimists who try in their ignorance to reason with him he dubs "food cranks" and the unthinking world applauds him, the greatest crank of all.

Among the few who have seen him in his true character must be numbered the poets, who have never sung his praises as they have sung the praises of the tippler. His vice presents no transient moment of beauty. The sculptor has shirked him, though the painter, less discriminating, has depicted him in certain deplorable masterpieces which most of us would gladly forget. But no painter, however obtuse, has in any age chosen him as a model for saint or martyr, for all have recognized that there is no saintliness in his aspect.

Fasting clears the inner vision as gluttony clouds it. There is no interior light which twenty-two courses will not extinguish. Did not Milton by inference testify the same when he extolled—

Spare Fast, that with the gods doth diet,
And hears the Muses in a ring
Aye round about Jove's altar sing.

By which he meant that Gluttony, the

opposite of Fasting, hears no celestial voices, nor banquets ever in such high company.

This being so, the intellectual and spiritual harvest of gluttons is a spare crop, and altogether pernicious. Their philosophy is blind and arrogant. Their books are few, and mainly deal with getting on in the world and such rascalities. Poetry they never wrote at all, but merely hymns of hate, nor have they painted any worthy pictures. Religion they have none. In music alone have they achieved anything. Some gluttons can undoubtedly sing, which is an unfathomable mystery, music being the divine art.

Gluttony is a burden to mind and body, a dungeon to the soul. It is the foster-mother of more ills than ever were nursed on drink, the evil soil in which all other sins do flourish.

But against it I have heard no sermon preached in any church, no cry of horror from a Christian pulpit.

And yet, if self is sin, here is ponderable sin, shouldering his way among us, full of uric acid, swank, and all uncharitableness!

Has no Bishop a word to say?

Wine in the Champagne District

Special correspondence of The London Times, dated Epernay, Sept. 25, 1915, reported:

While in other parts of France the vintage is being carried out in more or less normal conditions, the difficulties in Champagne are very great, owing to the fact that the battle line dominates a part of the vineyards. Buildings have been destroyed and other havoc caused by shell fire. In addition there is the difficulty, owing to the regulations, of moving about this region, quite apart from the question of transport. Nor have the Germans been the only destructive agency. The cochylis, a grub that eats the interior of the grape, has caused damage over a wide area and has been most active where the danger of gathering the crop has been the greatest.

Still, it is thought that the crop that is left, over the 30,000 acres of the real champagne country, may equal 300,000 to 400,000 hectolitres, (a hectolitre being 22 gallons,) which is 50 to 100 per cent. more than last year's. On the whole, indeed, it is a good year. The quality of the grape is excellent and there is enough acidity to give firmness. The other difficulties which confront the vine grower are of an economic character. There is a scarcity of labor everywhere in France, of horses and carts, and of barrels and bottles.

Is India Really Loyal?

By Allen Welsh Dulles

The writer of the following article on Indian conditions has been in charge of the Department of Philosophy of Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India, for about a year. He reached India in July, 1914, and returned to this country late last August. He is a Princeton graduate and a nephew of Secretary of State Lansing.

SO much has been written about the loyalty of India to the British Empire and so little has been advanced that would tend to show any disaffection on the part of the Indian people that the conclusion must inevitably have been reached by the majority of persons that that country is supporting the British cause in much the same spirit as Canada or Australia.

All the outward evidences of loyalty seem to be present—Indian troops are fighting with the other British troops in France; the rajahs, native rulers, have been vying with each other in presents of money and war materials for England; and, finally, India has suffered no internal disorders or attempted revolts against British power. Is India as loyal as these circumstances would tend to show?

The present organization of the Indian army examples the wisdom of the English Government. Profiting from the bitter experience of the sepoy (soldier) mutiny of 1857, when fear for their religions gave the orthodox Hindus and Mohammedans, who then composed the larger part of the Indian army, some basis for a common attack against the British Government, the English have, in recent years, recruited the majority of their troops from the mountains of Nepal, outside of British India, the home of the famous Gurkas, who have little in common with the plainsmen of India proper, and from the Sikh community of North India, which has separated itself from both Hindus and Mohammedans by its adherence to the Sikh religion.

This choice of men has the double advantage of securing the bravest and physically most fit for the army, and also those who are least typically Indian and fanatically religious in sentiment.

There is little danger that these soldiers could ever be induced to join with the Indian people in any attempt which they might make to achieve the end of their nationalistic aspirations, or to protect themselves against what they might imagine to be an infringement of their religious freedom. As mercenaries many would be as willing to fight against, as they would be to aid, any Indian insurrection.

Since the outbreak of war in Europe there has been no attempt made to enlist any large number of India's three hundred millions for service. What recruiting there has been has had for its object the keeping of the Indian army up to its normal strength, 150,000, while at the same time England has always kept a large English army in India. The places of the first line troops, which were removed shortly after the war broke out, were immediately taken by territorials, who are using India as their training ground and at the same time are kept ready to meet any anti-English movement.

The presence of these Indian troops on the western battle front of Europe could hardly be considered an expression of the state of Indian opinion even if they went to the war of their own free will. It need hardly be said that they had no choice in the matter. In going they obeyed the order of their English officers, who deal promptly and finally with any suspicion of insubordination on the part of their Indian soldiers; nor was it probably distasteful to them to go, as action is seldom unwelcome to the trained soldier after a long period of inactivity. In action they have shown themselves to be brave and useful soldiers.

Much of the support for the British cause from India has come from the

native Princes, the rajahs, who have nominal control over one-third of the territory of India, though only one-sixth of its people, and none of the important seaports being comprised in the large territory they govern. At the time of the British conquest of India it was found advisable to keep in power some of the Indian chiefs, who, along with the British, had seized what they could of the disintegrating Mogul Empire. The overwhelming supremacy of the British position left these Princes, whether single or combined, too weak to dream of being successful rivals of the British power.

It has been the policy of the English Government to maintain these native States under native rule as long as they have shown a friendly attitude toward the British Government and an enlightened treatment of their own people. In the case of the failure of a possible heir, too often an occurrence among Oriental Kings, especially in Indian history, the English Government would select some suitable Indian, of the royal line, if possible, to succeed to the control of the State. Every native State has an English official resident, who sees to it that the native ruler neither mismanages the internal affairs of his State nor aspires to excessive power. All the foreign relations of the States are controlled by the English Viceroy of India.

It will thus be clearly seen that the power of these native Princes depends absolutely upon the good will of the English. Further, the overthrow of that Government in India would shortly be followed by the downfall of the rulers of these native States in the anarchy which would inevitably follow the withdrawal of the English, since the power of these Princes does not come from the support they receive from their subjects. The peculiar diversity of the peoples of India makes it possible for an Indian ruler to be just as foreign to the Indians whom he may be ruling as an English Governor would be. As an example of this, the case of Hyderabad, the largest native State of India, might be cited. Of the ten million people in this State, over nine millions are Hindus, yet the ruler is himself a Mohammedan.

It does not seem strange that these Indian Princes should vie with each other in their presents to the English Government and should have a vital interest in seeing it bring the war to a successful conclusion. Their loyalty is more often the loyalty of self-interest than that of affection. When we read that Sindhia of Gwalior has given a hundred ambulance cars to the King of England, that the Nizam of Hyderabad has contributed so many lakhs of rupees to the Prince of Wales Fund, you may be sure that these men expect a return on their investment in the form of renewed favors from the English Government and the assurance of its continued support.

The majority of educated and half-educated Hindus and Mohammedans are not loyal to the British Government. A few, and here we find the true patriots and statesmen of the Indian community, appreciate what England has done for India and the part that country must play in India's future development, and are, in the truest sense of the word, loyal. Luckily for India there are enough of these men, few though they be, to act as a restraining influence on the reactionary element.

The reason for the strain of disloyalty which runs through the mass of the Indian people is not hard to find. No subject race is ever perfectly satisfied with its position as such when it possesses enough intelligence to do any thinking of its own. Almost every Hindu or Mohammedan, especially if superficially educated, has a tendency to protest at the position of servility in which he thinks he finds his fellow-countrymen. He overlooks the benefits which his country may be receiving from the ruling power and also the impossibility of organizing any Indian government which would receive the support of a united India.

The educated Indian cannot see why he should not have a responsible share in the government of his own country, and we, enjoying a democratic form of government, would have to admit that theoretically he is right. Practically, the application of such principles in India might at present have dire consequences. The East is not yet ready for a repre-

sentative form of government. China, turning back to a monarchy, in fact, if not in name, is only an example of this.

But what has more effect upon the ordinary Indian than the loss of political liberty, which is a theoretical rather than an actual loss, as India passed from the autocratic Mogul to the less despotic English, is the social inequality which exists between the two peoples through the habit of the ruling class of holding itself aloof from any social intercourse with the native. All the English clubs debar Indians, and exclusive English society seldom finds a place for the Indian gentlemen. It is a bitter experience for the returned Oxford or Cambridge student to find that he will not be accorded the same treatment from English society in India that he has been accustomed to in England.

The Indian has to put up with many instances of incivility from the English with whom he deals, discourtesy from the railway officials, and sometimes rough treatment from the English soldier. If he is an uneducated man he takes all this as a matter of course, but the Indian student resents such treatment bitterly. He can hardly be blamed for not loving his English master, or for overlooking what his wonderful administrative ability has accomplished for the country. Until there is some show of treating the educated Indian as a social equal that ever-growing class of Indian society will never quietly acquiesce in English rule.

The loyalty of the lower class of Indian, the laborers, has been alienated to some extent by events which have occurred recently.

The Indian workmen in South Africa were so evilly treated by the white element of that country that the condition to which they were reduced became a disgrace to the empire.

The refusal on the part of the Canadian immigration authorities to receive Indian labor has had grave consequences in India. The question is quite a different one than the United States has

had to face in the case of China and Japan.

The incident in question has to do with the voyage of the *Komaragut Maru*, a Japanese ship, chartered by a company of about 300 Indians from the Punjab. On their arrival at Vancouver they were refused admission by the immigration authorities and sent back on their long journey to Calcutta. It is to be presumed that on their return voyage they were not filled with appreciation of the benefits which they derived from their position as British subjects.

To what extent England will satisfy India's desire for a place equal in dignity and responsibility to that of Canada and Australia is a problem for the future. Most observers would deny the ability of the Indian at the present time to deal with the difficulties of such a responsibility. Indian self-government, with its millions of people in utter ignorance, and with the multiplicity of its types, languages, and religions, presents quite a different and far more difficult problem than is found in either Canada or Australia.

Then there are these two additional problems for England to face: First, the demand of the educated Indian to be treated as a social equal; and, second, the demand of the laboring classes for the right of immigration into the other countries of the empire.

Until these issues involved in the present political and social inequality are met and some step taken to change present conditions in these regards, England will not find India a loyal country. Yet it is not at all unlikely that England will find the interests of good government will make necessary keeping a strong control over the Central Government. It does not seem probable that the Indian will ever get the social recognition he desires, or be welcomed as an immigrant. Thus it is very possible that India will never be wholly loyal to England. Yet it is unlikely that that country will ever be able to unite against England in such force as actually to menace her sovereignty, backed as it is by an English army.

The Net of the Slaver

By G. K. Chesterton

This article by the brilliant English critic and essayist appeared originally in *New Days*, a British weekly publication.

THE denial of nationality is a denial of identity, and, like many denials of identity, is false and self-interested. Those who cannot see that men are naturally divided into nations might as reasonably refuse to see that nations are divided into men. A nation is mystical and difficult to define; so is a man. By sophistry, selection, and nonrealization of the exception as proving the rule, it is as easy to be doubtful of the corporate identity in the one case as in the other. Those who said that there was no such country as Poland because it had been cut in pieces might come in time to say that there was no such Pole as Paderewski, because an indefinite number of pieces of his hair are said to be scattered among his female admirers. The opportunities for skepticism in everything are as endless as they are fruitless, and any ingenious person can cloud the outline of the individual biped by disquisitions on all kinds of intermediate things—on eggs, embryology, the Siamese twins, dual personality, wooden legs, sensitive plants, and the hind legs of a pantomime elephant. But he who sees the enormous mountain of the normal, and knows that in spite of these things a man is a man and a nation is a nation, will reply somewhat impatiently to such abuse of casuistry. He will cut short the dehumanized philosophies deduced from the Siamese twins of Austria and Hungary. He will cut short the explanation that Ireland cannot be a nation because it has attached to it the dead and artificial limb of Belfast. Yes, there were two Siamese twins at the show. And there were only two. Yes; there are wooden legs. There are also wooden heads.

But among the least noted proofs that nationality is normal, to Europeans at any rate, is the fact that every moral movement, however universal, emerges

in a national form or, at least, under a national leadership. Christendom is indeed one thing, and ultimately moves together, but in each special movement a special nation is the figurehead and points the way in which the world is going. The title of one territory or one tribe is given in history and human speech to tendencies which were everywhere present, but which found their chief issue in that place and that people. We speak of the French Revolution, in spite of Jefferson and Paine. We speak of the Italian Renaissance, in spite of Ronsard and Shakespeare. Bismarck, by the way, said that Italy was only a geographical expression, but I think there must be people living on the Carso just now who wish it were not so expressive. Even developments more accidental or fugitive have come in course of time to have a local savor, and cling to the national associations in which they were strongest. Thus we English generally think of Presbyterianism as Scotch Presbyterianism, though the Presbyterian or synodical form of church government was part of the Protestant movement in Switzerland and France; and the very instrument to which it still appeals is called the Westminster Confession. And, though Luther was not a Lutheran, he was a German.

Now, the present war is a great many other things as well, but it is specially and supremely a fight between the Frenchman and the German. The Frenchman is defending the substance of what we call the French Revolution against something which seeks to overthrow and supersede it. The German is seeking to impose that alternative something of which he is by no means the only but certainly the most successful champion. That alternative something has not yet, in generally accepted language, a name; and this is indeed no small part of its

strength. Those who know bits of it call it benevolent despotism, or science, or social reform, or even socialism. Those who know one side of it call it the completion of organized society, or the Soul of the Hive. Those who know another side of it call it man (or, rather, a few men) taking command of evolution—the breeding ground of supermen. Those who know most about it call it slavery.

Any one who can see the large outlines of history can see that such cracks as skepticism has made in the walls of Christendom are already readmitting all the old heathen and even prehistoric things which we cleared away when first we became Christians. The defense of suicide has reappeared, for instance, and this doctrine of the divinity of mere despair has come chiefly from the half-heathen north; upheld by Scandinavians in theory and by Prussians in practice. Nothing in modern Germany is more typically modern and German than the stories of suicide among the young. This is probably what Dr. Moll, the Prussian professor, means when he says that the Belgian populace is ignorant and superstitious. He means that Belgian children have to be killed; but that Prussian children can be trusted to kill themselves. The defense of divorce and even polygamy has reappeared; many persons of importance on platforms demand divorce, apparently without having gone through the preliminary formality of marriage.

The defense of infanticide, that ancient heathen custom, has already been hinted at in the spiritual slums of eugenics. The return of heathenry to the human race would not be complete without the re-establishment of that great social institution on which the great heathen civilization reposed, and which the industry and persuasion of numerous priests in the Dark Ages gradually weeded from the world. It has been found generally convenient to describe this new but old rival to the Christian distribution of liberty and property by the name which Mr. Belloc used in his discovery and demonstration of this modern trend, and to call it the Servile State. Its essence is this: That the rich

shall constitute the State, and the poor, their servants, be thus only the indirect servants of the State. So, in pagan times, the free men were the State and the slaves only its indirect servants. Its advantage would be that it would make impossible all that accidental agony which we call destitution. Its policy, or the direction of it, is well represented by the principle of compulsory insurance, begun in Germany and unfortunately imitated in England, by which the employe, solely as such, is compelled to a particular form of economic precaution, while his employer is under no such compulsion, but has to assist the compulsory operation with money. In short, the rich man is forced to buy medicine, but the poor man is forced to take it. This is literally slavery, and begins the claim for entire support on one side and entire obedience on the other. Slavery is scientific, it is workable, it is comfortable; and there is a temper, which we call the Christian temper, to which it is intolerable.

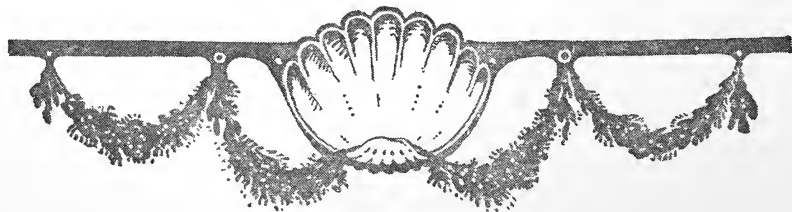
This new or renewed thing, which is in its recent origin barbarian and Germanic, finds its road barred by an older thing, which is in its origin mainly Christian. This thing is well represented by the little realm at which the Germanic powers struck the first blow when they began this war. I take the following description of Serbia from the fairest and most frigid encyclopedia I know: "They are a primitive people, cling to old customs and beliefs, and are thoroughly democratic in their institutions. The most striking feature of their social life is the family community, or *Zadruga*. The farms are all small in size, and the agriculture is backward and primitive. There are no paupers, no asylums, no 'homes' in Serbia." In short, there are none of the luxuries of highly developed societies. The Serbian clings to the old belief that it is better for one man to have one farm, instead of having either none of his own or twenty of other peoples, as in more advanced States. He clings to the old belief in democracy, which is one of the oldest in the world. He has no "homes," having a home instead. In the wild mountains around

Nish the wild institution of the Zadruga, or family, is still permitted to exist. He is backward in his farm, but by no means backward in his fight for it, and in fighting for his farm at this moment he is fighting for freedom throughout the world.

This peasant State is the norm of Christendom; Russia, for instance, is largely a larger Serbia. But it so happens that one of these peasant States, while remaining a peasant State, is also a polished and politically efficient one. Its name is France; and its place is at the head of the free peasantries. One of its most typical Kings said that all statesmanship should be directed toward putting a chicken in the pot of every peasant on Sunday. There is, we shall regretfully observe, a painful lack of progressive thought in this conception. The smallest circle of professors in the mildest Prussian town could tap every link of it with their tiny hammers of skepticism. The atheist professor would say that the desire to have a holiday to look forward to was a tribal rite, to propitiate what he would probably call Jaweh. The "humanitarian" professor would speculate upon the outraged feelings of the chicken. The strong-minded, world-conquering professor would say that the chicken need not be boiled, but the peasant ought to be; especially the Belgian peasant. The socialist professor would frown upon the idea of a hundred chickens in a hundred pots, but smile

on the idea of a hundred chickens in one. The theosophical professor would point out that the King, the peasant, the chicken, and everything else were all melting into perfect oneness; or, in popular language, going to pot. But these professors, who in the Kingdoms of Germany are as common as chickens, in the Republic of France are almost as rare as Kings. The peasant State of France, like the peasant State of Serbia, is very poorly supplied with lunatics.

As the French Revolution had to fight before freedom was safe, so the German Revolution had to fight before slavery was safe. The actual declaration of war against the free peasant States of Serbia and France was a necessary part of the foreign policy of the Servile State. It was not the first, but rather the last, of the German steps to the security of the new system. Already they had covered the world with a network of communication and corruption; they had fortified foreign countries as their own; their spiritual spies were in every college and council. The enormous net was woven; the enormous trap of iron was set, which was to kidnap humanity as their old master, Frederick William, had kidnapped his giants. Then the sleeping soul in us, of all that has kept us free, awoke in the stillness, and we blindly (and barely) struck aside the blow. The iron net broke about Paris; and the noise we hear today is the noise of their nets being torn up all over the world.



"One Successful Pounce Will Win"

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

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The subjoined article by Conan Doyle was cabled to THE NEW YORK TIMES on Oct. 23, 1915, during a period of extreme pessimism in London concerning the conduct of the war by the Allies.

THE Duke of Wellington, in one of those acute philosophic asides which cropped up occasionally in his businesslike correspondence, remarked that a deep vein of madness ran through the British character. The noun is perhaps rather harsh, but our best friends have found marked eccentricity in our mental processes. One of the most curious manifestations is a tendency to excessive and ill-timed self-depreciation, not universal, for we have our optimists and even our braggarts, but so clamorous at times as to engage the attention of the whole world and completely deceive them as to our real situation and character.

The historian will find the phenomenon at all ages of our chronicle, and I expect that the original blue-skinned savage, as he poled his coracle along our creeks, was already lamenting the degeneration of his stock. It has, however, grown upon us with the years, and surely the most absurd sight of all the ages is that of Great Britain during our generation moaning and sobbing over her own inefficiency, while rapidly gathering up as much of the earth's surface and of the world's wealth as she could possibly lay her hands upon.

No better illustration of this national tendency could be found than a contrast between the German and British press during the last few months. If one were to take them at their face value, one would imagine, to read these articles, that Germany was not only confident of the future, but had in the past reason to congratulate herself upon the results of her efforts against Great Britain, while, on the British side, one would gather that there was great despondency and that up to now we had no reason to be satisfied with anything which we had done in the war.

Yet in our heart of hearts we are as certain of victory as that tomorrow's sun will come, and a dispassionate survey will satisfy any student of history that no great war in which our country has ever been engaged has been marked in the same space of time by such triumphant successes as those of the last fourteen months. Our troubles have been those of our allies; our victories have largely been our own. Germany can make a good showing up to date against the coalition. Against Great Britain she has been beaten at every turn.

Consider what we have done in this short space of time and compare it with the opening of any of our greater wars. In our war against the French Republic it was nearly two years after its inception that Howe's victory gave us a gleam of success. In the great war against Napoleon it was again two years before Trafalgar ended the fear of imminent invasion and twelve years of very varying fortunes before we won through.

Now, look at the work of fourteen months. We have annexed the whole great German colonial empire, with the exception of East Africa and a district in Kameruns; we have swept the German flag, both imperial and mercantile, off the face of the ocean; we have completely sterilized her fleet; we have repelled her serious submarine attack; played our game so skillfully that the flux of time shows us stronger, not weaker, in comparison; we have conquered South Mesopotamia from the Turks; we have completely repelled their attempted invasion of Egypt; we have helped to save Paris; we have, with French and Belgian assistance, but mainly by our own exertions, stopped the advance upon Calais, inflicting a loss of several hundreds of thousands upon the

Germans; we have, by our intervention at Antwerp, helped to extricate the Belgian Army; finally, and greatest of all, we have raised an enormous voluntary army, which is large enough to turn the scale between the European forces, and we have converted ourselves, with wonderful adaptability, into the great factory and munition store of the Allies.

That is our story, and if any man cannot see that it is a wonderful one, he is not merely a pessimist, but blind.

What have we to put on the other side of the account? I am dealing for the moment with large results and not with details. Where have we failed?

In the whole world our most severe critic could only point to one place—the Dardanelles. But have we failed in the Dardanelles?

I believe that if we should never force the strait the enterprise has none the less been worth the undertaking. We have lost 100,000. How many have the Turks lost? Certainly not less. We have held up a great body of their best troops, who would otherwise have been operating against us on the Egyptian and Mesopotamian fronts or in the Caucasus against the Russians. General Ian Hamilton has taken the pressure off General Maxwell on the one side and General Nixon on the other.

But the greatest of all the results from the Dardanelles expedition is that it has united us with Russia as nothing else could have done. She cannot now say, as she might have said, that we thought only of our own empire. We have spent our blood and our ships in trying to force the gates which close her in. When the episode remains a historical reminiscence, like the passage of Admiral Duckworth in 1807, this great result will still remain.

Again, one sequel which may prove to be of vital importance may spring from the Dardanelles. It is our operation there and the consequent danger to their ally which has drawn the central powers on to their southern advance. The immediate result of this has been to bring into the war the Serbians, who for nearly a year had been practically neutral, and so to open up a new front, which

has to be supplied by the Germans with men and munitions. It is tapping a fresh vein in a body which is already slowly bleeding to death.

What have they to gain there? Putting aside all megalomaniac visions of an advance upon India, what is their practical goal? Should they overwhelm Serbia, it will go to our hearts, but will make no difference in the war, since Serbia had, as I already remarked, been obliged to rest upon her oars for many months. What next could they advance upon? Constantinople, with a strong allied force intrenched upon their flank at Saloniki? Would the Turks really welcome an army of Bulgars and other hereditary enemies marching into their capital at the expense of their hereditary friends?

And if we assumed everything and suppose them at Constantinople, what then? How will they cross the Egyptian desert and meet the quarter of a million whom we could line up on the Suez Canal? What will it profit them to be strong in Asia Minor by the time that attrition has worn them down, east and west and the ever-thickening allied lines are pushing inward for Berlin?

The more steadily one gazes at these fantastic fears the more they shred into mere phantoms of the imagination. The gains of the German expedition are shadowy and distant, the losses are immediate and obvious, and it is the Dardanelles pressure which has drawn them forth.

But have we failed at the Dardanelles? It is surely too early to say. Mr. Winston Churchill has been criticised for saying that only a few miles separated us from victory. Never was criticism more carping and unintelligent. What he said was an obvious fact, as true today as then. Had he said a few weeks, or even months, criticism would be intelligible, but he said miles, which was obviously true. What he meant to convey, and what he did clearly convey, was that if we had the victory we could not be robbed of the fruits of it as the Germans were robbed of their Paris, but that the prize was in our hands the instant the success was attained. He

did not underrate the formidable task. Still less would any one do so now. But we do not know the difficulties of the enemy. We cannot tell what weakening may occur or what change may come. We are ready on land and sea, and it is as true as ever that it is only a question of one successful pounce.

It is surely too early to write off the Dardanelles loss and to put it down as the one single item which should appear upon the debit side of our account, but I repeat that if there is no forcing of the strait, none the less the historian of the future may very well find that the operations have had far-reaching and fateful results.

On the military side, in our campaign of France and Flanders, great events have been so close to us and have confused us so with their successive concussions that one has to cultivate some mental detachment in order to get their proportion and their relation to each other or to the permanent values of history. So far as the British campaign is concerned, the following summary would in the main be correct:

The campaign began by defeats, honorable and inevitable, but none the less defeats, at Mons Aug. 23 and Le Cateau Aug. 26. This was followed by the victory of the Marne, Sept. 6-11, in which the honors rest with our French allies, and the drawn battle of the Aisne on Sept. 13, in which for the first time immobile lines were formed, a confession of failure upon the part of the invaders. There followed the long-drawn, scrambling action of La Bassée, Oct. 12-31, in which no result was obtained and immobility was again enforced. Simultaneously was fought the first battle of Ypres, Oct. 20-Nov. 13, in which the Germans were repelled, with very heavy losses, in their repeated attempts to capture that city.

This brought the fighting of 1914 to an end, save for the sharp fight at Festubert, Dec. 19-21, where the British sustained a reverse on the first day, which was equalized by a successful counterattack on the second.

The campaign of 1915 began with the costly British victory at Neuve Chapelle

on March 10, involving the permanent capture of the village. There followed the local but intense fighting of Hill 60, which ended in a complete British victory at the time, though the garrison was afterward driven out by poison on May 5.

Then came the second battle of Ypres, from April 22 to May 24, one of the great battles of all time, in which the Germans failed again in their main objective, to capture the town and break the line, but did succeed in taking four heavy guns and some prisoners from us, besides gaining about two miles of ground along a front of twenty miles. It may therefore be fairly described as a German success. Before this fight had ended a second battle had broken out further down the line—the battle of Richebourg, May 9-24, which began by a bloody repulse of the British attack, but ended by a considerable and permanent gain of ground.

Then followed the fighting around Hoogle, which continued with about equal fortunes during the whole Summer, the Germans having marked success on July 30-31, while the British won distinct victories on June 15-16 and Aug. 9.

Finally came the battle of Loos on Sept. 25, which can even now be hardly said to have finished, but which certainly has been a British victory, involving a gain of ground, prisoners, and guns.

Such in bare epitome is our military record up to date. It is to be remembered that for the first six months the Germans had a very marked preponderance of numbers, and that in the second half year, when the numbers had been equalized, they had an even more marked preponderance of guns and munitions. By the splendid exertions of the Allies the numbers in the west are now in our favor and the munitions at least on an equality.

What, then, may we not expect from the future?

Not only have we nothing to reproach ourselves with and a very great deal upon which to congratulate ourselves in actual war, but we have, as it seems to me, made remarkably few mistakes. Beforehand, thanks to the

firmness of Mr. McKenna, (First Lord of the Admiralty, 1908-1911,) in the matter of the eight great ships, and the driving power of Mr. Churchill, (First Lord from 1911 to 1915,) in the years immediately before the war, our navy was ready as it had never been before for a supreme struggle. Of the four army corps, which were the most that we had ever thought of sending abroad, two and a half were in time for the first clash, and the others followed. We played our part as we said we would play it, and we won our game, so far as we can count gains and losses, between Germany and ourselves.

If Mr. McKenna and Mr. Churchill put us in a strong position upon the water Lord Haldane (ex-War Secretary) forged the weapon which was to do such great service upon the land, the British military machine as we and the Germans know it. The splendid territorial army, the officers' training corps, which has been of such vital service, the conversion of the expeditionary force into a practical reality—all sprang from his clear and far-seeing mind. When one remembers his long defense of the territorials, the gibes to which he and they were subjected, the ridicule with which his assertion was met that they would have time after the outbreak of the war to become good troops before taking the field, and when one sees how entirely his forecast has been borne out, one does not know which is the more surprising—his foresight or the ingratitude and perverseness of so many of his fellow-countrymen. Future generations will, I think, look upon Lord Haldane as one of the saviors of the country.

After the outbreak of the war we have also been extraordinarily fortunate in our leaders. If one searched backward through the glorious files of British history one could not pick on a man who was so fitted by nature and training for the supervision of such a war as Lord Kitchener. His cold, mathematical brain, his power of thinking in terms of the year after next, his enduring, inflexible will power, his freedom from politics—all of these qualities

make him an ideal leader in such a war. And what a collaborator in Mr. Lloyd George, who supplies exactly what a soldier lacks—the touch with the democracy, the power of the burning word, acquaintance with practical conditions of British life!

With such men at home, and with our leaders on sea and land, from Admiral Jellicoe and Field Marshal French downward, we can surely face the future with a light heart. Our troubles have never really been our own, but have arisen from the fact that the secret preparations of the central powers have made them for a limited time more powerful upon land than their neighbors. The margin of strength which is wanted we have to supply. By a miracle of organization and national spirit we shall be able to do so.

The worst of this unreasonable, pessimistic criticism is that it takes the heart out of men who are conscious of their own good work and makes them feel as if good and bad were alike. Also, it depresses the public and makes them vaguely think that all is wrong when nearly all is right. The conduct and handling of the navy have fortunately been largely immune from carpers, but take as an example the continual reiteration of such phrases as "The muddling of the War Office." The extraordinary efficiency of our War Office has been one of the surprises of the war. Was it muddling when it sent an expeditionary force abroad with such celerity and completeness, with a commissariat which all agreed to be unequaled and with transport and medical service which are the envy of our allies?

We talk with appreciation of the tenfold expansion of our army, but Lord Kitchener does not do such things by a wave of a wand. They are carried out by the hard work and organizing power of the War Office, which has expanded itself to tenfold duties within a year.

As to the munition question, it is one which came as a surprise to us, as to all the world, but it is notorious that there were economical, and not administrative, reasons for the delay in high explosives. Free trade has no doubt many advantages, but it has its corresponding de-

fects, and if you depend upon production in your own land you are likely to have such a crisis as we have successfully surmounted.

We take our history morning by morning, and often the morning seems a dark one. It is not thus that it is written hereafter. We see every swirl and back-

water, but the man of the future will see only the main current of the stream. There is no cause there for pessimism, but rather good reason why we should be on our knees, thanking the Power that guides our destiny for evident proof that Great Britain still has the old clear brain to plan and the old strong arm to strike.

"Cannon Fodder"

By EDEN PHILLPOTTS

They are coming like a tempest, in their endless ranks of gray,
While the world throws up a cloud of dust along their awful way;
They're the glorious cannon fodder of the mighty Fatherland,
Who shall make the kingdoms tremble and the nations understand.

Tramp! tramp! tramp! the cannon fodder comes.
God help the old; God help the young; God help the hearths and homes.
They'll do his will that taught them, on the earth and on the waves,
Then, like faithful cannon fodder, still salute him from their graves.

From the barrack and the fortress they are pouring in a flood;
They sweep, a herd of Winter wolves, upon the scent of blood;
For all their deeds of horror they are told that death atones
And their master's harvest cannot spring till he has sowed their bones.

Into beasts of prey he's turned them; when they show their teeth and growl
The lash is buried in their cheeks; they're slaughtered if they howl;
To their bloody Lord of Battles must they only bend the knee,
For hard as steel and fierce as hell should cannon fodder be.

Scourge and curses are their portion, pain and hunger without end,
Till they hail the yell of shrapnel as the welcome of a friend;
They rape and burn and laugh to hear the frantic women cry
And do the devil's work today, but on the morrow die.

A million souls, a million hearts, a million hopes and fears,
A million, million memories of partings and of tears
March along with cannon fodder to the agony of war.
Have they lost their human birthright? Are they fellow-men no more?

Tramp! tramp! tramp! the cannon fodder comes.
God help the old; God help the young; God help the hearths and homes.
They'll do his will that taught them, on the earth and on the waves,
Then, like faithful cannon fodder, still salute him from their graves.

The Problem of an Enduring Peace

By Colonel F. N. Maude, C. B., late R. E.

The article presented below was published on Sept. 25 by New Days, the British weekly "Journal of the New Conditions."

THOUGH the burdens of this great war are pressing heavily and grievously upon all the nations which are now involved in it, I think that all who have been watching attentively the evolution of society in Europe during the last half century will agree that every week as it passes is bringing us nearer to a complete cessation of that abiding nightmare of fear and distrust which has made of Europe an armed camp ever since the conclusion of the Franco-German war.

At the outbreak of hostilities, almost every military thinker of European reputation was strongly inclined to the opinion that with the peace-trained conscript soldiers of the Continent, a protracted struggle was out of the question, not alone because of the industrial disturbance which it would involve, but because, reasoning from the battlefield experiences of 1866 and 1870, no Generals believed in the capacity of their troops to stand the hardships and horrors modern weapons would of necessity entail.

General Bonnal, for instance, admitted in France, Russia, and Germany as one of the foremost thinkers of his period, who had had ample experience of the fighting of both German and French troops, openly deprecated any military alliance with Great Britain on the grounds that the first twelve days of the war would probably decide it one way or the other, and the British contingents would be too late to influence a decision.

Possibly had his advice not been overruled and the British had not fallen into the place of honor at Mons, this prediction might have been realized, for it is quite certain that the Germans did stake everything they could mobilize and carry by road or rail on the success of their great sweep through Belgium; but neither Bonnal nor his friends were thinking of German victory. On the con-

trary, they were pretty confident of their own, and reasoning from 1870 had considerable grounds for their confidence. For in that war, at any rate, Germans had not shown any great capacity either for enduring punishment or for rallying after even a local defeat, as their own authors have most frankly confessed.

Looking back now after twelve months of fighting, it is abundantly clear that no catastrophic victories won by strategical superiority combined with tactical elan could have brought us the enduring peace we all desired from the first. For, though Germany might have yielded to expediency and made peace, we should still have had the Hohenzollern dynasty to reckon with, and the armed camp existence under which we had so long suffered would only have returned upon us in intensified force. For the German races would only have been welded into increased homogeneity by suffering, and the mutual confidence in one another among the several members of the Central Alliance would never have been shaken.

But this mutual confidence between Germany and Austria, between south and north within Germany itself, is the very root of the strength of the combined races. And it seems to me now, after watching attentively the trend of circumstances both civil and military, since the war began, that no other sequence of events, save that which has unrolled itself and is still evolving, whether it is conditioned by our Generals and statesmen or is being governed by far higher powers, as I myself believe, could have brought so surely to the complete solution of all the many difficult problems which have to be adjusted before our end is reached.

The break will first show itself in Austria, where the internal condition is becoming unendurable. When the pressure of the Russians and perhaps the

Rumanians begins again from the Czernowitz angle of the Bukowina, as it presumably will, she will appeal to Germany for help again, and appeal in vain, for not a German can be withdrawn from Russia as soon as the Autumn rains begin; and we are not likely to let any of them leave our front for a very long time to come, as they are now very securely held. The Hungarians, never too friendly to the Hohenzollerns, will go first; the Austrians will follow, dragging with them the South German States, and when, with the consequent financial crash that must follow, the scales fall from the eyes of the deluded people and they realize how they have been sacrificed in vain, the National Liberals and Socialists will coalesce to turn out the existing dynasty.

The voting power of the two parties is always considerable—but now that in Germany alone some two millions have been killed in action or died of disease, and millions more, including all the women, are hopelessly sick of the prevailing misery, their power will be complete and a new Government will come into existence, with which the Allies can treat, which they certainly never could do with the existing dynasty. And it will rest with the good sense of the powers to put forward conditions which, without inflicting unnecessary humiliation, will yet deprive the several sections of the Central Alliance of any common ground on which to found new aggressive forces or designs.

Now, the only factor which has made the Dual Alliance really formidable in the present war has been the German fleet. Had we not interfered, the threat of her navy on the Channel coasts would have simply paralyzed the defense of France, and but for her fleet in the Baltic, Russian troops might have landed near Stettin, only seventy miles from Berlin, at the very outset of the war.

But the only reason why the Socialists and National Liberals could be induced to vote money for a fleet was the pretext that a great mercantile fleet was necessary for the trade of Germany and needed a strong war fleet for its protection.

A great mercantile fleet, however, is by no means a necessity for the commercial development of Germany, because the neutral nations and ourselves could actually carry all her goods cheaper than German-owned vessels, owing to the better harbor and building facilities they severally possess. Sweden and Norway together could have run the German ships off the sea had the latter not been supported by Government subsidies most cleverly concealed but nevertheless most effectively administered. If we, in concert with our allies, or even without them, were to prohibit the use of any of our ports throughout the empire to German-owned vessels, the German merchant flag would disappear from the seas, and with it the last vestige of an excuse for the reconstruction of a war navy.

Without a real war navy, however, as I have said, Germany's power of offense against the great powers would be gone—for war on a big scale can no longer be carried on to a successful issue by a nation or group of nations deprived of all hope of obtaining command of the sea. The present war will prove this up to the hilt before we are through with it.

Without any hope of waging a successful war the nation would no longer submit to the existing military tyranny, but would be quite contented with the one-year militia system on the Swiss system the Socialists have long advocated, and to which, of course, no legitimate objection can be taken, since we cannot reasonably deny to any nation the right to an army for home defense; and training in the army has become such an integral factor in the educational scheme of all Continental countries that even the most pacifist of internationalists agree that it must be maintained in a modified form.

The abolition of the merchant flag is the only punitive measure I would see imposed upon Germany, since in the future evolution of the world there must be no room for the existence of a power at sea capable of abusing the potentialities of the submarine as she has done. If she has no trade to defend she has no need of appliances to protect what does not exist, and it is an equitable punishment because it imposes no re-

strictions on her legitimate commercial undertakings. As between maker and consumer it is of no consequence who carries the goods, provided the charges are the same for all.

For the rest, I can only trust that when the final settlement comes we shall put aside all idea of revengeful and humiliating conditions, since these always defeat their own object in the end and drive into underground channels the hatred and resentment they evoke. We have no desire to see the whole world permeated by secret societies for German revenge, and as regards the equity of punishment I fancy by the time the Allies have swept over the Rhine and beyond it, the inevitable track of death and destruction we shall leave in our wake will satisfy even the veriest gluttons for bloodshed.

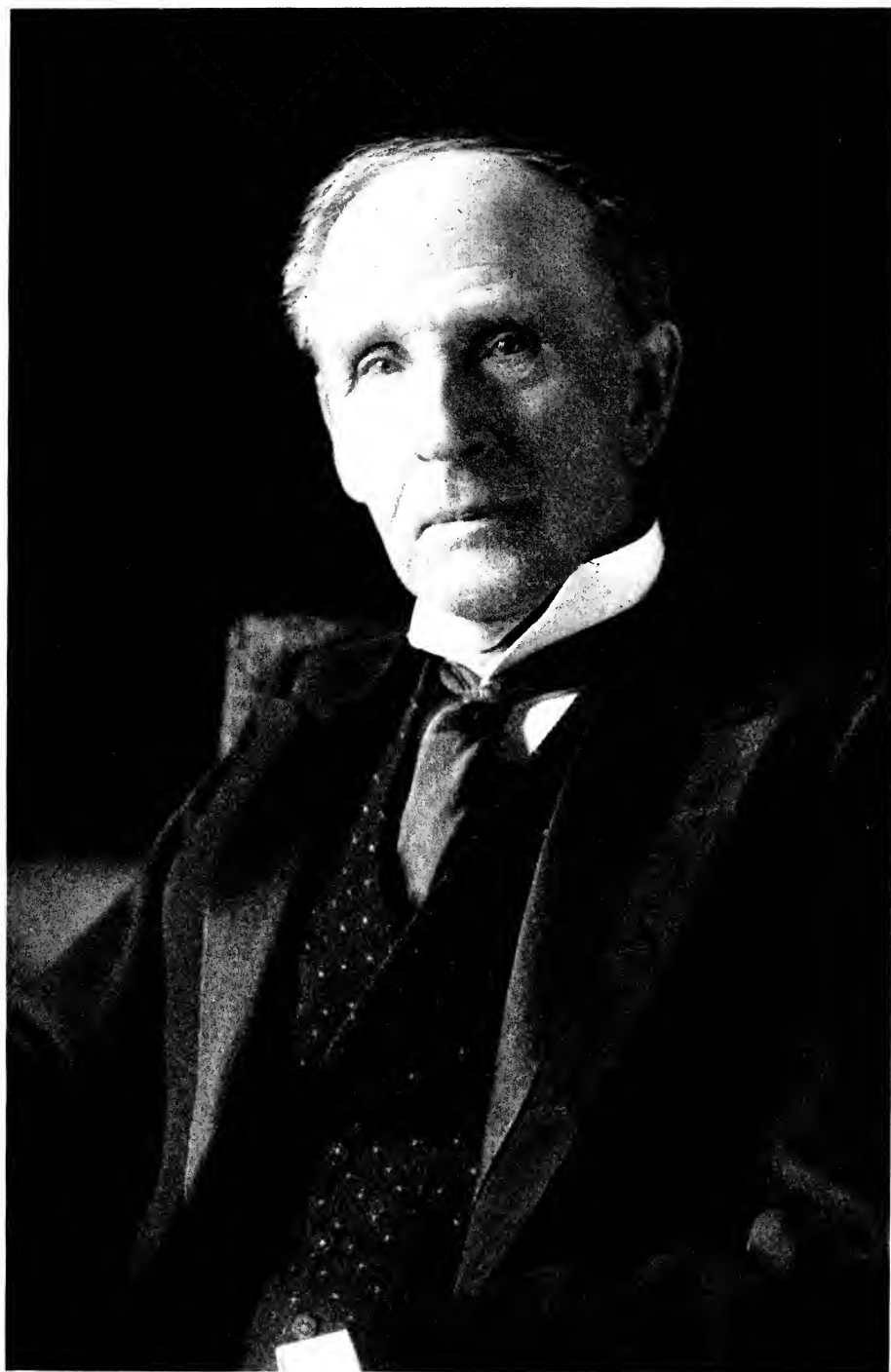
Lastly, I would keep before my memory the full secret history of the shifts and evasions by which Prussia escaped from the limitations of her army imposed upon her by Napoleon. It would in fact be very useful to publish a short book on the subject at once—the curious will find all the information in the “Official Histories of the 1813 Campaigns” by von Quisdrorp and von Holleben—and so arrange our terms of indemnities, surrenders, and so forth, that none should be of such nature as to furnish a nucleus of grievance around which the several German parties and States could regroup themselves. For, after all, this is the prime condition of an enduring peace—that confidence between the various groups whose action has brought about the present catastrophe should be rendered forever impossible.

Dominion Soldiers and English Girls

(From The London Morning Post, Sept. 24, 1915.)

A young daughter of a working woman has been knitting socks for soldiers of the dominions, and has received letters of thanks from a New Zealander. The following extracts are worth reproducing—first, as showing how much the spirit which animates the gifts is appreciated, and, secondly, as likely to prevent other donors and workers from being disheartened when they get no acknowledgment. The writer is a Sergeant Major who has been through two fights, and was on short leave in Egypt when this letter was sent:

You say I am the only one who has acknowledged the receipt of your socks. Well, dear, don't judge any soldier too harshly, as the others who received your socks may be dead by now. I am one of the lucky ones. I have been up the Dardanelles twice, and am ordered there again tomorrow, so your letter came just in time for me to answer. * * * I am very glad to hear you say that you thought it was your duty to help us. Little can you understand to what extent you and the ladies of England are helping us, and I think the Red Cross nurses here are just angels. There is not one of us who would not give his life for any of them, and when victory comes to us I shall always know in my heart that it was not the boys alone that did it, but the assistance we got from our dear British sisters at home helped us to make light of the awful troubles and trials that we have been subjected to. Yes, little girl, you are doing your duty nobly, and tomorrow I go once again to do mine, fearing nothing, just trusting in God. If I don't write again shortly don't worry, as there are plenty of better boys than I who have gone before me.



VISCOUNT MORLEY OF BLACKBURN

Late Lord President of the British Cabinet Council, Resigned, Who Deplores
Attacks on the Premier Made by a Resigning Minister (Sir Edward Carson)

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



SVEN HEDIN

Famous Swedish Explorer, Who by Invitation of the Kaiser Visits the German
Battle Fronts

The Allied High Commands

By Maurice Barrés

Member of the French Academy.

This article appeared originally in the *Echo de Paris*, the translation here given being that of *The London Daily Chronicle*.

OUGHT the French to intervene in the Balkans or keep out? Or, rather, since we are already in, how far should we carry out intervention?

There are two schools.

Some realize how painful it would be from the moral point of view and how really disastrous to leave Serbia cut off and the railway to Constantinople open. Germany would try to seize the sort of hold against England in Egypt and even as far as India that she has over France and Russia. From the depths of Asia there would come to her new supplies of men and foodstuffs. The Turks would at once furnish her with a million soldiers.

Those who talk in this way are right. But there are others who point out with equal justification that intervention will need five or six hundred thousand men and that France by herself cannot provide them—can not and ought not. It would be a crime for France to open a tap through which her men and her munitions would be drawn off. We French must not compromise the future on this western front of ours. Our enemies are in the centre of the spider's web; they remain masters of the interior lines, and if we send too large a force yonder they will at once swing back against us and try to secure a decision in our home territory.

Here we have the two theses. * * * Only the high command can judge between them.

The French high command? No; not alone. A decision of such gravity from the strategic point of view cannot be taken save by an agreement between all the allied high commands.

From the moment that we cease to be able to count with certainty on Greece and Rumania, the problem in the Balkans

becomes one that cannot be resolved by France alone. It is not a mere matter of creating a fourth fighting front. That front must be maintained and fed with men and munitions. Therefore it belongs to all the powers of the Quadruple Entente to concert their attitude and co-ordinate their action.

Today it must be done, not tomorrow, and already it is very late. We Allies have only too often the ca 'canny disposition. * * * It is the moment that counts. To use your strength at the exact instant: this is one of the great rules of strategy. If the upsetting of the equilibrium takes place before we have taken our resolution the current of neutral opinion sets against us.

Plainly Rumania and Greece are waiting for us to show our strength. But what are Italy, England, and Russia prepared and willing to do?

Germany counts upon our indecisiveness and the imperfect co-ordination of our forces.

She frankly admits that from the beginning of the war our lack of an active understanding is one of her chief assets. She says so, writes so, and holds forth on the matter learnedly. For Germany, have you not remarked it, has often the most brutal frankness and does not hesitate to expose to full publicity her feelings and hopes and calculations. * * *

Well, I have just been reading with great interest an article by Bernhardt upon what he calls, "The Mistakes of the Allies." I have never read anything more suggestive. It opens up new aspects of our strengths and weaknesses. It is plain what our enemies fear most. They would feel that they were lost, were all of us—English, Russians, Italians, Belgians, Serbs, and Montenegrins—to co-ordinate our efforts. Bernhardt points out at length that if England had

prepared herself for war, instead of counting exclusively on her allies; if Italy had come into the struggle right at the start, and if the Russians had taken a well-prepared and provided offensive before Germany had occupied the portions of our territory where she is now encamped, events might well have taken a quite different course. "Belgium," he says, "was conquered before the French and English could come to her help. They, in their turn, were forced on to the defensive before Russia was able to act with effect." I shall spare you the tone of superiority which this German critic adopts and which is quite unjustified, but shall come at once to his conclusion. "The powers of the Quadruple Entente," he says, "have committed the strategic mistake of not co-ordinating their action."

Let us not go on making this mistake, as, indeed, we have often done in the past year. What the allied Governments and armies need is a permanent high war council. Then one might examine at once whether one of the four powers does not possess at this moment forces that she is not using. Italy, whose fighting front is about to be immobilized by Winter, would not be willing to shut herself off from the preparations for a common victory. Intervention in the Balkans should be taken through the co-operation of the allied Governments, and the burden of the effort ought to be distributed among them, after an examination into all their forces, which would then only be considered as forming one and the same army.

Joy in Grief

[From *The London Daily Chronicle*.]

(Though it is a bitter sorrow, writes the mother of a soldier killed at Ypres, I am more sorry for those who have no sons to send. I had only two. The younger one went out last week.)

By A. W. B.

For me no tears, no useless grief;
For who could grudge, with power to give,
A little life so small and brief
That Britain still may live!

A son is laid upon the shrine—
Another goes—I murmur not;
And though a mother's pain is mine,
I envy no one's lot.

One sorrow overshadows all
That rends me for the sons I bore—
It is that at my country's call
I now can do no more.

The pity surging in your heart
You will not then to me extend;
She needs it who would do her part
But has no son to send.

And more the mother who has borne
Fair children but to bring her woe,
And changes mother-love to scorn
For boys who will not go.

The War and the France of Tomorrow

By Henri Bergson

Member of the French Academy

Professor Henri Louis Bergson, philosopher, historian, and French Academician, has been attached to the Faculty of the College of France for the last fifteen years, and he is well known in Great Britain and the United States. He writes as follows to the editor of this magazine:

"THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY is most interesting, and I always read it with particular attention.

"I inclose a short lecture which I delivered in Paris a few weeks ago, and which appeared in the *Revue Bleu*; since then I have not written or spoken in public about the war."

Professor Bergson's article on the future of France, and sent by him to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, appears below in translation:

WHAT will be the France of tomorrow? It will be, you may be certain, whatever we shall desire it to be; for the future depends upon us, it is what untrammelled human wills make it. It is time to cast aside arbitrary theories which have been, I do not know why, dubbed scientific. Were the course of history determined by fixed laws, an intelligence sufficiently great, knowing the intensity and direction of the forces bearing upon humanity, would be able to calculate future events as an eclipse of the sun or moon is foretold. No. An intelligence, no matter how vast, possessing full details of all the primal causes acting today upon each man, would be incapable of deducing therefrom the formation of the future because everything will depend upon the stimuli, unforeseen and unforeseeable, which free wills, creators of their own destiny and that of their country, will give when and where they please, and in whatever direction they please.

Nevertheless, liberty is not caprice. A man may vainly make illogical decisions. He may persevere even for a while in such a line of conduct, if he has carefully re-

flected before starting. And so with a whole people. Here foresight is possible in a certain measure, provided it does not aim at rigorous precision and does not pretend to entire assurance, provided it seeks to emphasize tendencies rather than to prophesy events, provided, finally, it takes account of the psychological elements of the problem.

Nothing is more instructive in this respect than the fate of the forecasts regarding the present war. It has been remarked, and truly enough, that most of them had proved false. In spite of warnings many people insisted "War has become impossible. No chief of State will be foolish enough to declare it. What man would dare take the responsibility of setting fire to Europe and causing a catastrophe unprecedented in the world's history?" Nevertheless, such a man has been found. He has taken this responsibility lightly; and, not less lightly, a whole nation has followed him.

Then people said: "Even supposing war does break out, it cannot last. Neither the belligerents nor the rest of Europe would endure such a strain for more than a few weeks." Nevertheless, they have endured it. The war has already lasted many months, and we shall make it last until complete, definite victory comes.

They said also: "The new explosives, the long-range, rapid-fire guns will make bayonet charges impossible from now on. In future wars, if there are to be wars, great distances will separate the combatants." Well, never—I do not say since the invention of powder only, but since the invention of the bow and arrow—never have soldiers fought at such close range. At certain points on the front only a few meters separate the hostile armies. And as for bayonet charges, they have become so frequent that one can no longer, as in former wars, give them individual names to make them live

in posterity's admiration; they are a commonplace in this war.

It was said also that work in the fields would stop, that manufacturing and trade would tumble, that it would mean economic and financial ruin. Nothing has fallen, nothing has stopped. Economic and financial ruin threatens our enemies beyond a doubt, but our own condition in these respects is perfect, our credit intact. On all these points, and others besides, people were mistaken.

Why were they mistaken? Let us look closer, let us consider each of the predictions in turn. We shall see that they had always reasoned on human affairs without considering sufficiently the human element.

The arms of today have undoubtedly a much greater range and rapidity of fire than those of former times; and if matters progressed mechanically, the fighting forces would be as far from each other as the greater range of their arms would allow. But mankind is supple and inventive. In face of danger enormously increased, he has sought and found means of sheltering himself without renouncing the offensive, without ceasing even to menace the enemy constantly with a hand-to-hand combat.

And so with agriculture, manufacture, the very life of the country; they would be seriously menaced by the war if human needs were absolutely fixed things, incapable of extension and compression. But necessities contract and activity expands under stress of circumstance; consumption and production adapt themselves to new conditions. This elasticity of human nature and the psychology of human nature should have been taken into consideration before prophecies were made.

The psychology of nations had been still less considered, it would seem; otherwise no one would have believed the war impossible. Assuredly, war would be expensive even to the victor; but there was one nation which believed itself certain of victory, and which reasoned besides that, no matter what the cost, it would gain vastly, since it would attain thereby the domination of the world. On this single aim it had concentrated for half a cen-

tury all its energy, aroused by cupidity and hatred into a state of arrogance and madness. To that nation setting fire to Europe was of slight consequence; in advance it absolved itself of all blame by persuading itself that it was the chosen people, instrument of God's will upon earth. Under these conditions war had to come.

Those who imagined that if war did break out it would be short were likewise deceived. The war could not possibly be brief, because it would be necessarily a war to the death. France would realize at once that her national existence was at stake—nay, more than her existence; the very fate of humanity—more than the existence of one or many peoples; the ideal of life, everything that makes life worth while. Yes; they should have foreseen all that, knowing what France has always been; and it should have been foreseen also that all Frenchmen would be in accord, united in a single unshakable resolution when the moment should come for arising against the powers of evil for the safety of the nation and of humanity.

As for foreseeing the state of mind of our soldiers, that is a different matter. One cannot foretell anything of the future except by past analogy, and the mental state of the French soldier is without precedent in the history of warfare. The psychologist who should insist upon comparing it with something familiar to him would have to seek elsewhere than in the annals of military valor. He would be obliged, I believe, to recall the descriptions which the great men of action among the mystics have left us of their inner life. They traversed, no doubt, the phase of enthusiasm which ends in ecstasy, but for them it was only a temporary state. Beyond the enthusiasm, further yet than the "vision of God," they reached that state of supreme calm where, having become again their former selves in appearance, speaking and acting like ordinary mortals, attending to their daily occupations and sometimes to the most humble work, they felt themselves inwardly metamorphosed, as if God had absorbed them into His eternity. Far be it from me to identify this

state of mind with that of our soldiers; nevertheless, there is an analogy. Hear the stories, read the letters which reach us from the front; all evoke pictures of the same kind. Not the slightest arrogance, but a genial and simple heroism, sure of itself as if, beyond enthusiasm, higher than all known forms of patriotism in which one still distinguishes himself from the country which he loves, the French soldier had brought his soul to entire unity with that of his nation and drew therefrom the strength to go no matter where, even to death itself, with a feeling of security.

Returning, then, to the question which we asked at the outset: What will remain tomorrow of all the accumulated energies of today? Shall we still have strength and inspiration to carry a victorious, rejuvenated, revived France to higher and higher destinies? I can only reply once again: That will depend upon us; we shall preserve our energizing force if we desire to preserve it. Let me add, I believe we shall desire it.

I believe we shall desire it because our national will is not to suffer in future from the weakness which has hitherto hampered it in all its undertakings. Of this weakness we have perceived only the exterior, superficial symptoms; it has had its source in the depths of the nation's spirit.

You know, perhaps, that certain psychologists explain most nervous trouble by some former disappointment, by some thwarted, repressed tendency. The victim had become reconciled and perhaps even believed that he had forgotten the affair. It was an inclination or an ambition or an aspiration of early youth or even of infancy. As we were unable to satisfy it we had decided that we would think no more about it. But it has continued to think about us. Installed in the subsoil of our consciousness, it works there without our knowl-

edge; it pushes and presses whatever is above it. That means shakings, explosions—in a word, the whole series of nervous troubles—until the physician-psychologist, having discovered the recollection concealed in the subconscious depths, brings it to the surface and drives it away.

Well, something of the same kind has happened to the mind of France. It had—that was forty-four years ago—a great disappointment, and it kept the memory thereof always alive and active, even when it believed to have forgotten. Oh, it was far from a wound of self-esteem; from such a wound we would have recovered. It was much deeper than that. By seeing force take the place of justice, Alsace-Lorraine snatched from France, success crown a course of brutality, chicanery, and falsehood, we had learned almost to doubt the existence of justice, and to lose faith in all the great things which had always been incarnated in France. And because we had yielded to doubt we were discontented. And because we were discontented with ourselves we were discontented with each other. Back of the visible, tangible causes of our discords was a wounded idealism, a patriotism—paradoxical as it may seem—a grieved patriotism which could be seen even in the anti-patriotic utterances of certain orators. But tomorrow the evil will have disappeared. Tomorrow the great injustice will have been repaired, force will have restored the right.

That is why I am without fear for the future. The France of tomorrow will be not only a victorious France; it will be a France which will desire and be able to preserve its impetus of inspiration, because it will have recovered, with the restoration of its territory, confidence in itself and confidence in the double ideal of liberty and justice with which its name has always been associated.



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Facts and Questions Before the British

By Viscount Bryce

Viscount Bryce, by his sympathetic study of American Government and his cordial relations with Americans, has made us feel that he is far from being an alien. His views on the situation that confronts his own land, therefore, will be of especial interest here. We publish below Viscount Bryce's recent Presidential Address to the British Academy.

THE year that has passed since the last general meeting of the Academy has been an *Annus Mirabilis*, full of unexpected and terrible events. To most of us it has been also *Annus Deflendus*, a year that has brought private sorrow to nearly every household as well as public sorrow to us all for the calamities in which it has involved the nation and the world. The British Academy has carried on its meetings and public lectures, making no change save one. The Council has this year proposed no foreign men of learning to be elected as Corresponding Fellows, fearing lest the judgment of their merits might be, or might possibly seem to be, influenced by the political relations in which the country stands. No suggestion has come from any quarter that we should deprive of their position as Corresponding Fellows any subjects of those foreign States which are now at war with Britain. The same may be said of our illustrious elder sister, the Royal Society. The general feeling has evidently been that the more all learned bodies are kept outside the passions of war the better for them and for the nations. When strife has ended and a period has elapsed long enough to soften the bitterness of feeling which now exists, it will be for learned bodies to try to link up the bonds of personal regard and intellectual co-operation, now unhappily severed, which have in time past served to bind the great peoples to one another.

Many will have felt, and all will admit, the dangers that surround any one who, influenced by strong emotions and possessing imperfect knowledge, should now commit to print his judgment of the events of the last eleven months. Every one among us must sometimes have had cause to regret, when reading them years

afterward, words which he wrote in the heat of the moment. Time modifies our judgments as it cools our passions. Neither the friendships nor the enmities of nations can last forever. * * *

It is better that nothing should be said today in an address to the Academy which any one of its members, to whatever country he may belong, would feel pain in reading ten or twenty years hence. Newspapers and pamphlets will convey to posterity sufficiently, and even more than sufficiently, the notions and fancies and passions of the moment.

What we may do, not without profit, is to note and to set down in a spirit of detachment the impressions made upon us by the events which our eyes see and watch as they pass into history. Many a pen will for centuries to come be occupied by the events of this year, and endless controversies will arise over them. It is well that whoever has gained from his studies something of a historical sense should in a historical spirit place on record from month to month the impressions he receives. The record will be almost as useful if the impressions should turn out to be erroneous as if they should be confirmed by subsequent events, because what the historian of the future will desire to know is not only what happened but what people believed and thought at the time it was happening. That which is omitted has also its value. Fifty years hence men will be struck by the significance of things whose significance was not perceived by contemporary observers, and will seek to know why those observers failed to see or comprehend facts which will then stand out in bold relief.

So let me now try to enumerate briefly what are the facts of the present situation by which we are chiefly impressed

—facts that make it novel as well as terrible.

The first fact is the immense width and range of the war. Thucydides observed that men always thought the war they were then engaged in the greatest that had ever befallen. But here we have facts which show how much the present conflict does transcend any seen in previous ages. This might have been foretold twenty years ago, assuming that Russia, Germany, and Britain were involved, seeing how vast are the possessions and claims and ambitions of all three States. Yet the reality goes far beyond every forecast. All the six great European powers and four lesser powers are involved. So is the whole extra-European Old World, except China and Persia and the possessions of Holland and Portugal. In the New World it is only the Dominions and Colonies of Britain that are affected—a noteworthy illustration of the severance of the Western Hemisphere from the broils of the Eastern.

Secondly. There is the prodigious influence of the war upon neutral nations. This also might have been foreseen as a result of the development of world commerce and the interlockings of world finance. But here, too, the actual results are transcending expectation.

Thirdly. The changes in the methods and character of war have been far more extensive than in any previous period. It took much more than two centuries from the invention of gunpowder for musketry and artillery to supersede completely archery and defensive armor. The long pike, after having been used for some twenty-five centuries at least, was still in use as late as the Irish rebellion of 1798, and to a slight extent in the abortive rising of 1848. War, however, is now a totally different thing from what it was in the campaign of 1870-71, or even in the war between Russia and Japan of 1904. Chemistry has changed everything by increasing the range and the power of missiles, while electricity, without the wire, supplies new means of communication not only along battle lines but across hostile territory. Warfare in the air and warfare

under the sea were heretofore undreamed of.

Fourthly. The cost of war is greater in proportion to the size of the armies, immensely larger as these armies are, than it ever was before. The ten belligerent European powers are estimated to be spending now more than ten millions sterling a day. At this rate their total expenditure for twelve months could not be less than 4,000 millions, and may be much more. But some competent economists put it at 5,000 millions, figures which are hardly more realizable by us than are those which express the distances of the fixed stars.

Fifthly. In each nation the whole body of the people is more fully and more hotly interested in, and united by, this war than by any it ever waged before. During the eighteenth century it was in most countries only the monarch and the ruling class that knew or cared what was happening. The great European conflict that began in 1793 brought a change. But this war is far more intensely national, in the sense that it has roused the feelings of the whole of each people from top to bottom, than any preceding conflict, and it is everywhere waged with a sterner purpose. In this respect we are reminded of the citizen wars of the small city States of ancient Greece and Italy, and of the Italian Middle Ages. There certainly never was a great war less dynastic than the present.

Sixthly. Some grave moral issues have been raised more sharply than before. Is a State above morality? Does the plea of military necessity (of which it is itself the judge) entitle it to disregard the rights of other States? (Cf. Thucydides v. 84-113, the case of Melos.)

Seventhly. The predictions that the vast interests involved, the increasing strength of defense as opposed to attack, and the growth of a general pacific sentiment would avert strife have all proved fallacious. The wisdom of the wise, where is it now? Some twelve years ago Maurice de Bloch, in a book that made a great impression at the time, argued that the growing difficulties of conducting military operations on a very large scale would prove an effective deterrent. More

recently an accomplished and persuasive English writer has shown how much more a nation has to lose by war than it can possibly gain even if victory crown its arms. Others have thought that a sense of solidarity among the workers in each industrial country would be strong enough to restrain their Governments from any but a purely defensive war. Others, again, have declared that democracies are essentially peaceful, because the mass of the people pay in their blood, other classes merely in their wealth. I do not say that these arguments are unsound, but the forces they rely upon have not proved strong enough for the occasion. For practical purposes the wisdom of the wise has been brought to nought, because the rulers of the nations have been guided by other motives than those of pure reason.

These observations relate to the palpable facts we have witnessed. Let us turn now to some of the reflections which the facts suggest. It is not easy to express these with that cold detachment at which the historian is bound to aim; but the effort must be made.

On that reflection which rose first to our minds when the war began, and which continues to be the sombre background to every aspect it presents—upon this I will not pause. After more than forty centuries of civilization and nineteen centuries of Christianity, mankind—in this case more than half mankind—is settling its disputes in the same way as mankind did in the Stone Age. The weapons are more various and more destructive. They are the latest product of highly developed science. But the spirit and the result are the same.

There has never been a time in which communications were so easy, and the means for discovering and circulating information so abundant. Yet how little is now certainly known as to the real causes which have brought about the war! The beliefs current among different peoples are altogether different, not to say contradictory. Some are almost demonstrably false. Even in some neutral nations, such as Holland, Switzerland, and Spain, opinion is sharply divided not merely about the rights but

also about the facts. The whole German people seem to hold just as implicitly that this is for them a defensive war as the French hold the opposite; and, however clear certain points may appear to us in Britain, there are others which may remain obscure for many years to come.

How few are the persons in every State in whose hands lie the issues of war and peace! In some of the now belligerent countries the final and vital decisions were taken by four or five persons only, in others by six or seven only. Even in Britain decision rested practically with less than twenty-five; for though some few persons outside the Cabinet took a part, not all within the Cabinet are to be reckoned as effective factors. It is, of course, true that popular sentiment has to be considered, even in States more or less despotically governed. Against a strong and definite sentiment of the masses the ruling few would not venture to act. But the masses are virtually led by a few, and their opinion is formed, particularly at a crisis, by the authority and the appeals of those few whom they have been accustomed to trust or to obey. And after all, the vital decision at the vital moment remains with the few. If they had decided otherwise than they did, the thing would not have happened. Something like it might have happened later, but the war would not have come then and so.

How swiftly do vast events move, how quickly are vast decisions taken! In the twelve fatal days from July 23 to Aug. 4 there was no time for reflection. Telegrams between seven capitals flew hither and thither like swift arrows crossing one another, and it would have needed a mind of more than human amplitude and energy to grasp and correlate all the issues involved and to foresee the results that would follow the various lines of action possible in a game so complicated. Even the intellect of a Caesar or a Bonaparte would have been unequal to the task. Here the telegraph has worked for evil. Had the communications passed by written dispatches, as they would have done eighty years ago, it is probable that war might have been avoided.

Sometimes one feels as if modern

States were growing too huge for the men to whom their fortunes are committed. Mankind increases in volume, and in accumulated knowledge, and in a comprehension of the forces of nature; but the intellects of individual men do not grow. The power of grasping and judging in their entirety the far greater mass of facts to be dealt with, the far more abundant resources at command, the far vaster issues involving the weal or woe of masses of men—this power does not expand. The disproportion between the individual ruling men with their personal prejudices and proclivities, their selfish interests and their vanities, and the immeasurable consequences which follow their individual volitions, becomes more striking and more tragic. There were some advantages in the small city States of antiquity. A single city might decline or perish, but the nation remained, and another city blossomed forth to replace that which had withered away. But now enormous nations are concentrated under one Government, and its disasters affect the whole. A great modern State is like a gigantic vessel built without any watertight compartments, which, if it be unskillfully steered, may perish when it strikes a single rock.

How ignorant modern peoples, with all the abundant means of information at their disposal, may nevertheless remain of one another's character and purposes! Each of the nations now at war has evidently had a false notion of its adversaries and has been thereby misled. It has not known their inner thoughts, it has misread their policy. It was said in the days of the American civil war that the misconception by the Southern States of the Northern States, and their belief that the North cared for nothing but the dollar, was the real cause why their differences were not peaceably settled, and yet they were both members of the same Republic and spoke the same language. European nations cannot be expected to have quite so intimate a knowledge each of the other, yet both their commercial intercourse and the activity of the press and the immensely increased volume of private travel might have been expected

to enable them better to gauge and judge one another's minds.

Historians as far back as Thucydides have made upon the behavior of nations in war time many general observations, which have been brought out in stronger light by what passes from day to day before us. A few of these I will mention to suggest how we may turn to account the illustrations which Europe now furnishes. When danger threatens a nation its habits change. Defense becomes the supreme need. In place of the ordinary machinery of government there starts up a dictatorship like that of early Rome, when twenty-four lictors surrounded the magistrate, and the tribunician veto, with the right of appeal, sank away. The plea of public interest overrides everything. The suspension of constitutional guarantees is acquiesced in, and acts of arbitrary power, even if violent, are welcomed because taken as signs of strength in the ruler. Even the withholding of information is submitted to. The voice of criticism is silenced. *Cedit toga armis*. The soldier comes to the front, speaks with an authority greater than that of the civilian statesman, is permitted to do whatever he declares to be necessary for the nation's safety. So long as that is secured, everything else is pardoned, and success gives enormous prestige.

Whoever watches these things must see how dangerous to freedom is war, except in those communities where long tradition has rooted constitutional habit very deep. In old Greece seditions opened the way to the tyrant. Napoleon supposed that the Duke of Wellington would, after Waterloo, have made himself master of England. So might a victor of another quality have done who had achieved such a triumph as Wellington's, had not an ancient monarchy and Parliament stood in his way. War is the bane of democracies. If it be civil war, he who restores peace is acclaimed like Augustus. Even a Louis Napoleon may be welcomed when he promises security for property. If it be foreign war, the man of the sword on horseback towers over the man on foot who can only talk and administer.

So, too, those psychical phenomena

which former observers have noticed when a country is swept by war or revolution have become vividly real to Europe now. The same passion seizes on every one simultaneously and grows hotter in each by the sense that others share it. It is said that when sheep, feeding unherded on a mountain, see the approach of a danger they all huddle together, the rams on the outside facing the foe. The flock becomes one, with one mind, one fear, one rage of fear. So in times of danger a human community feels and acts like one man. The nation realizes itself so vividly that it becomes a law to itself and reckons little of the opinion of others. The man is lost in the crowd, and the crowd feels rather than thinks. Passion intensified supersedes the ordinary exercise not only of individual will but even of individual reason. Fear and anger breed suspicion and credulity. Every one is ready to believe the worst of whoever is suspected. What is called the power of suggestion rises to such a height that to denounce a man is virtually to condemn him. Lavoisier is sentenced to be guillotined; he pleads that he is a harmless chemist, but is told that the Republic does not need chemists. After the death of Julius Caesar, Cinna, the poet, is seized, and, when he protests that he is not Cinna the conspirator, is nevertheless killed for his name, the bystander (in Shakespeare) adding, "Kill him for his bad verses." A foreign name is taken to be evidence that its bearer is a spy.

There is no tolerance for difference of opinion, and to advance arguments against the reigning sentiment is treason. Any tribute to the character or even to the intellectual gifts of an enemy is resented. Sentiments of humanity toward him are disapproved, unless the precaution is taken of expressing these in the exact words of Holy Scripture. The rising flame of hatred involves not merely the Government and armies of the enemy, but even the innocent citizens of the hostile country. These well-known phenomena are all more or less visible in Europe today, though in our own country the coolness of our temperament and the fact that no invader has trodden our soil

have been presenting them in a comparatively mild type.

The intensification of emotions includes those of a religious kind, and these not always in their purest form. In most countries, it is only the most enlightened minds that can refrain from claiming the Deity as their peculiar protector, and taking every victory as a mark of His special favor. Modern man seems at such moments to have reverted to those primitive ages when each tribe fought for its own god and expected its own god to fight for it, as Moab called on Chemosh and Tyre on Melkarth. True it is that a nation now usually argues that Divine protection will be extended to it because its cause is just. But as this is announced by every nation alike, the result is much the same now as it was in the days of Chemosh and Melkarth. Oddly enough, the people in whom fanaticism used to be strongest are now responding more feebly than ever before to the appeal of the Jihád. Is it because the Turkish Mussulmans have infidel powers for allies as well as for enemies that this war seems to them less holy than those of the centuries in which their conquests were won?

Upon other symptoms indicating a return to the conditions of warfare in earlier ages I forbear (for a reason already given) to comment. It is more pleasant to note that some of the virtues which war evokes have never been seen to more advantage. Man has not under civilization degenerated in body or in will power. The valor and self-sacrifice shown by the soldiers of all the nations have been as conspicuous as ever before. The line of heroes that extends from Thermopylae to Lucknow might welcome as brothers the warriors of today; while among those at home who have been suffering the loss of sons and brothers dearer to them than life itself, there has been a dignity of patience and silent resignation worthy of Roman stoics or Christian saints.

In these and other similar ways we see many a feature of human character, many a phase of political or religious life recorded by historians, verified by present experience. We can better under-

stand what nations become at moments of extreme peril and supreme effort; and those of us who occupy ourselves with history find it profitable to note the present for the illumination of the past.

But the future makes a wider appeal. Every one feels that after the war we shall see a different world, but no one can foretell what sort of a world it will be. We all have our fancies, but we know them to be no more than fancies, for the possibilities are incalculable. Nevertheless, it is worth while for each of us to set down what are the questions as to the future which most occupy the public mind and his own mind.

Will the effect of this war be to inflame or to damp down the military spirit? Some there are who believe that the example of those States which had made vast preparations for war will be henceforth followed by all States, so far as their resources permit, and that everywhere armies will be larger, navies larger, artillery accumulated on a larger scale, so that whatever peace may come will be only a respite and breathing time, to be followed by further conflicts till the predominance of one State or one race is established. Other observers of a more sanguine temper conceive that the outraged sentiment of mankind will compel the rulers of nations to find some means of averting war in the future more effective than diplomacy has proved. Each view is held by men of wide knowledge and solid judgment, and for each strong arguments can be adduced.

The effects which the war will have on the Government and politics of the contending countries are equally obscure, though every one admits they are sure to be far-reaching. Those who talk of politics as a science may well pause when they reflect how little the experience of the past enables us to forecast the future of government, let us say in Germany or in Russia, on the hypothesis either of victory or of defeat for one or other power.

Economics approaches more nearly to the character of a science than does any other department of inquiry in the human as opposed to the physical sub-

jects. Yet the economic problems before us are scarcely less dark than the political. How long will it take the great countries to repair the losses they are now suffering? The destruction of capital has been greater during these last eleven months than ever before in so short a period, and it goes on with increasing rapidity. It took nearly two centuries for Germany to recover from the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, and nearly forty years from the end of the civil war had elapsed before the wealth of the Southern States of America had come back to the figures of 1860. One may expect recovery to be much swifter in our days, but the extinction of millions of productive brains and hands cannot fail to retard the process, and each of the trading countries will suffer by the impoverishment of the others.

This suggests the gravest of all the questions that confront us. How will population be affected in quantity and in quality? The birth rate had before 1914 been falling in Germany and Britain; it had already so fallen in France as only to equal the death rate. Will the withdrawal of those slain or disabled in war quicken it? And how long will it take to restore the productive industrial capacity of each country? More than half the students and younger teachers in some of our universities have gone to fight abroad, and many of these will never return. Who can estimate what is being lost to literature and learning and science from the deaths of those whose strong and cultivated intelligence might have made great discoveries or added to the store of the world's thought? Those who are now perishing belong to the most healthy and vigorous part of the population, from whom the strongest progeny might have been expected. Will the physical and mental energies of the generation that will come to manhood thirty or forty years hence show a decline? The data for a forecast are scanty, for in no previous war has the loss of life been so great over Europe as a whole, even in proportion to a population very much larger than it was a century ago. It is said, I know not with how much truth,

that the stature and physical strength of the population of France took long to recover from the losses of the wars that lasted from 1793 till 1814. Niebuhr thought that the population of the Roman Empire never recovered from the great plague of the second century A. D.; but where it is disease that reduces a people it is the weaker who die, while in war it is the stronger. Our friends of the eugenics society are uneasy at the prospect for the belligerent nations. Some of them are trying to console themselves by dwelling on the excellent moral effects that may spring out of the stimulation which war gives to the human spirit. What the race loses in body it may—so they hope—regain in soul. This is a highly speculative anticipation, on which history casts no certain light. As to the exaltation of character which war service produces in those who fight from noble motives, inspired by faith in the justice of their cause, there can be no doubt. We see it today as it has often been seen before. But how far does this affect the noncombatant part of each people, and how long does the exaltation last? The instance nearest to our own time, and an instance which is in so far typical that the bulk of the combatants on both sides were animated by a true

patriotic spirit, is the instance of the American war of secession. It was felt at the time to be almost a moral rebirth of the nation. I must not venture here and now to inquire how far the hopes then expressed were verified by the result; for such an inquiry would detain you too long.

These are some of the questions which it may be interesting to set down as rising in our minds now, in order that the next generation may the better realize what were the thoughts and anxieties of those who sought, *sine ira, metu, studio*, to comprehend the larger issues of this fateful time. It is too soon to hope to solve the problems that are crowding upon us. But we can at least try to see clearly what the problems are, and to distinguish between the permanent and the temporary, the moral and the material causes that have plunged mankind in this abyss of calamity; and we can ask one another what are the forces that may help to deliver it therefrom. This is a time for raising questions, not for attempting to answer them. Before some of them can be answered most of us who are met here today will have followed across the deep River of Forgetfulness those who are now giving their lives that Britain may live.

“Britain Needs Three Million More Men”

In a London dispatch of The Associated Press dated Oct. 17, 1915, appears the following:

“Great Britain needs 3,000,000 more men by Spring.”

This declaration was made today by Brig. Gen. Sir Eric Swayne, Director of Recruiting in the northern command, in a speech at Hull. General Swayne estimated that Germany still had between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 men from the ages of 18 to 45, and that therefore it was useless to talk about wearing her out.

In the Spring, he said, Germany would lose more men than the Allies, which would balance the numbers of the Allies and the central powers, but if Great Britain should raise 3,000,000 additional troops, Germany probably would recognize that it would be fruitless to continue. Great Britain, he added, did not want compulsion, but unless 3,000,000 more men were recruited by the Spring, the military authorities could not be responsible for the results of the war.

Dickens and Carlyle as Germany's Friends

By Hermann Modersohn

In the *Englandbuch*, published by the Berlin *Taegliche Rundschau*, Hermann Modersohn declares that not only have many of the leading English authors shown great friendship for Germany in the past, but that they have often opposed the British Government in its dealings with other nations. The article presented below is from the chapter "Englishmen of the Past."

THE Leipsic art firm of C. G. Boerner has recently obtained possession of a heretofore unpublished letter of Charles Dickens, in which this writer, esteemed as highly in Germany as in England, expresses himself in unmeasured terms of admiration for German culture. The letter was written on Sept. 13, 1841, from Broadstairs in Kent, and was addressed to Dr. Heinrich Kuenzel, who had in mind the publication of a German periodical with the title "Britannia." Kuenzel had many ties that bound him to England. For a number of years he was tutor in the home of the Duke of Southerland. Further, in 1852, he accompanied a German theatrical company to England, where the players presented some of the leading dramatic works of Germany with marked success. The letter from Dickens was as follows:

My Dear Sir: I would have answered your letter immediately, but I still spend the Fall season in this section of England, and I did not receive it until yesterday. Please accept my heartiest thanks for your kind letter, and I want you to assure the gentleman who remembers me so kindly that I consider myself highly honored. But what may I be able to say regarding the "Britannia" matter? You must know that you have my most heartfelt wishes in what you are to undertake.

Believe me, my dear Sir, that next to the favors shown me and the good opinion entertained for me by my own countrymen I value the esteem of the German Nation above all else. I admire and appreciate it more than I can express in words. I know that with its great spiritual advancement and the height of its culture it is the chosen people on the globe, and I have never been prouder and happier than when I heard for the first time that my works had found favor in their eyes. Nothing that links English literature to Germany can make me indifferent. The aim of your new periodical

is my aim, and of every Englishman who takes interest and pleasure in the growth of mankind's spiritual conception. May God speed you and yours! I only wish I could speak German, if ever so poorly. In such a case I would be your callaborator within six months.

I remain, my dear Sir, as ever yours,

CHARLES DICKENS.

At one time Dickens attended the funeral of his friend and colleague, Hone, and, writing about the matter to John Forster, he said: "We entered the small chamber where the pallbearers had met. The scene was really pitiful. In one corner was the widow with the children, weeping bitterly, while in another corner the rest conversed quite unreservedly. I have never been so painfully impressed by a contrasting picture.

"The preacher was a Nonconformist who, as soon as we had been seated, spoke up loudly and most emphatically: 'Mr. C., did you notice the announcement in the morning papers regarding our departed friend?'

"'I did,' C. replied, as he fastened his eyes on me, for on our way to the funeral he had informed me with no little pride in his voice that he was the author of the notice in the newspapers.

"'Oh,' the preacher spoke up, 'then I want to tell you that you have not only committed an offense against me, the servant of the Lord, but also an offense against the Lord, whose servant I am.'

"'But how is that?' C. questioned the minister.

"'It says in this notice that the deceased, after he had failed with his publication, was advised by me to try the pulpit, which is both false, unchristian, and, to speak plainly, sacri-

legious and downright despicable. Let us pray.'

"Whereupon, I give you my word for it, in the same breath and after kneeling down, as we all did, the preacher began a very indifferent sort of prayer. I felt very badly for the family's sake, but as C., on his bent knees, seemed quite overcome, and yet whispered to me that if this had not been a funeral and the man a preacher he would have given him a box on the ear, it seemed as if only a burst of laughter could afford me relief."

We owe to Dickens the most splendid figure ever created of a hypocrite—Pecksniff in "Chuzzlewit." It is quite to the point how Forster treats of this Pecksniff in his biography of Dickens. After telling what Americans thought about Dickens's description of land speculations characterized as "Eden," Forster declared: "In any case, they have no Pecksniff. Brought up in an atmosphere much more poisonous than the others' 'Eden,' of far greater extent and much more difficult to drain, Pecksniff is entirely our own. This state of affairs is not one pleasing to our national pride; but this character is at least English whenever our people, if not exactly of the Pecksniff type, favor and encourage the race of the Pecksniffs. When it is objected that the character is overdrawn and that the coloring is laid on too heavily, it must still be admitted that here is something long tolerated and sometimes honored. It is very possible that a number of persons may have been the model for Pecksniff, but it was to be expected that 'grotesque impossibilities' would be made use of."

Dickens himself calls attention to this in his introduction, and he further points out what he considers a still greater danger, namely, that the many who wanted to be considered much better than they are supported such enterprises as would benefit them alone, and thus, without themselves becoming Pecksniffs, made Pecksniffs possible.

As had been anticipated, Carlyle, during the war of 1870-71 arrayed himself wholly and enthusiastically on the side of Germany. The fate of France ap-

peared to him as a punishment of Providence. The news about Gravelotte and Sedan reached him in Scotland while he was visiting at the grave of his wife, and he wrote regarding it to Professor I. A. Froude, his biographer, as follows: "September, 1870. Never before have I read about so remarkable a war, and I expect the result to be more healing, more uplifting, more hopeful than in any other war in my time. I believe for a certainty that the Prussians will keep those parts of Alsace and Lorraine that are still German, or that they expect will again become German. The whole world cannot deny them that nor can the heavens. Since long ago Germany is the most peace-loving, the most religious, and in most respects the most influential of nations. Germany ought to be President of Europe, and it is likely that within another five hundred years she will be charged with that office."

One of the most important works of Carlyle dating from that time is his complete, historical presentation of France's political attitude toward Germany during the past 400 years. As English sympathy for the French increased with each defeat of the latter, Carlyle prepared his article in the form of a letter to the publisher of *The Times*. It bears the date of Nov. 11 and appeared in *The Times* on Nov. 19. It is also included in the "Collected Works" of the author.

Carlyle begins with a public announcement as to the ignorance in England regarding the political history of France and Germany. He then tells clearly and without the least sign of affectation or exaggeration of the political situation in both countries from the time of Louis XI. and Emperor Max to Napoleon I. and about the wars that Germany was drawn into through the intrigues of France. He next speaks of the honor of France. The character of Bismarck, so little understood in England, he described succinctly as "not a person of Napoleonic ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic." He concludes his appreciation of Germany with the following words: "That noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Germany should be at length welded into a nation and be-

come Queen of the Continent, instead of vamping, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless, and oversensitive France, seems to me the hopefulest public fact that has occurred in my time."

A veritable flood of letters, wise and foolish, intelligent and offensive, swept over the Carlyle home in the course of the next few weeks as a result of his political declaration. From Hamburg came a telegram from the Prussian Minister, Count Bernstorff, who expressed his deep appreciation because the noted historian had written so favorably regarding his countrymen.

A few years following the war Carlyle received from Germany two exceptional tokens of honor—in 1874, the Order Pour le Merite, and in 1875, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, a congratulatory letter from Bismarck.

In 1865 Carlyle completed his "History of Frederick the Great." The work showed a surprising knowledge of German characteristics, quite different from what any other foreigner had done before. Macaulay made a barbarian of Frederick Wilhelm. Carlyle sees in him the driving wheel of the Prussian Nation, and presented him as the prototype for Prussia's historic eminence.

Carlyle found in Josef Neuberg of Wurzburg a literary assistant whose

translations of "Friedrich II." did much to gain popularity for the work in Germany. What Eckermann meant to Goethe, Neuberg was to Carlyle.

Accompanied by Neuberg, Carlyle, as early as 1852 and 1857, made trips to Germany. In the city of Schiller and Goethe he found much to remind him of his own home. The relics in the Luther Chamber touched him greatly; he kissed the oaken table and he sat up late that same night and wrote his octogenarian mother an exhaustive letter about it all.

The letter of congratulation sent Carlyle by Bismarck is worth repeating at this day. It read: "Berlin, December 2, 1875. My Dear Sir: The celebration in honor of your birthday concerns also Germany. I want to tell you this in words of my mother tongue. As you have brought home to your own countrymen the personality of Schiller, so you have given to the Germans a splendid characterization of their great Prussian King. What you have said about the heroic writer, that he rested under the noble obligation to be truthful, you yourself have done. But, happier than others of whom you have spoken, you stand to enjoy your own creations. I trust your power of productivity will long remain with you.

"COUNT v. BISMARCK."

The Kaiser's Christmas—a Prediction

In an Associated Press dispatch from Budapest, dated Oct. 23, 1915, appears this estimate and prediction:

The military experts on the newspapers here estimate that not more than six months more will be required to establish communications with the Turkish Army. The Pesti-Napolo, however, says:

"The German Emperor will spend Christmas in Constantinople at the head of his victorious troops."

The editorials in the newspapers dwell on the importance of the Balkan campaign as a means of establishing a basis for an early peace. The Pestihirlap says in this connection:

"The stroke through the Balkans will bring peace nearer, for it is a stroke aimed directly at England, which heretofore has stood safe and isolated, boasting of her ability to continue the war three years or more. England lately has been the only obstacle in the way of an early peace. As soon as her world power is threatened she will manifest a willingness to consider the question of peace."

The Azest says: "The Balkan campaign is the easiest task ever intrusted to an army leader. If the present plan is carried out it will be impossible for the Allies to escape capture or disaster, and the only real military task is to accomplish all this with the smallest possible loss to ourselves."

The newspaper adds that even with the greatest force the Anglo-French Governments can muster the Germanic armies will outnumber them two to one, while the Austro-German artillery is in the proportion of five to one.



J. PIERPONT MORGAN

Head of the Chief American Banking House of the Group Handling the
Anglo-French Credit of \$500,000,000



ARCHDUKE EUGENE
In Command of the Austrian Forces on the Italian Front
(Photo from Universal Press Syndicate.)

The German War and Democracy

How the Masses in Germany May Become More Self-Governing

This article on the probable result of the war upon democracy in Germany was printed in the semi-official Cologne Gazette and has had an enormous circulation throughout Germany.

CERTAIN things have been so conclusively proved by the past war year that for all future time they can never again be an object of dispute. No weakening may take place in the external State power, as a result forsooth of a point of view that holds that their sharpness and strength can be even approximately dispensed with, by reason of friendly sentiment and concessions on the part of our neighbors. In judging the relations between us and the great neighboring States, no party will stand distinct from others because it maintains that we could save money by relying upon the progressive subordination of the principle of power (*Machtprinzip*) to the basis of good-will among civilized races. We will waste no more time in discussions of that subject, since even the Socialists, too, have had their experiences with their brethren in foreign lands. Similarly, even those who have most faith in progressive principles will postpone the discussion of these questions for several generations. The war has worked too convincingly.

It has eliminated, also, from our political discussions the word "Fatherlandless." We cannot even imagine those political stupidities which could bring about the reintroduction of that word into our vocabulary. Too much has been learned anew in all realms for that, at home and, above all, out there in the field. The men who will come back have accomplished so much together, endured so much together, have shown and witnessed so much love for the highest common good, that for them the question of who loves the Fatherland more or whether one loves it more than the other, and whether there are persons who take an indifferent or even hostile attitude to-

ward it, has been finally settled. And these men constitute the living basis of our future politics. On this basis no one will again be able to build up a policy of spying out a man's sentiments or persecuting him because of his sentiments. That will not work any more. The one side will not want it, and the other will not stand for it; and both together will constitute the overwhelming majority.

This already borders upon the question: Will Germany after the war be more democratic? This question can doubtless be answered only with yes and no, not with yes or no. The common experiences have relegated social and communal differences to the background; the future will bring with it a simpler method of living, and therewith a diminution of the social differences. The democratic trait created by the war will be carried over into the political life in so far as the odium of "Fatherlandlessness" will at last be removed from the only party to which, in the eyes of certain political parties, it attached. On the other hand, there will disappear from our political life the idea of exceptional legislation, in the sense in which that term was used heretofore, and against the objects of such legislation, since also the "exceptions" have disappeared in view of their demonstrated trustworthiness for patriotic purposes.

A democratic character will appear in our internal political life also, owing to the fact that the demands for a full participation in the directing of the State destiny—the right of ballot!—will be more emphatically insisted upon. One cannot imagine that the present-day three-class ballot system will continue in the old form. But all democracy will have a different basis than at present;

the sentiment tending to strong, and conscious, and energetic *Machtpolitik*, (policy of power,) proudly conscious of its own national peculiarity, "State-preserving," (*Staaterhaltend*), in the best sense of the word. The maintenance of our own strong peculiar German economic type; strong agriculture as the foundation of the powerful industrial superstructure, the demonstrated mistake of the purely free-trade ideal, will soften the party shadings of political economic contrasts and put in their place rational considerations of practicability. All of us have become agrarians a little.

On the other hand, the questions of provisioning the people have sharpened extraordinarily the view and feeling for all that which even remotely borders upon improper increase in prices of important foodstuffs. Wherever the guilty ones may be in this respect, they will find no mercy from the verdict of the people, even up in high quarters. The experiences of the war will be translated into our legislation also in this province. But the differences of opinion concerning these questions will be greatly stripped of political party characteristics, and here, as in other political realms, it will be one of the most important questions at issue how much practical State socialism is healthful and necessary and how much is injurious.

The war has brought us a great many necessary institutions of a State socialistic character. Theorists and practical men will have to take up the question how far economic individualism may be curtailed, and how an extraordinarily essential impulsive force of economic development, the personal interest of the subject engaged in business, can be prevented from losing its incentive for amassing fortunes to such a degree that it may become anaemic. The number of officials will be extraordinarily increased by the coming institutions in the form of State monopolies, even as will the number of persons drawing annuities from the State and the pensioners of the war. The State insurance legislation, on the other hand, will not be able, for a long time to come, to make any further progress. Its high-water mark will remain

the insurance of employees. The next care will be that of reconquering foreign markets, and that cannot be furthered by the imposition of new socialistic burdens. This, too, can no longer be a party question after the war, but must be treated solely from the point of view of practicability.

Thus, democracy and socialism, which the war has in a certain sense strengthened, will also be held in check by the experiences of the war, and a healthy political realism, which has gradually perceived the importance of the State authority and of leading personages to an extent undreamed of, will determine the limits of the development, just as the experiences of the war will remove much of the bitterness of political, and especially of religious, differences.

How the party life and the relations of the parties to the Government shall constitute themselves depends upon divers factors. One of them is the extent to which the Government has succeeded in recasting its own principles, ("*unlernen*," i. e., "unlearn and relearn.") This remains for the time being the Government's own secret. But the auspices are favorable; the words of the Chancellor still ring in all ears, and the words of the Kaiser will never be forgotten: "I know no parties any more; I know only German." The other factor is the mass-sentiment and mass-mood which the homecoming army will bring with it. Here individual experience can only by conjecture seek to arrive at a general opinion. Assuredly our field gray fighters will return attaching very little importance to the value of trivial controversies about minor party differences.

That ought to favor the disappearance of party nuances and the forming of larger party organizations on the Left, (Radical,) as well as on the Right, (Conservative,) side of the House. The conclusion of peace will most likely have a great influence upon the alignment of the parties; in this respect, no matter what the result of the peace, there should be two directions.

More should not be said at present on this point; here, too, there is still too much in a state of flux and dependent

upon the actual developments. Assuredly the questions of foreign policy, which are even now already busying in a gratifying manner all trained minds, will exercise a great influence on the future party life. Out of this there are growing up new, important, and fruitful objects of dispute. In this respect, too, we can at the moment form only surmises, and the open discussion of these questions would transgress the limits of the freedom of speech. But one thing is sure beyond all doubt; we are entering the new period of

German history with a feeling hardened in the fire that we are dependent upon one another in all sections of our people, a feeling of unshakable confidence in the goodness and safety of our State organization, and with the energetic will that our policy shall be directed more by considerations of practicability than by theories, and with the no less energetic general demand that various long and thick queues that still dangle behind us shall be cut off as soon as peace has been restored to the country.

Evening in the Gallipoli Peninsula

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

By E. N. MOZLEY

The immemorial hills in darkness fade,
While on the western waters' rim the sun
Blazons his fierce farewell, and yielding place
To sorrow-pregnant gloom, outpours his light
On purer, happier lands, while all around
Night's diadem reanimates the sky,
And all things seem at rest.

All things but man.
What lights are these that fill yon desolate hills
Like lamps that glisten in our northern vales
For Labor's need? Far deadlier purpose here,
Where gleam those undetermined rings of fire.
Hark, the war-clangor in the echoing gorge!
Or nearer climb, and feel the shuddering earth,
While the mine's fury cleaves its way to heaven.
Grim lie in wait our foes; 'gainst whom are set
Warriors of Ind, and, still more dread, the sons
Of her, the mistress of the Southern Sea.
Shall then the Crescent wane, an Empire fall,
And Constantine's great city yield the throne
To Christ, and Holy Wisdom hear anew
Her ancient oracles?

Transcendent Power!
Named by thy children after many tongues,
Yet known with but one heart, Divinest Love,
Look down with pity on our ignorant strife,
And judge our cause in thy foreknowledge set.
So, if our hearts be evil and our war
The bitter fruit of lost and soul-less life,
Give them the palm, nor let a bitter truce
Turn all to nought. But if thy kingdom's rule
Advanced may be by placing in our care
The dreadful weight of victory, then we pray
Our banners bless, our cause sustain, and last
Thy peace beyond all knowledge give the world.

Gallipoli Peninsula.

Russia's Hour of Destiny

By Professor Theodor Schiemann

Professor Schiemann, who is a personal friend of Emperor William, is one of the greatest living authorities on East European affairs, and is the leading editorial writer of the *Kreuz Zeitung*. In the subjoined article, translated by Dr. Kuno Meyer, the noted German scholar describes what he considers to be the contemporary conditions in the Russian Empire.

THOSE who predicted that soon after the beginning of the war a revolution would break out in Russia were not acquainted with the true conditions of the country.

The agrarian reforms inaugurated by Stolypin had given the Russian peasant land. He was told that the war would bring a great increase of territory to Russia and that during the war and after it the land owned by the "aliens" in Russia would be handed over to him, the orthodox Great Russian peasant. Hence the peasantry throughout the country were for the war.

The "aliens" themselves, in Finland, the Baltic provinces, Lithuania, Poland, and in the Ukraine, could not rise while the concentration of the huge army was taking place in the western districts inhabited by them.

Meanwhile, the more appalling the defeats suffered by the Russian armies were the more sanguine the official versions of the war reporters became, and the more severe were the means employed by the military authorities under the direction of the Commander in Chief to keep the truth from the people. Those who but passed an unfavorable remark on the situation or said anything more than the official statements contained were fined 3,000 rubles or imprisoned for three months. The same punishment was meted out to those who merely put a question about the events of the war to a wounded soldier, even though he were a relative, or to a hospital nurse or doctor. Every letter was to be read by the censors established at all Post Offices, and, as that proved impracticable, many letters were destroyed unread. No lists of losses were published, or at most incomplete ones, delayed for many months.

On the other hand, the enormous numbers of the wounded and sick pouring

back into Russia spread dismay everywhere. By the Fall of 1914 these had increased to such extent in the Governments of the south and centre that the towns could no longer contain them. They had to be sent to the neighboring villages. Those who are familiar with the filthy, floorless huts inhabited by Russian peasants, where they live under the same roof with pigs and chickens, and who know their often harsh brutality, will realize that this must have spelled death to many of the wounded. The result of the absence of organization and the lack of the simplest remedies has been that at most 5 per cent. of the wounded are able to return to the fighting lines. The testimony of all army surgeons who have had a scientific training agrees in this. They speak with a shudder of their colleagues from the interior of the empire, and declare themselves helpless in the face of a senseless organization and a system that sends the wounded before they are completely healed into Central Russia and beyond, merely to make room for the ceaseless stream of new victims.

While this is going on, the daily official reports speak of nothing but new, glorious victories, of the insignificance of the Russian losses in comparison with the enormous losses suffered by the "insolent and malignant enemy"—the common designation of the German and Austro-Hungarian armies. No wonder that as early as October last a great agitation seized the masses of the people and that thousands besieged the offices in the great cities, as, e. g., in Charkow, where the official telegrams were issued, demanding that they should be told the truth. The Government replied by dispersing the crowds with the knout and sabre of the Cossacks.

Badly tended wounded soldiers clothed

in rags came into all houses, begging for food and tobacco. Army orders were issued strictly forbidding any begging by soldiers, but were ineffective to stop it. Add to this that on their return home many thousands who had been dismissed from the army as unfit for further service told everywhere the same story, that they had been poorly nourished and badly led, that the officers caroused and reveled, but were incompetent and helpless in battle. When the soldiers would not advance they were knouted by the Cosacks and compelled to attack by machine guns and artillery. They described how they had had to wait without rifles in the trenches until their comrades had fallen, whose rifles they then picked up; and how different all this was with the enemy, how well the enemy was fed and cared for, how the officers were like brothers or fathers to the men, and how terrible he was in battle. The burden always was, "it is impossible to beat the Germans."

At the end of April, after a long conference at the Ministry of Education, all universities and middle-grade schools of the empire were closed. The official reason for this step was that with the coming of the warm season epidemics were to be expected, and, further, that the nervousness, which through the war had taken hold both of masters and pupils, made any profitable teaching no longer possible. In reality these hotbeds of revolution were closed because it had become apparent that they were so infected with revolutionary ideas that instruction could no longer be carried on.

Among the people themselves revolutionary propaganda was further spread by many industrial laborers, dock workers and others, who, having lost their employment on account of the standstill of industry and commerce, were returning to their native towns and villages.

In the army an organized propaganda has been at work from the commencement of the war, so that, according to reliable figures compiled by the revolutionary centres, about 20 to 25 per cent. of the whole army had been won over by last Christmas. Since then the movement has undoubtedly spread further,

especially since some of the best elements of the army, about 200,000 sons of German colonists, whose families the Czar, by a ukase of February last, has expropriated and transported, view the dissolution of the army with grim satisfaction and surrender to the enemy at the first opportunity. Other aliens, Letts, Esthonians, Lithuanians, Poles, &c., act in the same manner.

Another effect of the growing discontent and the spread of the principles of revolution is the constantly recurring shooting of officers by their own men, which has assumed proportions of which the military authorities of the central powers are hardly sufficiently informed. It must undermine the confidence of even the bravest Russian officers in their men.

The circumstance that from the outset the Government has excited the popular passions, and thus lent a hand itself to spread lawlessness among the people, now bears unexpected fruit, and the revolutionary military authorities of the central situation for their own ends. The unspeakable pogroms in Moscow and numerous other places would never have assumed such large proportions if the revolutionary elements had not co-operated. It was their object to destroy as many mills and warehouses as possible, so as to deprive the Government of the wherewithal to carry on the war and to bring about a state of anarchy, from which a new order of things is to spring.

What exact shape this new order is to take is a matter of indifference to the leaders of the movement at present. On the whole, their ideal is a socialist republic, in a loose federative form, grouped by nationalities. It is the ideal of 1905, viz., a great Russian republic, with its seat at Moscow, and loosely attached to it and separated by natural boundaries, Finnish, Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Caucasian republics and from Chelm and Rowno to Taganrog, the little Russian Ukraine.

It appears that the liberal elements of the Left, who are as anti-German as the reactionaries themselves, are desirous to utilize the general state of perplexity and helplessness, as well as the revolutionary movement, to secure for them-

selves the upper hand in the Government. Prince Mansyrev, who during the last days has been mentioned by the press as entertaining the idea of the formation of a coalition Ministry from among the various parties of the Duma, is a member of the Cadet party. By emphasizing his fanatical hatred of Germany he has succeeded in obtaining in some measure the confidence of Government circles. In 1905 he was a declared revolutionist, intimately connected with the central committees of the Lettish revolutionaries and similar organizations. This explains his special hatred of the Baltic Germans, whose expropriation and transportation he now demands. If he should succeed in bringing about a larger participation of the Duma in the Government, that would mean another step toward revolution; for such an arrangement is bound to aid the development of anarchic conditions.

The Czar and his entourage, as well as the Court of the Dowager Empress, which sides with the Czar, will have to decide either for the Grand Duke Nicholas, behind whom the reactionaries are grouped and whose followers are aiming to put him on the throne, or for a parliamentary coalition Ministry, which would undertake to carry on the war with the prospect of being rewarded by liberal concessions. Either way will, I think, lead to a catastrophe. But in face of the desperate condition of the army and the threatening attitude of the people, the resolution to make a choice will be lacking and the policy will be to muddle along from day to day.

By the gaping contrast between expectations and wishes on the one hand and the ever more transparently disastrous situation on the other, the whole of Russia has now become seriously alarmed. Besides, there is severe suffering from the great distress and the bad economic conditions which the war has brought down upon the whole empire. At first the maintenance and provisioning of the millions of the Russian Army were considered technically impossible, and everybody was astonished when, under the draconic orders of the Commander in Chief, the commissariat

performed all that could be demanded. But those who are acquainted with the facts know that the whole economic foundation of Russia has simply been ruined thereby. Only by incredible sacrifices was it possible to keep up and nourish the huge army. The Commander in Chief, who has little understanding for political economy, was wholly indifferent to this ruin of his native land. He needed provisions for his soldiers, and he got them, often bad, in all cases unequal, but he got them.

The harvest of 1914 had been very unequal throughout the empire. It was excellent in Poland, the Northern Caucasus, in the district of Kuban, and in Western Siberia; middling in the south and southwest; bad in Central and Eastern Russia; and it miscarried completely in the north, northwest, and in the Baltic provinces.

All these things combined have increased the ill-feeling against the Government, without lessening the hatred against Germany, and they are all cleverly exploited by the revolutionary party. In February last the police in Petersburg knew that the revolutionary centres had succeeded in creating an organization far superior to that of 1905. The Government had the threads of the conspiracy well in its hands, it knew much, though not all; but it was considered too dangerous to proceed with wholesale arrests. A premature outbreak was feared, which would have reacted unfavorably upon the west, as well as upon Rumania and Italy. It was also believed by the Government that the movement might yet be kept down by a victorious advance into Hungary and a march upon Budapest, while in the case of a Russian defeat, in which it is true they did not believe, everything was lost in their opinion, as it was. This was also the prevailing view in Court circles. The bestowal of a sword of honor by the Czar upon the Commander in Chief for the conquest and incorporation of Galicia with Russia, and the spasmodic official celebrations of victories, were intended as preventive measures against the coming revolution. The debacle in Galicia which followed immediately afterward

was the beginning of the end—unless, indeed, Russia succeeds in concluding an early peace, so that those parts of the army which are still intact and loyal may keep down the revolution. Another way of fighting the revolution would be to sacrifice the aliens to the Russian peasant. In the latter case the whole

fault of the ill-success of the Russian arms would be laid at the door of the allied western powers and of the alien population—Jews, Germans, Esthonians, Letts, and Poles. All these would be expropriated, driven out, and practically annihilated. A terrible fate would await the Germans of Russia.

Russia's Foreign Credit

An Associated Press dispatch from Petrograd, dated Oct. 24, 1915, reported:

An imperial ukase, issued today, authorizes the Russian Minister of Finance to transact on foreign markets credit operations amounting to 5,500,000,000 rubles, (\$2,750,000,000,) and to issue abroad the necessary Treasury bonds in pounds, francs, and dollars. Explaining his plans to a representative of the press, Pierre Bark, the Finance Minister, said the whole fiscal system of Russia would be reformed on the basis of the income tax, which already had been approved by the Duma, and now was under consideration by the Council of the Empire. All textiles, he said, also would be taxed, which would bring into the Treasury \$75,000,000 annually. Schemes for creating tea, sugar, and match monopolies are being worked out. The question of a 6 per cent. internal loan shortly will be determined, as the Russian money market is rich in resources, the proof of which, said the Minister, would be found in the recent official statement that current deposits in private banks had reached the marvelous total of \$2,000,000,000, and that the increase in deposit accounts for the year ended in September amounted to \$350,000,000, while the savings bank deposit monthly increase was \$25,000,000.

Consul General Snodgrass, at Moscow, in a report which reached the State Department at Washington in September, summarized the various issues of bonds and notes made by Russia for war purposes since the beginning of the war. These were as follows:

BONDS ISSUED AT 5 PER CENT.

Aug. 5, 1915.....	400,000,000 rubles	\$206,000,000
Oct. 19, 1915.....	400,000,000 rubles	206,000,000
Oct. 19, 1914.....	12,000,000 pounds	58,000,000
Jan. 8, 1915.....	500,000,000 rubles	257,000,000
Jan. 8, 1915.....	40,000,000 pounds	194,650,000
Feb. 19, 1915.....	500,000,000 rubles	257,500,000
Feb. 19, 1915.....	500,000,000 rubles	257,500,000
April 9, 1915.....	400,000,000 rubles	206,000,000
July 1, 1915.....	1,000,000,000 rubles	515,000,000

NOTES IN FOREIGN MARKETS.

April 29.....	200,000,000 rubles	\$103,000,000
June 23.....	50,000,000 pounds	243,325,000
March 26.....	625,000,000 francs	121,000,000

The total debt thus incurred since Aug. 1, 1914, was \$2,407,880,000. The proposed new credits of \$2,750,000,000 would make a total war debt of \$5,157,880,000.

Origin of British Supremacy of the Seas

By Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz

Pro-Rector and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Freiburg.

How England became Queen of the Ocean, striving with the Dutch and the French for mastery, is here told by Dr. Gaevernitz. Besides his professional duties he is also a member of the German Reichstag. The following article is from The New York Evening Mail, which received the original from its Berlin correspondent in response to the question, "What do the educated Germans really believe about England?"

DUTCH Ships Bringing in an English Frigate" is the title of a striking picture which adorns the Mariz-Haus in The Hague, the historic residence of the Orange family. This picture, like all other Dutch seascapes of that period, reminds one of the time when Great Britain's naval supremacy had not yet been established and accepted beyond challenge.

In those days an Admiral Tromp swept through the Channel with the symbolic broom at his masthead. A menacing Ruyter ventured to the mouth of the Thames. A Hugo Grotius boldly demanded the "freedom of the seas," the equality of all on the sea, the highway of nations. That was the noonday of civilization! In the background was the seventy years' struggle for freedom—a struggle between a hopeless minority and a world-embracing despotism.

Religious zeal and tolerance, patriotic devotion to the fatherland, combined with the full development of individual initiative and personality, Orange heroism, commercial daring, and civil liberty had won that triumph which was glorified by the highest achievements of science and art. Emerging victorious through darkness and distress, Rembrandt's most German soul flamed up toward heaven.

About 1650 the world's trade was in Holland's hands. The Dutch commercial fleet then comprised more than half the tonnage of Europe. England and the rest of the world turned imitative eyes toward the country which, "having no forests, yet builds the ships of the whole earth." The thought of the Great Elector, as well as that of Frederick William

I. of Prussia, was deeply rooted in the traditions of the Netherlands.

But the world position of the Netherlands was shattered by the hard facts of war. England insisted upon the punishment of Grotius for daring to demand free seas, and, through its crown lawyer, asserted ownership of the seas as far as the American and German coasts as British property. This claim she enunciated in the unmistakable language of warships.

Up to this time the Dutch had had no navy, and armed some of her merchant ships to meet emergencies. But wool-exporting England built the first specialized men-of-war. Those ships were superior to those of their foe, especially in artillery. With this new and superior weapon England imposed upon the Dutch the Navigation act, which ruined Holland's trade as international middleman.

As a token of their humiliation, Dutch ships were obliged to dip their colors to the English flag. It was at this time that Cromwell gave utterance to the doctrine: "England cannot tolerate upon the ocean any flag but its own without consent."

That tenet, which, like the entire Cromwellian policy, was adopted by successive monarchs and statesmen, has dominated the entire British economic policy, whether expressed or implied, down to this day. In this connection I need but to cite Adam Smith's attitude toward the Navigation acts.

The downfall of the Netherlands was hastened by the fact that the country was practically a stretch of coast and lacked the protection of a strong German hinterland. Germany remained an idle witness of the Dutch drama, although the Prince of Orange at the Diet of

Worms had called out in warning: "Your battle is being fought, for the struggle in progress at the mouth of the Rhine is for the mastery of the seas."

Later on the English successfully drove France, then the next strongest Continental power, into war with the Netherlands, until in the eighteenth century the French, once the dreaded enemies of England, had become her allies "on sufferance" and had drifted into a state of impotent inactivity. With the Netherlands eliminated, England and France remained the "sea powers" of the world. Frederick the Great wittily spoke of "a British man-of-war with a Dutch sloop in tow" as representing the sea power of his time.

Ever since those days Great Britain has maintained a firm hold upon Neptune's trident, which is the sceptre of world dominion.

She (England) wants to close free Amphitrite's kingdom
As one might close his own home gate.

Thus Schiller, with his keen insight, characterized the ultimate cause of all world wars in his age as well as our own. The English wars of that time were directed against France as the most dangerous rival for the dominion of the seas and of the world. If one may speak of hereditary enmity in the changing course of European politics, such an enmity grew up in the 200 years' feud between France and England.

Arthur Girault, Professor of History at the University of Poitiers and member of the Colonial International Institute, in his work on "Principles of Colonization" ("Principes de Colonisation," Paris, 1904) deals with the period of French history from 1688 to 1815. During that interval not less than seven fierce and long wars were fought between France and England. "All those wars," says Girault, "were trade wars for England, the purpose of which was to destroy the naval and colonial power of France. English activity brought about all the alliances which were then concluded against us in Europe. And while our troops were fighting on the Continent, she destroyed our navy and seized our colonies."

In the beginning of her struggle with England, France was superior to her

rival in population and revenue. In colonial enterprises, too, she led. She had isolated the British settlements on the east coast of North America from the "hinterland." Canada, the Mississippi Valley, Louisiana, and the prosperous West Indies marked the uninterrupted continuity of Greater France in America. In India, too, France had taken the initiative before England. Dupleix discovered the secret of conquering India by means of Indian soldiers, Indian taxpayers, and a handful of European military leaders. The English simply carried out the idea of Dupleix, a fact which Seeley in his "Expansion of England" expressly acknowledges.

Even during the American War of Independence the brilliant Suffren ruled the Indian Ocean for France—that sea which since that time has been looked upon as the exclusive property of England until the cruise of the Emden in our own day. This triumph she achieved by concentrating all her strength upon her navy, and by inducing other nations to fight out her wars on land. At one time she played off the French against the Dutch, then the Germans against the French, and today the French against the Germans.

It was a favorite saying of William Pitt's that the English conquest of America was accomplished by the attacks of Frederick the Great upon France. During the fury of the French Revolution what remained of the French Navy was systematically and wantonly annihilated by the destruction of all naval traditions.

Carnot made use of the revolutionary enthusiasm and the "sovereign power of the State" to reconstruct the army. But it is not easy to improvise a new navy, although the flags of the French revolutionary armies bore the proud inscription, "Freedom of the Seas! Equal Rights to All Nations!" ("Liberté des mers! Egalité des droits de toutes les nations!")

The great Corsican aimed to degrade Albion to a "second Isle of Oloron." The Egyptian campaign and the conquest of the European Continent were both directed against England. Europe was too

small for Napoleon; he said contemptuously: "Cette vieille Europe m'ennuie."

Napoleon's belief that he could defeat England in Germany is easily understood if one bears in mind the importance of German trade to England. Since the conquest of Holland by France, Hamburg had become the heir of Amsterdam's trade and shipping. About 1800 the North German market was England's most important commercial asset. After his victory at Jena, Napoleon, by the decrees of Berlin, barred English goods from German coasts.

At the beginning of his war with Russia, Napoleon, looking a hundred years ahead, wrote: "It all resembles a scene in a comedy, and the English are the scene shifters of the whole show." The thought of reaching India by an overland route occupied Napoleon's mind all his life. By pushing into India, the great Corsican hoped, even though deprived of a navy, to win the "freedom of the seas."

The tremendous waste of strength in the Napoleonic wars reduced the world position of the ancient régime of France. At Waterloo the question of the dominion of the seas was finally decided in favor of England.

Furthermore, during her original struggle with France, England had reached out and made herself the economic centre of the world. She had become the industrial State, the freight carrier, the broker and banker of the world. For Karl Marx, British capitalism was a synonym of capitalism, and capitalism as he described it had many British traits.

In the war with France the British acquired a tremendous colonial empire. While all the Continent was paralyzed by the Napoleonic wars, they temporarily established a monopoly of all overseas markets. All non-British commercial fleets were destroyed. During that struggle England is said to have incorporated 4,000 European ships in her commercial fleet.

After seven years of warfare, on the 18th of February, 1801, Pitt was enabled to say in Parliament: "We have succeeded in developing our foreign and domestic trade to a higher point than it

has ever before attained, and we can look upon the present as the proudest year which has ever been granted to our land." England was then the only rich country; in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars she more than once held her Continental allies together by subsidies and loans.

It is important to call to mind those facts, for the memory of the Napoleonic period was admittedly a consideration in the minds of British statesmen when they declared war upon Germany.

It is no less important to understand the spiritual and moral bases of British world dominion, for the Briton first excelled his Continental rivals in intellectual and moral development, then overcame them economically by initiating the factory system, and finally established his political supremacy over them. All British greatness was molded in the Puritan age. The outlines of that old and rigid type have been worn down today, but it still marks the ideal type of Anglo-Saxon. In one phase it embodies everything that an Englishman implies by the word "liberty"—that is to say, the intellectual, economic, and political emancipation of the individual from social restraint, self-control, responsibility to one's own conscience, self-help based and systematically developed upon a strong physique.

The other side of the picture shows severe self-restraint, dutiful service to one's profession or occupation, the limitation of sexual relations to the married state, and a demand for the right to rule as a "chosen people." The "economic man" of Adam Smith is a thoroughbred Briton who earns for the sake of earning and not to enjoy and spend. Sexual self-control is one of the bases upon which British world dominion has been built up. Service done to his own nation appears in an Englishman as a service done to humanity, which can be furthered in no way so well as by applying the British red to some new section of the world's map.

This faith, unshaken by any sympathetic understanding for foreigners, ("natives," whether they be Hindus or Germans,) is a source of national

strength of the first order. It is dangerous to underrate one's foe. The typical Anglo-Saxon is as hard as steel, tenacious of purpose, cold as a dog's nose. He is thoroughly inartistic, always ready to subject the gay and beautiful world to the hard test of arithmetic.

Newton's "mechanism of nature," which Goethe hated so thoroughly; the "economic mechanism" of Ricardo, another Englishman, which Marx railed against so passionately, are products of the calculative British mind.

Only that nation would be able to administer a political check to Great Britain which has stored up within itself the valuable elements in the British mind and spirit and can offer at the same time a stronger and richer ideal of culture, the nation that has developed its concept of civilization to new and more nearly eternal values. The French failed to develop these qualities.

It is necessary to keep in mind that the spiritual supremacy of English thought preceded English economic and political and world dominion until Immanuel Kant. For two hundred years the high point of European thought lay in Great Britain. The vigorous flow of Puritanism became stagnant in the "enlightenment" of France; its religious significance was lost.

Divine revelation was displaced by sober empiric religion, to which nothing was real that could not be touched. Pleasure displaced duty; nothing was of value that could not be tasted with pleasure. Referring to Bentham's "Mill of Happiness," Nietzsche said: "Man does not strive for happiness; but an Englishman certainly does."

The French became heirs of British enlightenment, as Voltaire observed and Macaulay repeated; France became the "interpreter of England's thought to mankind." In French hands enlightenment became more attractive, but also more radical. As a French conception, the "rights of man," originally a British conception, conquered the world and developed into the dynamite that destroyed outlived social forms.

But with the leverage on an irreligious enlightenment, even Napoleon's genius could not lift British virility from the saddle. Deaf to the "chatter of ideals," he appealed to the baser motives in men—vanity, the love of titles, instincts of luxury. Napoleon sacrificed freedom to equality; he throttled parliamentary representation of the people. He regarded religion as a State-sanctioned superstition which prevented rich people from being murdered by the poor.

The spiritual ground upon which he stood was too soft to enable him to lift the British mass. The most brilliant Caesarism was wrecked on the hard rock of Anglo-Saxon strength.

After Napoleon's fall the colossus of British world dominion rose to its last and greatest height. Having control of the seas, England dominated colonial enterprises, in which other nations could participate only so far as she was willing. In most oversea regions the Briton typified all Europe. Great Britain's world dominion recalled the long-vanished greatness of ancient Rome.

In 1846, when England took up free trade, the earth was British economic territory. England proudly called herself the "workshop of the world." She took it for granted that all other nations would also adopt free trade, and would continue to exchange their raw materials and foodstuffs for English manufactured goods. For the greatness of England as she was then the earth was just big enough.

The Manchester school of philosophy can be understood only by those who have grasped the idea that free trade was the Manchester men's method of British world dominion, namely, domination of the world through commercial travelers and price lists. At that time a Briton could afford to be cosmopolitan because to him British interests were identical with the best interests of mankind. England, in his opinion, managed the world best as a trustee of all other nations, and for all peoples on the same basis so long as they were content to get along without factories or shipping!

The Teutonic-Russian Issue

By Dr. Alexander Redlich

In a book recently published at Stuttgart, Dr. Redlich, the Austrian publicist, aims to show that Austria-Hungary was forced into war by the Czar's Government. Extracts from the work are given below.

THE conflict between Austria-Hungary and Russia owes its origin primarily to the Russian striving for expansion in the Balkan Peninsula, which in turn is only a part of the plan cherished by Russian politicians for more than 200 years.

History has given us the story of an alleged will of Peter the Great, in which the possession of Constantinople on the one hand and the mastery of the Baltic on the other are designated as the goal of the Russian endeavor. This testament has never really had any existence, and it is said to be an invention of Napoleon's, but its contents are in perfect accordance with the traditional plans which have been followed by all Russian rulers since the days of Peter the Great. * * *

The expansion of Russia along the Baltic had come to a standstill long ago. But the urging toward the south has remained one of the governing principles of Russian policy to this day, and is today the most important of all, since its eastward expansion has been hindered for the present by Japan and England. This urging toward the south has, therefore, for over a hundred years determined the nature of Russian policy toward Turkey.

It formed the first point of contact between Russia and the Hapsburg monarchy, and at first by no means in a hostile sense. For the beginning of the Russian offensive against Turkey dates from the end of the defensive wars which Austria was forced to wage for hundreds of years against the Ottoman Empire. So we behold Austria and Russia as allies against Turkey in the second half of the eighteenth century. But even at that time there was jealousy between the two empires. The Russian attempts to divide Turkey in conjunction with Austria-Hungary persisted to the middle of the nine-

teenth century. Austria-Hungary resisted these intentions, and became a greater obstacle to Russian dreams of conquest than any other power, although it would never have agreed to wage war on Russia in behalf of Turkey—in contrast to the western powers who supported Turkey by force of arms in the Crimean war. For a long time the conviction has therefore prevailed in Russia that the way to Constantinople lay through Vienna.

At first Russia contented itself by demanding the division of Turkey, and it is apparent that an understanding with Austria-Hungary was by no means precluded. The ancient formula of partition is altered to suit the new circumstances, and Russia is willing to reserve the eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula as its sphere of influence and leave the western half to the influence of Austria-Hungary. This thought already contains the germ of the Russian agreement to the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. Russia, indeed, repeatedly declared itself prepared to approve the annexation of the occupied provinces by Austria-Hungary, and even urged the latter to proceed to take this step. * * *

The Balkan policy of Austria-Hungary since the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been marked by the greatest moderation. Austria-Hungary has consistently avoided any attempt to make further acquisitions on the Balkan Peninsula, and this strict adherence to law has given it the right to forbid the expansion of Russia. Without pronouncing any judgment as to whether this was the wisest policy to pursue, we must at least say that it completely refutes the charges against the monarchy. * * *

Nothing shows the position of affairs more clearly than a comparison between the relations of Austria-Hungary to

Serbia on the one side and that of Russia to Bulgaria on the other. While Serbia during the eight years of friendly relations with the Dual Monarchy found herself free to develop unhindered, Russia treated Bulgaria as a vassal State. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria was overthrown by Russian influence, because he attempted, without the consent of St. Petersburg, to form an alliance with Eastern Roumelia, which would have been quite in accordance with Russian ideas.

His successor also incurred the wrath of Russia when he took up an independent standpoint. It could not be expected that Austria-Hungary would be too scrupulous in making use of such dissensions between Russia and Bulgaria. Nothing, however, has prevented Bulgaria from repeatedly falling back into the arms of

Russia. Nevertheless, whenever Bulgaria showed itself rebellious it was held responsible by St. Petersburg. * * *

This Austro-Hungarian policy of moderation has certainly injured no one except perhaps the monarchy itself. It most not be concluded from this that she will, without more ado, adopt contrary tactics. But it is certain that with Russia she has a different game to play, for her own moderation, through which she thought to bring the policy of Russia to a deadlock, has robbed her of many chances, with entirely hindering the progress of Russia. She has not by any means remained inactive, and one may believe that without the Austro-Hungarian opposition, Russia would perhaps have already sat upon the shore of the strait.

Britain's Blockade

By SIR GILBERT PARKER

The Atlanta Constitution received on Oct. 24, 1915, the following letter from Sir Gilbert Parker in reply to an editorial attacking Great Britain's use of sea power in regard to American trade:

Editor Constitution: In your issue of Sept. 12 an editorial appears commenting upon the pamphlet called "The Spectre of Navalism," by Mr. Julian Corbett, which I sent to you for your consideration. I have read the article carefully, and it appears to me that you have mistaken Mr. Corbett's interpretation of the words, "the freedom of the seas."

In Mr. Corbett's view, the freedom of the seas does not mean that in time of war there shall be no blockade, no contraband, and that ships of all belligerent and of all neutral nations shall pass to and fro on the ocean as in time of peace. If that means the freedom of the seas in your view, or in the view of many Americans, I am afraid it would not be received by your executive Government as one possible to put into practice.

The only weapon which the United States possesses to preserve her honor in peace and war, apart from the moral influence of her people, is her navy. Would the United States, if she went to war tomorrow with Spain or any other country—and I only quote Spain because there was a Spanish war not so long ago—agree to that freedom of the seas which would make her navy powerless to exercise one of its most important functions—to lay its hand on material which would increase the offensive and defensive power of the enemy?

Her navy is her only available weapon, as she has not an army for expeditionary purposes. When she desires to enforce her power in Mexico she does it with battleships. Would she, at war with any nation on earth, deprive herself of those powerful weapons, which hasten the end of a war, blockade and contraband?

The freedom of the seas preached by Germany is advocated to protect her from her own naval weakness. England's natural weapon as an island power is her navy. America's natural weapon as a power in an insular position is a navy. Is either prepared to forego that agency, which the United States so freely used in her civil war? It would be yielding to nations with great land forces that which is the effective offset to such power. Naval power in blockading merely does at sea what the siege of a city does on land.

GILBERT PARKER.

London, Oct. 4, 1915.

Nine German Princes Slain

Record of Heirs of German States in This War

THOUGH the Kaiser and his six sons have so far escaped with their lives in the war, other great families of Germany have not been so fortunate. Out of a total of sixty-four of their members who marched to battle with their regiments, nine have been killed, among them a nephew of the Kaiser.

A book has just appeared in Germany dedicated to the memory of these nine Princes, giving, wherever possible, full details of how they met death. If the information is trustworthy, the Princes of Germany are excellent examples to their followers. Without exception those with whom the book deals seem to have been popular with their men—brave in the face of peril and careless of their own safety when it was thrown into the scale with that of their subordinates.

Of the nine, no less than four were relatives or connections of the princely family of Lippe, which still rules—though its powers are by no means what they were before the creation of the German Empire—over various bits of territory sandwiched in among the greater States of Central Germany. One of the others, Prince Henry of Reuss, was of that family whose members have the unique custom, if they are in the line of succession, of taking the name Henry and the numeral corresponding to it after all preceding Henrys have been counted. Thus, this Prince was Henry XLVI. of Reuss.

The Princes whose careers and deaths are recorded in the book dedicated to their memory are:

Maximilian of Hesse, son of a sister of the Kaiser; Friedrich Wilhelm zur Lippe; Friedrich of Saxe-Meiningen; Ernst of Saxe-Meiningen, his son; Ernst zur Lippe; Otto Victor of Schönburg-Waldenburg; Wilhelm zu Schönaich-Carolath; Wolrad zu Waldeck und Pyrmont, and Henry XLVI. of Reuss.

Prince Maximilian of Hesse, the Kaiser's nephew, was only 20 years old when he was killed in Northern France. He was a son of Prince Karl Friedrich of Hesse and Princess Margarete of Prussia, sister of Emperor William II. His father and older brother had already been wounded in the fighting on the western front. Details of the death of Prince Maximilian are lacking.

Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Lippe was killed in the very first engagement of the war, the storming of Liège. He was a younger brother of Count Ernst zur Lippe-Biesterfeld, regent of the Lippe-Biesterfeld lands, and an uncle of their present ruler, Julius zur Lippe-Biesterfeld. Prince Friedrich was born in 1858 and became a color-bearer in one of the crack Prussian regiments in 1880. After successive promotions he received the rank of Colonel and in 1913 was placed at the head of the Seventy-fourth Hanover Infantry Regiment.

Just how he met his death is a matter of dispute. According to some of the evidence he fell just after he had snatched up the banner of his regiment and began to wave it before his men, to encourage them in storming the fortifications of Liège. This same account has it that he had already received a serious wound, but, utterly disregarding it, continued to lead his men, banner in hand, until he fell pierced by several more bullets.

The commander of another infantry regiment gave a somewhat different account of the Prince's end. A reliable eyewitness, he reported, had said that a detachment of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm's regiment, bearing one of the regimental banners, had fought its way to a position on the northeastern walls of the City of Liège on the morning of Aug. 6, 1914. There it was surrounded by greatly superior forces of Belgians, who attacked with great fury and threatened to overwhelm the detachment completely.

The Prince commanded his men to form a hollow square. In this formation they defended themselves with the utmost determination. At last, far away to the left, German reinforcements were discerned. The Prince, in a kneeling position, placed a field glass to his eye and commanded one of his men—the same who gave this version of his last moments—to raise the regimental standard, so that the approaching Germans might see it plainly and be guided toward the spot where they were so badly needed.

The man obeyed. He waved the banner back and forth. This brought a hail of Belgian bullets. The banner was shot from its bearer's hands; at the same moment the Prince fell, shot in the breast and throat. He started to say something beginning with the words, "Take my greetings to—" but died before he could finish.

Kaiser Wilhelm sent a message of condolence on Prince Friedrich Wilhelm's death to the reigning Prince of Lippe, in which he said:

"I beg you to accept the expression of my sincerest sympathy on the occasion of the death of your worthy uncle, who, as a shining example of a brave German Prince, died at the head of his regiment at Liège for Emperor and empire."

The Prince's body was taken to his native land and buried beside his ancestors at Detmold.

Prince Friedrich of Saxe-Meiningen, the next German Prince to fall, was connected with the Lippe house by marriage, his widow being a sister of the reigning Prince of Lippe. He was a son of Prince Friedrich of Saxe-Meiningen, and was born Oct. 12, 1861. Unlike most scions of princely houses, he was studious, averse to display and social life. As a student at the University of Bonn, back in the eighties, he refused to have an adjutant or other followers, as was the custom with men of his rank, and refused even to keep a carriage and horses. His high lineage brought him membership in the "Borussia," most exclusive of the students' dueling corps, to which only noblemen can belong, but he attended its meet-

ings but rarely, despite the fact that the present Emperor, at that time a Bonn student, was very prominent in "Borussia" gatherings.

The Prince got his "baptism of fire," or something like it, while at Bonn, when a retort exploded near him while he was making a chemical experiment.

As a Lieutenant at Strassburg, he continued to keep away from gayety and social life and devoted himself to hard study of the subject of artillery, which branch of the service he had entered after being made Colonel in 1902, Brigadier General in 1907, and Major General in 1910. He was retired at his request in 1913. Five months before his death he celebrated his silver wedding.

He went to the front when war began, although he had broken his arm a short time before in a fall. His 18-year-old son, Prince Ernst, doomed like his father to death, also joined his regiment.

For a time it was impossible for his relatives to learn details of Prince Friedrich's death, as men were falling by thousands on the western and eastern fronts, but at last another of his sons, Prince George, wrote thus to his mother from Brussels:

I have made a long excursion from here to France, and at Charleroi spoke with a priest who was present when father's body was embalmed.

In the evening I got to Laon, where I visited a friend, whose uncle commands the division in which father fought, and I also saw father's successor, the present commander of his brigade. Hipp (orderly of the dead Prince) was also at Laon, and I spoke to him, and also saw father's horses, Molly, Dora, and Carmen. Hipp has taken good care of the horses and is quite well himself. Others whom I saw were Captain Weitz, father's Adjutant, who was with him up to the last minute, and another gentleman on father's staff, who has often spoken with Count Meerfeldt, in whose arms father died.

According to their stories, father and Weitz rode forward on Aug. 23 on a reconnaissance into the woods south of Charleroi. The enemy fired only a little and did not disturb them. But when our infantry came out of the woods a terrible firing began.

Father continued to reconnoitre in the midst of it without getting hit. As our infantry could get no further without artillery support, father himself went back to bring up a battery. Ignoring the enemy's fire, he rode up a slope to pick out a position for the

guns, and allowed nobody to accompany him, as he did not wish to endanger them. He then led the battery in person to the chosen position, again came under sharp fire and again escaped unharmed.

While the artillery was firing, he resumed his post of observation by a house near the fringe of the woods, and climbed on an overturned wagon to see better. But the fire got too hot, so he went into the house.

Then he was struck. In spite of repeated warnings, he persisted in going outside the house, where Count Meerfeldt had already been struck. He tried to jump to one side, but crumpled up in the very act, and died instantly. The wounds seem to have come from machine gun bullets, but possibly he was hit by three shrapnel balls, all at the same time, just as I have been by two at once.

The soldiers put him immediately on a stretcher. * * * On the morning before he died he wrote to you. One of the staff officers recalled that father asked him whether he had written to his wife, adding that he himself had done so.

Hipp, the Prince's orderly, also wrote a letter to his master's widow, in which he said:

"Your Highness may imagine how I feel. At first it seemed as if he could not possibly be dead. But one has to get accustomed little by little."

In the dead man's pocket a letter addressed to his wife was found, with a streak of blood across it. And in his pocketbook was her picture, also drenched with his blood.

His body was taken to Germany and buried in the town cemetery at Meiningen.

His son, Prince Ernst of Saxe-Meiningen, lay dead in Northern France, unknown to his relatives at home, while the bells of Meiningen were tolling for his father. The news had come that he was wounded and a prisoner at Maubeuge, then still in French hands. That was all.

When the Germans captured Maubeuge, investigations conducted by German officers proved that Prince Ernst had died of his wounds, and it fell to the Kaiser to communicate the news to the young man's sister at Meiningen, who in turn broke it to his mother, already mourning her husband and uncle.

Prince Ernst had a presentiment that he would never see his home again. Just before his departure he collected a

number of keepsakes, asked his mother to distribute them among his best friends, and said to her:

"I shall never return."

Wounded comrades who did return described the boy's death. He was on patrol duty north of Maubeuge. The enemy made a sudden sortie; the Prince's horse was shot under him. Close beside him lay a non-commissioned officer, pinned under his horse and wounded. The Prince scrambled to his side and helped the man to his feet.

As he did it a bullet struck him in the head. Men rushed to help him. He motioned them away.

"We must not be taken," he said; "that would be terrible." Then he lost consciousness. In a few moments the French rushed up and overpowered the Prince's comrades. They took him into Maubeuge to the hospital, where he died the next day without having recovered consciousness.

Another comrade told how the French soldiers took the buttons from the uniforms of those captured with the Prince, as they were the first Germans to be taken, but respectfully refrained from touching those of the latter. This same man declared that the conduct of the French in Maubeuge had been most chivalrous. They did all in their power for Prince Ernst, and spoke in high terms of the courage and calm he had shown in the engagement. And they buried him with military honors.

Prince Ernst zur Lippe, fourth of the Lippe family to fall in the war, lost his life near St. Quentin late in August, 1914. He, too, was young, like Prince Ernst, having been born in 1892.

He was killed by the explosion of an ammunition wagon beside which he was standing. Projectiles struck him in the back, causing instant death. He was carried to the rear, where a Captain closed his eyes. Next morning he was buried close to where he fell.

Later his body was exhumed and buried in a strip of woods near Detmold, the principal town of the Lippe lands, lying opposite the great monument erected to the German national hero Hermann, who destroyed the Roman

legions in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest. Of him also the Kaiser wrote in terms of high praise in a telegram of condolence to the ruler of Lippe.

Prince Otto of Schönburg-Waldenburg, of a family exercising lordship over territory in Saxony, was killed fighting in the neighborhood of Rheims soon after his thirty-third birthday. He was a Lieutenant in the Potsdam Guard Hussars, in which his father, who preceded him as Prince of Schönberg-Waldenburg, had served fourteen years. In memory of his father the young Prince gave a fund of 20,000 marks, (\$5,000,) the income of which is turned over to deserving non-commissioned officers of the regiment and their families. On coming of age, in 1903, he gave other large sums for charitable purposes.

Prince Otto served at the beginning of the war on the eastern front. He was then transferred to France, and ten days after joining his regiment he took part in his last fight.

He met death, like so many other officers, while making a reconnoissance to determine the enemy's position. Accompanied by a small detachment, he was riding toward a railway embankment, when some French infantrymen hidden behind it suddenly opened fire on the party. One of the first bullets struck the Prince, who fell from his horse. His men hurried to his side, intent on giving him first aid, but he called out to them not to bother about him, but to report at once to headquarters the presence of the hostile troops and not to come back for him until they had done it.

They obeyed, made their report, and one hour later returned to where the Prince had fallen, accompanied by a doctor. But the Prince was dead. The doctor said that he must have breathed his last within a few minutes after being hit. The bullet had entered a little below his heart.

During a lull in the fighting he was buried by his comrades under a rosebush, the entire corps of officers of the Hussar regiment forming the funeral cortège. Later his body was exhumed and taken to Lichtenstein, where it was again buried with full military honors. On this occa-

sion it was borne to the place of sepulture by wounded soldiers convalescing in Germany. They carried ahead of the coffin the simple wooden cross which had marked the Prince's burial place in France.

Prince Wilhelm zu Schönaich-Carolath, a Lieutenant in a regiment of Uhlans, was killed in Belgium a few days before his thirty-fourth birthday. Having ridden ahead of his regiment to ascertain whether the village of Meysse was occupied by the enemy, he fell into a regular hornets' nest. His men drew rein, wheeled their horses, and made off without noticing that their leader had fallen wounded to the ground.

When they missed him, a number of them galloped back, only to learn that the village was in the possession of English and French troops. This gave an opportunity to one of the Prince's men, a Uhlan called Jacob, to prove himself a man of splendid nerve. Though he knew that Meysse was held by the foe, Jacob crept into the village, entered a house on which a Red Cross flag was flying, and found the Prince, severely wounded. Recognizing the brave soldier, the Prince exclaimed: "Well, well, there's one of the Second Squadron Uhlans."

Then he swooned. In spite of the danger, Jacob stood around while a doctor did what he could for the wounded man.

"Are you being well cared for?" he asked the Prince. "My commander wishes to be sure of it." The Prince said that his wound was not serious. Then he gave his pistol to the brave soldier. "Keep it for yourself," he said. He tried to say more, but was too weak.

"You'd better get out of here," the doctor advised Jacob. "The enemy's all around." Seeing he could do nothing for the wounded man, the Uhlan crept back to the German lines and reported on what he had seen. He got the Iron Cross.

Soon the Germans drove the enemy out of Meysse and set about finding Prince Wilhelm. The doctor said that he had been transferred to Brussels. There they learned that he had died the night before, soon after reaching the hospital.

The news of the death of Prince Wol-

rad Friedrich zu Waldeck und Pyrmont reached Waldeck, his ancestral domain, on Oct. 18 of last year, just as the people were eagerly awaiting news of some victory that might serve to lend lustre to the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic on that day. Instead of any such news his family received a telegram reading: "Prince Wolrad killed Oct. 17 at Moorslede, while leading a patrol."

He was born in 1892 and from early childhood showed signs of a determined and original cast of mind. Once he was told that he must take off his hat when people saluted him. "Why?" he objected. "Brother Fritz keeps his soldier's helmet on, doesn't he?" His family wanted to make a lawyer of him, but his heart was set on being either a sailor or a soldier.

After studying in Germany, he spent some time at Oxford in the Summer of 1910, and then attended the University of Grenoble in France. After spending some time as a student at Heidelberg and Halle, the family decided that it was no use to try to keep the Prince from his bent, so he became a soldier. In his new profession he showed far more proficiency than as a college student, and was soon made a Lieutenant in one of the Hessian dragoon regiments.

He fought in the Vosges, on the Meuse, in the battle of the Marne. His letters home told vividly of terrible scenes. Once, he narrated, some Frenchmen held up their hands in token of surrender and then fired on the Germans approaching to capture them. The Prince's revolver was shot out of his hand; several of his comrades fell.

"After that all the Frenchmen were killed, whether wounded or not," he wrote grimly. "Prisoners were not taken and have not been taken since."

Two of his horses were shot under him in the course of the fighting in France before he himself was killed, and a third when he, too, gave up his life. This was in a fight at Moorslede, near Lille. He was trying to aid a wounded dragoon of his command when a bullet killed him instantly. His orderly wrote:

"He looked after his men as if they were his own people. He was much beloved among us. You cannot imagine how badly the dragoons felt when his Highness was killed. He was the best officer in the regiment. He went out on more patrol rides than any other officer, because he could find the roads better than the rest. Every one wanted to go patrol riding with him."

Prince Wolrad was something of a poet and wrote a number of verses by no means martial in character, with titles like "The Silence of the Forest" and "Homesickness." His body was taken back to Germany and buried with impressive ceremonies on the Hagen Mountain in his native domain.

Prince Henry XLVI. of Reuss was only 19 years old when he fell. He left school to go to the front, and was made a Lieutenant in a Hessian regiment.

His one wish was to win the Iron Cross. It was never fulfilled. In an attack on English trenches near La Bassée he was struck by shrapnel fragments and killed on the spot.

His soldiers apparently were quite attached to him. One private, a much older man, was always called "father" by the boy. An old railroad flagman at a railroad crossing in Marburg, where the Prince used to live, said that every one in the neighborhood liked him. "He never passed without stopping to chat with us," said the old fellow.



The Sultan of Turkey

By Professor James Israel

Surgeon to the Sultan

Called to Constantinople last June for the purpose of performing an operation on Mohammed V., Professor James Israel, the famous German surgeon, on his return to Berlin, in an interview, as translated below from the Berliner Tageblatt, spoke on his experiences while giving literally relief to the "Sick Man" of Europe, as follows:

I WAS requested by the Turkish Ambassador on June 10 to hasten to Constantinople. The journey was very slow, and I did not reach my destination until the 16th. I found the aged Sultan in a very poor condition. For years he has suffered from gall stones, and it took me an entire week to determine whether an operation could be undertaken without danger.

Not only medical consideration was in question, but political, for in case there should have been a fatal issue to the operation, a change in ruler would have been necessary, and that would at the time mentioned have had grave consequences.

In respect to this matter I had a number of conferences with both the Grand Vizier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the result that they finally left the decision entirely in my own hands. In view of the fact that without an operation the days of the Sultan would have been much shortened, and on account of the great pain in which the patient constantly found himself, I determined to operate, which resulted in the removal of the gall stones. As you know, the Sultan quickly recovered.

In view of the advanced age of the Sultan the courage with which he underwent the operation was really remarkable. Shortly before it took place he said to me: "I am not afraid to die, for in my present condition I am of little service to my country." As his oldest son remarked that he could not understand how he had the courage to place

himself on the operating table, the Sultan recited the words of a Persian poet which was to the effect that "An old horse of blooded stock can always endure more than a young horse of inferior stock."

It is to be taken for granted that I had many talks with the Sultan, but the conversation was naturally somewhat difficult, since his Majesty speaks no other language than Turkish, and a French interpreter had to be employed. Much of what I was told cannot be made public because of its political nature. I will take the chance, however, of repeating some of his talk with me. For instance, he said: "When you get back to Berlin tell the Emperor that I am no friend like the King of Italy, but that I keep my word unqualifiedly in every instance."

From my own observations, as well as from what I learned in many military and political quarters on the ground, the Sultan is absolutely right in believing that victory will crown the efforts of the central powers and Turkey, and that the activities of the Quadruple Entente against the Dardanelles will come to nought.

The conversation with Professor Israel then turned to other matters. Very interesting were his observations regarding affairs in Constantinople. When asked whether it was true, as reported in the newspapers of the Entente powers, that the greatest depression ruled in the capital, Professor Israel replied: "There is no truth in such reports. Neither in Constantinople nor elsewhere in Turkey do the people show the slightest nervousness. On the whole, the Turk is not nervous. He displays great calmness, and I had special opportunity for noticing this quality.

The war is reflected principally in the uncountable masses of soldiers that pass through the city, and the streams of wounded that necessarily fill the hospitals to overflowing, and of which 30

per cent., due to the excellent care given them, return to the front within a short time. In regard to the food question, there appears to be no difference between now and what obtained in times of peace. This refers to almost all kinds of products. Nor did I find the prices much changed.

I learned from personal observations in the hospital that the Turkish soldiers, with scarcely any exceptions, request to be sent to the front immediately they are well. This desire is expressed by both officers and privates. Visiting half a dozen hospitals I everywhere found the care of the wounded most excellent. I know for a fact that the same condition prevails among the troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

It may be understood that I had occasion to meet many of the leading men of the country, both at Court and among the military. Everywhere I found the strongest possible belief that the Dardanelles would hold against any attack that could be brought against the defenders. This was especially so since plenty of ammunition had come to hand.

The existing relationship between the Germans and the Turks is such that it could not be better. Again and again I have been told by the Grand Vizier and the Foreign Minister how much they feel themselves bound to Germany and the Germans. Above all, Enver Pasha is tireless in emphasizing his admiration for German ingenuity and industry.

Kultur in Constantinople

The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung publishes a report to the effect that fourteen German professors are to be assigned to serve at the Turkish University at Stamboul. The German-Turkish Society is authority for the information that the Ottoman Government is responsible for the new step to introduce more German Kultur into the empire. Commenting editorially on the matter the Allgemeine Zeitung says:

This decision is an unquestioned evidence that the Turkish Government, notwithstanding war and its trials, looks into the future. Not only the military alliance with Germany is to be of service, but in a cultural direction we can expect much.

The matter concerns no less than fourteen professors, respectively of psychology and pedagogy, of history touching the Oriental peoples, geography, geology and mineralogy, botany, zoology, inorganic chemistry, organic chemistry, technical chemistry, law, economics, financial economy, ural languages, and Semetic languages.

In the selection of professors, the co-operative efforts of the German adviser to the Turkish Minister of Education, Counselor Schmidt, with the Constantinople authorities, have borne fruit. Up to the present, the following educators have declared themselves ready to accept the difficult task in Turkey: Dr. Anschuetz, Psychology and Pedagogy, Hamburg; Professor Dr. Lehmann-Haupt, Ancient History, the University of Berlin; Dr. Obst, Geography, Marburg; Dr. Penck, Geology, Leipsic; Dr. Leick, Botany, Greifswald; Dr. Hoesch, Organic Chemistry, Technical High School, Charlottenburg; Dr. Fester, Technical Chemistry, University of Frankfurt; Professor Dr. Schoenborn, Jurisprudence, Tuebingen, and Professor Dr. Giese, Turkish Language, the Oriental Seminary.

The Turkish language is to be used throughout, since the students have but a slight acquaintance with German, and French, considering the present situation, is out of the question. The first year of the five that the professors will spend in Turkey will be given up almost entirely to familiarizing with the language, which is not one of the easiest. It is to be hoped that the efforts which will be made at Stamboul in the present instance will bear as rich fruit as has been the case where German Kultur has been introduced in other countries.

The Trade of Persia

By Hermann F. Geiler

In the Frankfurter Zeitung, Herr Geiler, the well-known Munich traveler, gives his impressions of Persian trade conditions at the present time, and as changes may be effected by the war, as follows:

A BUSINESS activity, such as we understand it, is out of the question when considering the trade of Persia. This is even the case in cities of first importance. One of the first surprises to meet the stranger who seeks out the business sections, the bazaars, is the absolute lack of advertising efforts. In even the least important towns of Anatolia one observes and becomes fascinated by the innumerable fanciful signs along the streets, with inscriptions extolling all manner of wares. The attitude of the merchants, with their insistence that one buy of them, is another evidence showing the tireless activity of the traders. Then there are the countless street peddlers that throughout Turkey, even in Constantinople, are characteristic of the city life.

The Persian tradesman takes a different stand. He considers it beneath his dignity to descend to such means as require expenditure of lung power, or make the public acquainted with his commodities through displays or advertisements. There is a motto among them to the effect that "he is the best business man who is known, without making himself known." The trade propaganda extends from mouth to mouth, between seller and buyer; never does the producer do business direct with the retailer, but always there is the middleman as the go-between. The Persian manufacturer would never think of doing business except through agents or jobbers.

The bazaar life of Persia is responsible for much of the lack of publicity methods. Almost always the bazaars are located in very narrow streets that house industrial activity as well. Anything new in the

way of articles of this or that kind are almost immediately known to the purchasing classes. Those in search of goods know to a certainty where commodities are to be found, in what quantities, and at what prices. This is a fact that has prevailed for generations. The merchants are known to everybody. That is one reason why there does not seem to be any great necessity for publicity. The entire effort of the business man is to keep expenses down in order to be able to sell his goods as cheaply as possible.

High rents are an abomination to the Persian merchant. The darker and smaller the establishment the happier he appears to be. Signs are only conspicuous by their absence. The nasal organ is the guide leading to the shoemaker, the dealer in confections, the hairdresser, the cheesemonger.

This peculiarly psychological business method of the Persian, this desire to live in retirement and self-conscious dignity, finds its expression even in the affairs of the Imperial Bank of Persia. This great institution transacts most of its business in some very unpretentious rooms within the bazaar section, where, to the tune of the ever-present tea urn and the smoking of cigarettes, trade amounting to millions is conducted annually. And yet, there stands the palace-like structure of the bank itself in the central square of Teheran, while the real business is transacted in those smoke-filled bazaar rooms.

This desire to remain in the background is illustrated again and again when some Persian merchant with wide connections returns from a trip to European centres of trade and boasts of the fact that he did his most important business with a house that possessed the most unpretentious offices and salesrooms, but which, however, had immense stocks in such an out of the way locality.

So long as Russia and England

strove with each other for the upper hand in Persia the condition referred to remained unchanged. The war has furnished the opportunity for German and Turkish influence to get a foothold. Within the past year Turkish business and industrial enterprises, backed by German acumen, have been able to supplant the English and Russian influence in various quarters. Efforts are being made to show the Persian trader the advantage of publicity as practiced by Ger-

many. There is already noticed a tendency to take kindly to the methods in vogue in Europe as regards elaborate signs over business establishments. A dozen of these signs are in evidence now in the bazaar quarters. And the newspapers of Teheran are beginning to fill with advertisements of financial houses. The German-Turkish influence is increasing to the extent that a boycott has virtually been instituted against goods of Russian or English origin.

Before Marching, and After

(IN MEMORIAM: F. W. G.)

By THOMAS HARDY

(From The Fortnightly Review)

Orion swung southward aslant
Where the starved Egdon pine trees had thinned,
The Pleiads aloft seemed to pant
With the heather that twitched in the wind;
But he looked on indifferent to sights such as these,
Unswayed by love, friendship, home joy, or home sorrow,
And wondered to what he would march on the morrow.

The crazed household clock with its whirr
Rang midnight within as he stood,
He heard the low sighing of her
Who had striven from his birth for his good;
But he still only asked the Spring starlight, the breeze,
What great thing or small thing his history would borrow
From that Game with Death he would play on the morrow.

When the heath wore the robe of late Summer,
And the fuchsia bells, hot in the sun,
Hung red by the door, a quick comer
Brought tidings that marching was done
For him who had joined in that game overseas
Where Death stood to win; though his memory would borrow
A brightness therefrom not to die on the morrow.

September, 1915.

Why the Russian Duma Was Prorogued

By a Russian

This article appeared originally in The London Daily News.

THE prorogation of the Duma, an act which aroused extraordinary excitement throughout Russia, and might have had still more serious consequences, seems to have produced in England little more than vague speculation as to its reasons. In England people have not understood the series of events which led up to prorogation of the Duma. What is even more important, they have not shared the legitimate confidence and rejoicing which should have been given them had they clearly understood the events that followed on the prorogation.

It is important to realize exactly what the Duma stood for in the mind of the Russian Nation. The Russians were enduring a heavy mental stress of a long period of retreat. This retreat was on a gigantic, obvious scale, obvious in its effects even to those many hundreds of miles from the front. It was explained by a shortage of ammunition and equipment. Wounded soldiers returning into the heart of the country and into the capital brought to town and village stories that made that lack of ammunition and equipment more than a mere factor in an intellectual problem.

The result of this was that the nation, not doubting of ultimate victory, was clamorous for open criticism and some sort of control of the paid officialdom which it felt had played it false. The Duma seemed, to the educated classes, to the peasants, to the workpeople in the towns, to the very cabmen of the capital, their only hope of such criticism and control. For a time it was refused to them. Then, under the stress of the fall of Warsaw, it was considered unsafe to provoke public opinion by further refusal, and the Duma was summoned. All for a moment seemed to be well, and the Duma, conscious of the nation behind it, astonished everybody by the frankness with which it set forth in a hundred

speeches the thoughts that had been in the minds of all.

To understand what followed it is necessary to realize the nature of the Russian politician, and no less the difference between this Duma and those that had preceded it.

First let me describe the difference, the essential difference, between this Duma and those that had preceded it. That will explain why the enemies of the Duma, the believers in reaction, in the traditional form of the Russian autocracy, were seriously afraid of a Parliament which for the first time was a Parliament in fact as well as in name. The point to realize is this, that there are fourteen political parties represented in the Russian Duma. These parties are as follows:

The Extreme Right.

The Nationalist.

The Progressive Nationalist.

The Right Octobrists.

The Zemstvo Octobrists.

The Left Octobrists.

The Poles.

The Mohammedans.

The Peasants.

The Progressives.

The Cadets.

The Labor members.

The Social Democrats.

The Social Democrats (minority party.)

The word minority distinguishing the Social Democrats does not refer to the members, but to the result of a Congress held in Sicily some ten years ago.

While thus disunited the Duma was weak, but things became very different when Miliukov, the leader of the Cadets, and Gushkov, the Octobrist, who fought for the Boers, and in many ways has proved himself one of the strongest personalities in Russian politics, working together, succeeded in forming what was called the Progressive bloc. They combined all the parties in the preceding

list except on the one side the Extreme Right, Nationalists and Progressive Nationalists, and, on the other, the Social Democrats. Then, for the first time, the Bureaucracy was faced by a Duma with the power of making itself felt. The majority enjoyed by the Progressive bloc was absolutely overwhelming, and the power the bloc enjoyed was not slow in affecting both sides.

The next stage in the story depended on the peculiar character of the average Russian politician. No sooner do any two Russians agree on anything than they sit down to draw up a program. No sooner had the Progressive bloc been formed than, in spite of the fact that every man in it was solely concentrated on doing what should be done for the winning of the war, they sat down to elaborate and serious consultation on their program, which was to show everybody on what subjects they were all agreed. They produced a program embodying about a dozen points, including reform of the Zemtvos, a broadening of the franchise, the recognition of trade unions, and the establishment of a Government possessing public confidence, which meant a Government of public men not recruited from the ranks of officialdom.

It is obvious on the face of it that the few points I have noted are enough to constitute the widest possible reformation in the Russian system of government. The leaders of the bloc have since declared that they did not mean this program as anything but a statement of ultimate hopes on which they were agreed, and that for the present they

were content to concentrate their attention on the successful prosecution of the war. They had not said so when they formulated the program, and they gave their enemies the opportunity of saying: "Look what these people are determined to do under cover of the national difficulty." The result was to be foreseen. The Premier Goremykin, an old reactionary, went off to the Czar, and, as a reply to what he could well make out to be a threat on the part of the bloc, obtained a decree of prorogation, which he held before his colleagues of the Cabinet who had met to consider the question. With the exception of one man, all sided against him; but there lay the Czar's order on the table, and the thing was done, very politely, the enraged Duma being told that it had successfully accomplished its destiny.

But for the patriotism of the members the result might have been chaos. There was a time when Miliukov threatened that all members of his party who were also on the committees formed for dealing with questions of munitions, &c., would resign their positions. This would have been an incitement from above to a general and disastrous strike. He was fortunately made to see the danger of it, and the leaders of every party set themselves to preventing disturbance of any kind. The story is not yet over. In any case the Duma will have learned that whatever may be its ultimate aims, whatever its apparent power, it is better not by a display of tactlessness (with which, after all, it is hard not to sympathize) to set a lever under itself and in the hands of its enemies.

The Czar's Daily Habits

In a dispatch to The London Times from Russian Headquarters, dated Oct. 22, 1915, the following appeared:

The Czar personally gives most of his time to military affairs, leading a life of the greatest simplicity and winning ovations from townspeople each time he appears in the streets, which he very frequently does. He drives every afternoon without guards or escorts and walks about the country talking with the peasants and others. He is almost invariably accompanied by his son and is apparently absolutely devoted to the heir to the throne. The Czarevitch, whom I have seen repeatedly, impresses one as a healthy, high-spirited boy of great charm and winning personality. Since being here I am inclined to believe the talk of a separate peace, which was widely circulated after the fall of Warsaw, never had any basis in fact from the beginning of the war.

Dutch Opinion of Italy and Germany

By a Hollander

The Nieuwe Courant, Amsterdam, in its issue of Sept. 1, published the impressions of a Hollander as gathered by him in passing through Italy and Germany on his way home from Egypt. A translation of the article appears below.

A REALLY comprehensive understanding among the people, an absolute conviction, appeared to me to be absent in Italy. One did not feel that this war, as in the case of the other countries concerned, centred around Italy's national existence. It is true that I had heard a good deal about Italia irredenta, about national unity, of the domination of the Adriatic. But now it sounded very much like pure rhetoric. Not once did I get the impression that deep-rooted thoughts were at the bottom of it all.

To me it appeared like automatic repetitions of sugar-coated ideas; not the outpourings of a people's soul brought from its inner researches and replete with passionate longing. If I am not much mistaken, here lies the great danger to Italy. Just as in the case of the individual cause and effect hang together, so also where the collective aspiration of a nation is concerned. Italy's psychological mobilization, as it were, does not seem to me sufficient. Both motive and mobility of people's genius, from which springs and develops a national war, are too weak in the present instance. The enthusiasm resembles a soap bubble; a pretty poem, perhaps, due to the assistance rendered by scribbler politicians. All this is not enough for a nation that must strain every nerve to make use of its power.

I do not speak here of the justice of the Italian cause nor of the high value of Italy's performance. I only doubt whether the preparations had been of the right sort; whether Italy had used common sense in placing its idealism and susceptibility in jeopardy by thus departing from its place of national independence on the other side of the Alps. Italy must bring other psychical factors to the front so as to reap from its national efforts of the present. The victory

in this war belongs to those who show the greatest energy and know how to take advantage of each step gained. If the Italians want to win they must find a way to awaken their national energy. True, Italy entered enthusiastically into the war, but the heavy losses have already had the effect of dampening this enthusiasm.

It is my opinion that there is danger of the soap bubble bursting much more suddenly than it appeared. No matter how brilliant may have been the military preparations; the cannons may be ever so plentiful and powerful, the courage of the troops exemplary, Italy can hardly expect to play any conspicuous rôle in this war because back of all its paraphernalia there lacks the driving spring that, to my mind, is the really valuable factor—the absolute, national conscience that turns an entire people in but one direction.

I was in Germany but a short time; about five days in the north and south. I purposed, however, to get the fullest possible amount of observation that my limited stay allowed. I wanted to absorb the spiritual atmosphere, as well as to get at the bottom of the people's sentiment and ambition. The confession must be made here that these five days made a powerful impression upon me. Was the sudden contrast the reason? I came from a country replete with indolence, Egypt; for a whole year I had been living in an anti-German atmosphere. Or were there other reasons? Germany exhibited something that drew me within the radius of its suggestive aim; a power so great that I had to summon my whole strength not to fall from the pedestal of my calculating objectivity; not to be swallowed up in the immensity of the German aspiration.

I discovered neither famine nor lack of work; no people depressed and eager

for peace. Although the newspapers of the Quadruple Entente had prepared me to find a shortage of soldiers, I could not see it. Germany continued to live its normal life. People bought goods, they kept on traveling, money appeared to be plentiful. There was plenty of luxury in evidence. Where the money came from I am unable to say. To all appearances the war was bringing good business. The entire land seemed to me like a garrison. Everywhere I saw new, trained soldiers. Not children, nor old men, but soldiers flushed with health and young manhood; men in their best years.

In spite of the tremendous efforts in the east, notwithstanding the numerous strength on the western front, there seemed to be not the slightest diminution in human material. The great result of the campaign in the east brought along a renewed national consciousness. No one could be found who did not believe absolutely that final victory would fall to Germany. To be sure, many mourned the great losses sustained, but not a soul desired on that account to give up until fully victorious. The nation is even now preparing for another Winter campaign. All submit to the inevitable, while resting their complete confidence in the Government and the army leaders.

To a neutral like myself it seemed rather comical to see the abounding hatred that existed against the English. All Germany appeared united in this respect. Toward France there was shown a certain amount of compassion; Russia was viewed with indifference. But with England there was no compromise. I had had no opportunity for knowing to what extent this hatred was encouraged by the political exigencies of the moment, or whether it was an outcropping of the nationalistic energy. For that reason I tried to get at the fountain head of this feeling and to learn its course of development. I learned that in Germany, England is considered the chief criminal touching the world war; all are convinced that British gold and affiliation alone prolong the struggle. The hatred is further nourished by the fact that the British employ black troops in

Flanders. I met a returned soldier from that battle ground who exclaimed with flashing eyes: "The English! Where's Kitchener's army? In England! And in Flanders? Gurkhas, Sikhs, Bengalis, Punjabis, Turcos—all black fellows from Asia turned loose in the name of liberty and civilization!"

I dare say that the utilization of black troops during a national struggle like the present is Germany's greatest grievance, and the main cause for the people's hatred toward England.

Germany has grown too rapidly, it has become a power in too short a space of time. The effect is readily seen. Today it stands alone in the world, without a friend and without any sympathizers. There is wanting in the nation those subtler qualifications that engender sympathy; also those finer shades termed tact and good manners, but which in reality are degrees of hypocrisy. In a thousand different ways I was made to feel how the people's characteristics lacked those nicer qualities that belong to an older civilization and culture. I must confess that many things struck me as needlessly without tact, but I cannot help expressing my admiration for what Germany is doing as a nation. We may quarrel, if we will, over the question whether Germany had this war long in preparation, whether it wanted the war, or began it. But an organization that can display such national energy as Germany has done deserves notice. The individual, the masses, the whole nation have but one aim—victory. It is in the air; it vibrates throughout the atmosphere like the electrical-charged room affects the motors and the machines. The individual has nothing to say. Individualism is submerged. There is unity in thought, in feeling, in action. Here lies Germany's strength. Not in its howitzers, not in its submarines, not in new chemical discoveries, nor in the organization of production and distribution. All these are but manifestations; only instruments of use because of that tremendous force back of them—the marvellous energetic power of the soul of the German people.

We can admire this gigantic influence

and power; hate it, or despise it, as we will. It cannot change the fact. This is what the Allies must attack and tear

asunder. The question is whether they possess the necessary means to accomplish this task.

The Battle Harvest Moon

By H. T. SUDDUTH

O golden Harvest Moon that now
 Slowly ascends the eastern skies,
 Glimpsed through the elm tree's leafy
 bough
 In silent majesty you rise!
 On spires and roofs of the far-spreading
 town
 Serene in mellow splendor you look down.

Low now the sound of busy streets
 In thy white silence dies away,
 Or from the charmed distance greets
 The ear like echoes of the day,
 As slow in stately pomp, outdating
 man,
 You cities gild and desert caravan.

Along dim streets and avenues
 Thy rising tide of radiance flows,
 And in thy softened light they lose
 The garishness that daytime shows;
 Not all the city's wealth or pride or
 gold
 Can with thy magic vie and pomp of
 old.

For, veiling stars with silvery light,
 Thou mak'st the skies one Milky Way;
 Thy silent progress through the night
 Naught can arrest but dawn of day;
 Dim continents and oceans dark you
 drown
 In floods of light as now the sleeping
 town.

Man's pomp of pride or place or power
 But transient in the moonlight seems,
 For thou hast looked, as in this hour,
 On cities that are now but dreams;
 On Thebes and Nineveh, Palmyra, Tyre,
 You looked, and saw their glories proud
 expire.

And you, O Harvest Moon, look down
 On Europe's widespread battlefield,
 Where ere the forest leaves turn brown
 A greater harvest it will yield,
 And thousands that tonight now look on
 you
 Perchance for the last time your light
 will view.

Earth's harvest now is gathered quite,
 In all but furthest northern lands,
 But thou, O Moon, doth shed thy light
 On fields where Death the Reaper
 stands,
 His ripened harvest white before him
 spread,
 Behind him strown the long swaths of
 the dead.

Dim, dread, and ghastly is the sight,
 O golden Harvest Moon, you see—
 Stern dead men strown on fields of night
 Where helpless wounded gaze on thee,
 While in a million homes sad mothers
 yearn
 And weep and pray for sons who'll
 ne'er return!

Two Scandinavian Congresses

Scandinavia's position during the war, with particular reference to the shipping interests of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, formed the chief basis for discussion when the Northern Interparliamentary Union reconvened in the Hall of the Folkething in Copenhagen, in September. The newspapers of Denmark allotted much space to the discussion of the Scandinavian Peace Congress held in Copenhagen in September. Authoritative accounts of both congresses appear below.

I.

The Northern Interparliamentary Congress

This account is translated from the Danish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheder*, of Copenhagen.

THE first features of the gathering of the Northern Interparliamentary Union were three addresses touching the experiences of the three Scandinavian countries and their neutrality, with special regard to shipping during the war.

The first speaker was the Chairman of the Danish War Insurance Institute, former Finance Minister Neergaard, who said: "It is apparent that there is no more vital issue during the war than the security of neutral shipping. Especially as this concerns the small countries does it become a question of their weal and woe, and particularly so to the three northern nations. For this reason every step ahead from a lawless condition to a lawful one is greeted with the utmost satisfaction by us.

"The North Sea became from the start a hotbed for mines, and it was only after repeated protests that such routes were established as brought comparative safety to traffic. In most instances the Danish War Insurance Company has been compelled to make these routes obligatory, no matter what has been the inconvenience to ship owners.

"Likewise in the Baltic there have been planted many mines, and the losses to date amount to ten ships valued at 3,700,000 crowns. In view of the fact that it is almost impossible to establish the identity of the mines there has been no way in which to collect on these losses.

"Since May 27 we have lost no vessels through mines. But now arises the question regarding contrabands. It is to be admitted that England has relinquished

its severe hold so as to adhere more strictly to the Declaration of London. But this is done to a very limited degree, and if England now adheres closer to the declaration than does Germany, which considers it void, the reason is that Great Britain is strong enough to secure its prizes in a more conventional manner.

"This and other experiences prove, I am sorry to say, that it is might and self-interest, and not justice, which decide to what an extent the rights of people are to be respected. On that account the contraband zone has been extended to an improper extent; not only by departures from the Declaration of London, which the warring nations at once made, but by the manner in which the violations have been carried out. If in the course of months the neutral nations have been able to obtain certain modifications this has been accomplished only after the most exhaustive protests and efforts on the part of the neutral Governments.

"On the question of neutral prizes, it is evident that Germany has proceeded in the most unconcerned manner as regards formerly established regulations. It is certainly contrary to the rights of nations that Germany should destroy neutral ships, and this method can be defended even less so when we consider that examination itself is against the rules.

"This world war has shown the neutral countries to what a degree the international regulations of the seas can be interpreted to suit conveniences, and there are many people who believe that it is useless to labor further in order to restore the rights of nations on water.

I do not agree with this view. Despite all difficulties and violations, the fact is still there that even during the present world crisis much of that which in course of time has been incorporated in the declarations remains in force."

Speaking for Norway and its shipping, Mr. Movinckel declared that much of what the preceding speaker had said about Scandinavian conditions in this war referred with particular force to Norway. When sea traffic came to a halt in August, 1914, the daily losses to the shipping trade amounted to 100,000 crowns. It became at once necessary to establish a State insurance organization. Norway's merchant fleet was valued last year at 400,000,000 crowns, and, while the fleet is now worth 500,000,000 crowns and the Norwegian mercantile marine is on an upswing generally, the losses have been many.

During the first year of the war Norway lost sixty-one ships valued at 18,000,000 crowns. Sixteen of these ships were destroyed by mines. Although in most instances the crews had time to leave their vessels, thirty-nine lives have been lost through mines and torpedoes.

Mr. Movinckel did not think that America, strong as it is, had proceeded with sufficient energy against violations of the rights of neutrals. He insisted that, as three voices sounded louder than one,

the three Scandinavian countries should continue to uphold right against might so that justice might be seated in honor above the struggling masses.

Elief Loeftgren of Stockholm, a member of the upper chamber of the Swedish Parliament, told about conditions in Sweden. The Swedish merchant fleet did a business of close to 140,000,000 crowns in foreign sailings before the war. For a while after war broke out the whole business went to pieces. Then the State insurance plan became operative and gradually the traffic returned.

The neutrality policy of the three Scandinavian countries had proved of vast benefit, declared Count Adelswaerd. He felt convinced that the meeting of the three Kings at Malmoe was the expression of the inmost desires of the peoples of the north. The Northern Interparliamentary Union rejoiced in the fact that the brother nations, brought together through such eventful and direful conditions as the great war, would continue to labor for their neutrality, not only while the conflict raged, but when peace is restored. Count Adelswaerd concluded by saying that the Northern Interparliamentary Union had at last realized one of its greatest desires—complete co-ordination between the three countries of the Scandinavian north, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

II.

The Scandinavian Peace Congress

The subjoined account appeared in the *Dagens Nyheder* of Copenhagen.

IN September, 1915, the eighth Scandinavian Peace Congress reconvened in the hall of the Landsting. There met about 100 delegates, among them twenty-five from Sweden and ten from Norway. Among the Danish delegates were present the Minister of Education, Keiser-Nielsen. Other well-known persons at the gathering were the Mayor of Stockholm, Lindhagen, and Congressman Warrinsky of Sweden. Two noted clergymen, Pastors Klaveness and Hansteen of Norway, were also on hand as delegates. The opening

of the congress proved considerably of a disappointment to not a few of those at the meeting. The right atmosphere was absent. But how could it have been different? A peace congress, while the cannons sent their thunderous echo throughout Europe!

On behalf of the Danish Peace Society the address of welcome was made by Superior Court Advocate Petersen, a member of the Folkething. He spoke in part as follows: "We are meeting while the world war rages. But that does not shake our faith in the cause of

peace or in its progress. Like all great movements, the peace cause must be purified through many trials. And just now, while the war is at its height, the work for peace among the northern people is strengthened. It lends color to our argument that we are absolutely neutral and that our main desire and aim are to keep outside the war zone.

"I bid you all welcome in the sincere hope that our labors during the congress will yield a rich harvest and add value to the work for peace."

The Chairman for the Swedish Peace Association, Count Adelswaerd, made the statement that the three northern peoples stood shoulder to shoulder like three brothers. Mr. Sandstoel, an editor from Stavanger, Norway, declared that his country was sure of a final victory for the cause of peace among nations. He affirmed that Scandinavia had before it the great mission of spreading the light of the peace cause and of truth throughout the world. He wanted the congress to make plain to peoples everywhere that the war was the greatest crime against humanity. He asked support for a war against war.

Arnt Oeksnevad of Norway, on behalf of the teachers interested in world peace, asked that instruction in history be changed so that the peace ideal could be brought home to children. The need, he said, was not for a history about war, but about peaceful progress. The teachers should not tire of presenting Christ as the organizer of the peace cause, and to stamp war as murder.

Mr. Barruel was of the opinion that there would be no peace in Europe until there was a common language. He wished to make a recommendation to that effect, but was prevailed on to leave the matter open until the next meeting in 1916.

Mme. Koch of Copenhagen would

provide punishment for mothers who permitted their children to play with tin soldiers, or who would tell their boys that it would give them pleasure to see their sons lay down their lives in battle. We must educate our sons to refuse to go to war, she declared. We must battle for peace and against drink.

Mme. Louise Noerlund of Copenhagen spoke on peace and disarmament. She said that just so long as military equipment prevailed, permanent peace would be impossible. To bring about such peace the work of education would have to begin at the bottom. The heroism of war would have to be excluded from the children's curriculum. It would be essential to present war as it actually is—the triumph of brutality that drove mankind ever downward.

Pastor Carsten Hansteen spoke on the importance of having the universities aid the peace cause. Shortly after the war broke out the question was raised, who was to blame for starting it? Now another question had arisen, Pastor Hansteen said, namely, what can we do to prevent a repetition of such a catastrophe? The friends of peace would have to look around for an ally, and such an ally was present in the universities. Because of the impressionableness of youth, the universities were the best field to sow the seed of peace. If they would collaborate, here would be a splendid opportunity, he argued.

At the conclusion of the congress nine resolutions were adopted. They are to be presented to the three Scandinavian Parliaments for their consideration. One of the resolutions protested against compulsory military service. Another resolution was in effect that where compulsory service obtained those who did not desire to enter the army should be allowed to go free.



Letter From the Galician Battle Front

By a Russian Officer

The subjoined letter is by a Russian officer serving with one of the Caucasian regiments and appeared originally in the *Novoe Vremya* ("The New Time") of Petrograd.

WE are still sitting in the guard's hut, which is uninteresting, and has already been described. Once in awhile, with no apparent reason, the Germans "get mad," bursting internally, so to speak, and begin to shoot six-inch bombs at our trenches, lavishing explosives and metal; not trunks yet, only suitcases of the larger size! At times you hear no explosions whatever, just a kind of hissing and squealing, and then—bang!—a great ball of black smoke springs up out of the ground, followed by loose earth, splinters, broken fragments of metal and stones. At other times, it is a whole series—bang, bang, bang! Once in a while the enemy artillery shoots at peaceful inhabitants heavy shells which work terrible damage. Quite recently they sent a bomb into a cottage just below our fort, in the smiling valley. Of course, the house was destroyed in a single moment, and burned up like a bright candle.

Women shrieked, children cried, the cattle bellowed, and the earth shook with the explosion. * * * God be praised, we are well accustomed to artillery fire, we are old-timers, but the sight of a peaceful home, smashed into and burning, filled with women and small children, was * * * not pleasant. One little boy, especially, looked pitiable. The toddler, trying to escape from the flames, hid behind a wall, where he was immediately so badly contused that he was unconscious for most of the next twenty-four hours. The irony of this occurrence lies in the fact that the owner of the house that was destroyed by the Austro-Germans is still fighting in the ranks of the Austrian Army. On the same day the picturesque roadway toward the fort, which I described in one of my letters, was also destroyed by the enemy. Here and there

yawn bomb-made craters, the lining of the road, blue gravel and red clay, oozing out. You have to be careful about riding out, for you are as likely as not to get a present from the other chaps that will leave nothing of you but a damp spot. They are pretty generous with these presents of theirs! One of these days we were ordered to gather some straw to lay along the river bank to light our way in case we had to cross the river. This started a bombardment that was lovely to see. For a long time the Germans ripped at this wretched straw with a zeal that deserved a more worthy object, and finally their shells set the straw on fire. But you can get accustomed to anything pretty quickly. The Germans toil in vain, for their presents attract no attention whatever. Only yesterday a heavy shell burst in the middle of a yard where several of our Caucasian mounted militia were enjoying a cup of tea. One of them was killed, one had a hand torn off, others received slight scratches, and several horses were maimed. But nobody was impressed; these mountaineers merely swore at the breaking of their teapot. No wonder; the weather is warm these days, and you get very thirsty, and so much good tea lost, and more tea to be made!—wasn't it a typical bit of German piggishness? Surely they knew that the bosses don't allow us to drink uncooked water, so of course they shot at our teapot!

Think of us sitting somewhere in a trench, worn out by the day's work, and waiting to be sent off duty, the time for which is close at hand. The hot day has come to an end, the sun is set, after mercilessly grilling the earth since early morning. The last line of light has disappeared from the horizon, and a lovely Summer night has descended from heaven, with cooling and

refreshing dew. . . What lots of stars, and how bright they are! They shine over our heads; they are shining also over our beloved mother, Russia—as if bringing us a greeting from her, a greeting to us, her children, in battle. In front of us, at the foot of a rounded ravine, the river, shallow in Summer, flowing on, its wavelets murmuring and, in the thicket bordering the bank, the fresh evening breeze whispering among the leaves. On the opposite bank the enemy are hiding. Like us, they are sitting in their trenches; they are sending us no more death-greetings, probably tired out by the long day. No wonder; just before sunset their fire was particularly hot, ending only after twilight, when the darkness was complete. A little village that caught fire from the shells is still blazing away across the river, every cottage aflame, and a long row of bright flames hangs over the bank like a string of shining beads on the neck of a dusky village beauty. Well, could we not attempt what Lermontoff describes—“Angry mountaineers crawling up the bank, each one sharpening his dagger!” If only they would allow us to try! But they won’t allow it yet; the time has not come yet; the bosses know best, and everything comes in its appointed time. Meanwhile, profiting by this quiet spell, let us talk!

I can assure you it is not at all bad here. The night is warm, the grass is soft, in my hand I am holding a glass—of the strongest tea, such as I could never get at home. First of all, of course, my beloved Caucasian mountaineers, in whose glorious ranks have already flown eleven months of my life. At times the work lay heavy on our shoulders, we were cold and hungry and overburdened. But if you could only realize how gorgeous were the days, how brightly colored stretched the path before our whole division, what fervent faith there was in the justice of our cause; if you could only realize how full our souls were of perfect contentment! This starlit night, in the white mist before the dawn, I see arise the shades of our slain comrades. They are so many—but their unfading eyes

shine victorious, full of joy. Here is our valorous commander, brave even among the brave, our long-bearded father, never to be forgotten. He did not believe in immortality, but now he has learned the reality of it, and his pale face smiles at us! I understand! Your smile tells me you are sure of your regiment; your mountaineers will never “blacken your face,” even now when you are dead!

Here, in the trenches, I got a letter from a mountaineer, of higher grade than the rest of us, a great man in our army, on whose breast blooms the white flower of military glory, the Cross of St. George. He writes: “I rejoice at every success of my tribesmen, now, and, even more, in the future, for the fine work and deserts of our young regiment will lay the foundation, the future promise of the prosperity of our whole tribe. Young chaps who are fighting their country’s enemy from sheer love of fighting, from excess energy, do not think that at the same time they are hammering out the prosperity and destiny of their own people. But we know, and we are convinced that mighty Russia, with her constant generosity, will rightly value the deeds of her youngest sons, the Chechen mountaineers, who so recently crossed weapons with her. We have forgotten that on both sides now. The mighty Mother ever forgets the errors of her sons * * *”

May the writer of this letter be permitted to say that little has been said of the doings of the Chechen mountaineers, perhaps because they are modest, as warriors ought to be. But our regiment has already some great achievements to its credit, which have become forever a part of its brief history. The letter from our senior Chechen comes as our reward, because we see how carefully we are watched by one whose white hair we reverence. Not one face among the Caucasian warriors will be “blackened.” The Chechen mountaineers are fighting for the glory of their great Mother, Russia, and, with God’s help, our women will not have cause to mock us when we come back victorious to our mountain villages scattered like eagles’ nests among the hills * * *

The Ukraine as a Russo-Austrian Problem

By Professor Michaelo Hrushevsky

Professor of History in the University of Lemberg, the author of the following article is considered the principal authority on affairs concerning the Ukrainian people. Translated from *La Revue Politique Internationale* of Paris by George Raffalovich, the article throws into strong relief the difficulties encountered by both Russia and Austria to fuse the Ukraine with the rest of the two nations.

IN 1772, when Poland was first divided up, Western Ukraine, now Eastern Galicia, became part of the Habsburg Kingdom in virtue of certain long-standing claims of the Hungarian Crown to this country. Some years later, Bukowina, (the present region,) which formerly belonged to Moldavia, was added to it. This passing of Western Ukraine into the rule of Austria awoke a new national fervor in the country. The Austro-Hungarian Government had but lately learned—at the time of the movement against ecclesiastic union in Galicia—of the deplorable condition in which the Ukrainian population of Hungary found itself. Steps were taken to ameliorate the moral and material condition of the priests of the United Greek Church in Galicia and in Hungary. A particular importance attached to the United Church in this province during the eighteenth century, for it became transformed here into the Ukrainian National Church. The measures that were established by the Austro-Hungarian Government had, therefore, far-reaching consequences, as had also the efforts it made to disseminate instruction among the urban and rural population, together with the attempts to ameliorate the economic condition of the people. Insignificant as were in reality the reforms brought about, and fleeting as was the current of Ruthenophil sentiment in the policy of the Government, this attitude nevertheless created a deep impression upon the Ukrainian population, which once again enjoyed a sense of nationality and lost the feeling of despair with which it was stricken during the later years of Polish supremacy. Even after the Austrian Government, under

the influence of the Polish aristocracy, had characterized its Ukrainian policy by a strongly reactionary feeling, the energy of the national movement was not completely dissipated. Development of culture and of the national ideal were still apparent in the first half of the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian territory which had fallen to the share of Russian rule on the partition of Poland (Volhynia, Podolia, the land west of the Bug, and that around Kiev) had no cause to look for any revival of nationalist aspirations. The rigor with which the Polish or Polonized aristocracy ruled the Ukrainian peasantry became now more merciless still, supported as the Poles were by the authority of Russia. The subordinate administrative officials were for the most part the docile servants of this aristocracy. Certain attempts to appeal to orthodox tendencies that were hostile to Poland, which had been made by the Russian Government in order to protect the serfs of the Ukraine, were quite futile. Opposition to serfdom was treated as treason. Everything which was not in the hands of the Polish aristocracy—education, Church, or literature, in a word, the intellectual life of the country—had to combat unscrupulous Russophil tendencies. The Government even went to the length of forbidding in the Church all the national rites, including even the Slavo-ecclesiastic tongue, which was the matrix of the Ukrainian language. These circumstances explain why the signs of a national revival first showed themselves in Eastern Ukraine, notwithstanding the Russianizing it was undergoing.

For a while it looked as though the old

institutions of the hetman period were about to be re-established; the Czar Paul, who strongly opposed the policy of his mother, gave evidence of a wish from the beginning of his reign to give new life to some of the old political liberties. It is said that it was the Minister Bezborodko, a Ukrainian patriot, who inspired his master with these designs. The reign of Paul was a short one, however, and his successor, Alexander, returned to the principles of Catherine and set up again in the Ukraine the organization established there by the Empress. Nothing remained to remind the people of the time of the hetmans save the civil law, applicable to this day in the Governments of Tchernicov and Poltava, the country of the hetmans of old.

The longing to see the old Constitution restored made itself manifest from time to time, especially on such occasions as the Russian Government sought to recruit the Cossack militia in the Ukraine. This happened in 1812 and again during the Polish rising in 1831, on both of which occasions the authorities sought to blind the eyes of the people with various promises of ameliorative measures. During the Crimean war, especially, the enrolling of volunteers aroused intense excitement among the peasantry, in whom national aspirations were still vigorous. All expectations of this kind met only with disappointment, but they helped to keep alive the nationalist feeling among the Ukrainian people. The Russian Government made a pretext of these aspirations for looking with even greater suspicion upon certain candidates for the hetmanship, as well as of frowning upon other real or imaginary manifestations of Ukrainian irredentism.

It was not only in matters of sentiment but in political ideas as well that the tradition of the Cossacks tinged all memories of their heroic struggles for liberty, the idealized figures of their knights, and the freedom which continued to exist among the intellectual classes and in the poetry of the Ukraine, especially in the district of the Dnieper. The study of the past and of historic documents which were taken up with devotion by Ukrainian families in direct

descent from the Cossacks, the collecting of popular traditions, which became numerous after 1820 or 1830—all this brought back to mind the symbols of national heroism, and was handed down from generation to generation as a sacred legacy from the past and a promise for the future.

The exodus of the Ukrainians or the divergence of the national activity toward Austrian Ukraine, toward Lemberg, which became a centre for the national life, was weighty with results not only for the Ukrainian movement in Russia but also for the development of Austrian Ukraine itself. Already, about the year 1860, after the first prohibition of the Ukrainian language in Russia, this event had contributed to the sustenance of the Ukrainian national life in Austria at a very critical moment in the development of this section of the subject people. After the movement had gradually grown weaker in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the general reactionary movement in Galicia, the story year of 1848 poured a refreshing breath over the Ukrainians of Austria. The Austrian Government sought in the Ukrainian population something to set off against the Polish revolutionary movement. The final liberation of the serfs, the admission of the moral and political rights of the Ukrainian people, (or Ruthenians,) the creation of the first institution of any importance in the domain of culture and politics, the nationalization of the schools, the formal promise of a university for Lemberg, the administrative separation of the two Galicias (Ukrainian and Polish) which had been artificially united in 1772—all these influences assisted the birth of a new era in the life of the Austrian Ukraine.

But these years that were so full of hope soon passed, to be followed in their turn by the reaction of 1850, which brought to the Ukrainians of Galicia the most bitter deceptions. The promises made were completely forgotten for the most part, and the Ukrainians of Galicia, this "Tyrol of the East," after having aided the Austrian Government in its combat against the rising of the Polish

aristocracy, were left to the unscrupulous rule of these same nobles, into whose hands the whole administration of Galicia passed once again in the year 1850. The Polish aristocracy and bureaucracy utilized the growing influence which they possessed for the purpose of insinuating to the Austrian rulers that the Ukrainian population of Galicia was an uncertain element, devoted to Russia and the orthodox faith. These intrigues were an obstacle to any attempts on the part of the Ukrainians to open the eyes of the Government to the fatal consequences of a Polish predominancy in Galicia, under which the Ukrainians suffered horribly.

Thus arose a painful crisis in the national life of the Ukrainians of Galicia. Disillusions and doubts followed one another and the way was open for the Russophil current toward which the Polish aristocracy was eagerly driving the Ukrainian element. Certain intelligences, despairing of any Ukrainian regeneration, turned to Russian culture in order to escape complete Polonization.

The arrival of fresh Ukrainian immigration, coming in 1863 to employ their activity on Galician soil, after the suppression of the Ukrainian movement in Russia, cannot under the circumstances be too highly appreciated. At a critical moment this influence brought the necessary aid to the Ukrainian element, chiefly of the younger generation—which had remained faithful to the program of 1848. It helped them to strengthen their morale and to play their part in the life of Galicia.

From about 1880 this "popular" Ukrainian movement, as it was called, took a firm hold of the people in Galicia, nor did it fail to keep in touch with the Ukrainian movement in Russia as well. It acquired considerable influence over the masses. This was especially so with the left wing of the movement, which was the more radical part and originated in 1890. Moreover, the close bond which, uniting Russian and Austrian Ukrainians, enabled the latter to utilize the resources of Galicia for their own development. The writers of Russian Ukraine took part in propaganda work and education in Galician Ukraine. From 1880 to 1905,

that is to say for a quarter of a century, Galicia was, so to speak, a kind of intellectual Piedmont for the Ukrainian movement. Galician newspapers became the political tribune for the discussions and resolutions of the questions which were agitating the big Russian Ukraine and the small Austrian Ukraine. Galician educational establishments became the meeting places of the élite of both regions, who came together to combine their intellectual resources, with the object of preserving their common patrimony.

One can easily understand that this movement, almost entirely banished from Russia, took up an irreconcilable attitude in regard to the centralizing policy of the Russian Government. It was further equally intransigent in its hostility to the Polish oppression in Galicia. It goes without saying that the Russian Government, always hostile to anything which would favor Ukrainian "separatism" in a broad sense, put a stop to any opportunism in the Ukrainian movement. In Austria Polish supremacy raised an insuperable obstacle between the Ukrainians and the Government; any compromise with the latter was subject to the assent of the masters of Galicia, which meant, of course, the surrender of all Ukrainian aspirations. And as soon as one of the political leaders of Galicia showed any intention of making generous concessions, the Galician masses and the radical Russian Ukrainians were not long before they exhibited a vigorous disapproval.

This is what happened in 1890, when some leaders tried to arrive at a compromise with the Government. The Austrian and Russian Ukrainians united in offering such opposition to the plan that it could not be carried out.

The end of the century was signaled by a rapprochement between the two Ukraines. This had a most happy result for the national life, thanks to the reciprocal control exerted on political questions.

From this moment the progress of national culture in Russian Ukraine has made rapid progress, in spite of all attempts made to stop its course. The

present time shows a remarkable development in the Ukraine, which, benefiting by the enthusiasm of all classes, has reached a high state of culture, thus rendering service to the progress of national feeling. Ukrainian literature has produced a number of excellent writers. It has at last succeeded in securing the abrogation of the law which forbade the popularizing of scientific works. However, it was not until the advent of the new period which followed the Russo-Japanese war that the daily press regained its liberty.

Since it has been shown that the position of the Russian Ukrainians has no attractions for their Austrian brethren, while, on the other hand, the lot of the Austrian Ukrainians governed by the Poles does not seem at all enviable to the Russian Ukrainians, the educated classes of both Ukraines have come to the conclusion that it is preferable to strive for a broad administrative autonomy suitable to both monarchies, without having recourse to extreme measures.

But even this policy has met with many difficulties in Austria, combated, as it has been, by the groups of Polish leaders. The same has happened in Russia, where, without counting the Government, the liberal educated classes, al-

though in close contact with the élite of the Ukraine, were yet hostile to the idea of autonomy. It is only about 1913 and 1914 that one observes a change of opinion among the progressive parties in Russia. Then for the first time do the claims of the Ukraine seem worthy of any attention. Such liberal views characterize the well-known efforts made in the Duma of 1913-14 by the Constitutionalists, the Socialists, and the Labor Party.

Such was the situation when, sooner than one expected, there broke over Europe the cataclysm from which one expects a radical transformation of the conditions of existence of many subordinate nations and the solution of numerous problems. It is difficult to say whether it will solve the Ukrainian problem. Whatever may happen, those who have followed the development of this question know that if present events do not bring about a solution of it, or at least open the way to such a solution, it will remain a source of new convulsions, not less terrible than those of today. Let the statesmen say to themselves: "The Ukrainian question will not be solved by ignoring it or by further oppression. It can only be solved by adopting a policy of active realization in regard to the two Ukraines."

A Requiem

(From *The Westminster Gazette*.)

Greet him hosts of heroic dead,
 Finely achieved though but half begun—
 Never a word we could wish unsaid,
 Never a deed we might hope undone.

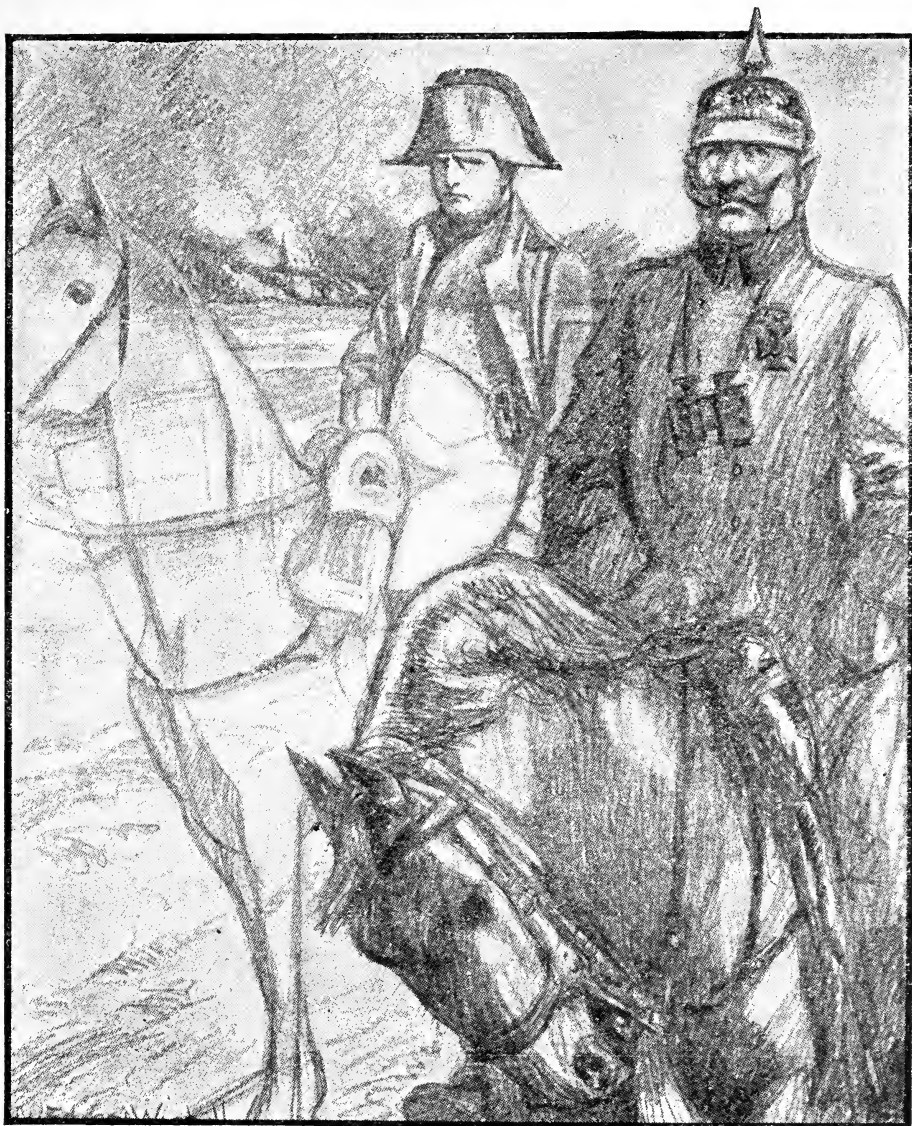
Fair and full as the Summer's ray—
 Pure and liquid—alive with light,
 Brief yet boundless—a dream of Day
 Haunting the starry sleep of Night.

—By WALTER SICHEL.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[British Cartoon]

1812—1915



—*The Bystander*, London.

SHADE OF NAPOLEON: "Nice place Russia, eh?"

Execution of Edith Cavell



—From *The New York Sun*.

Deutschland Ueber Alles.

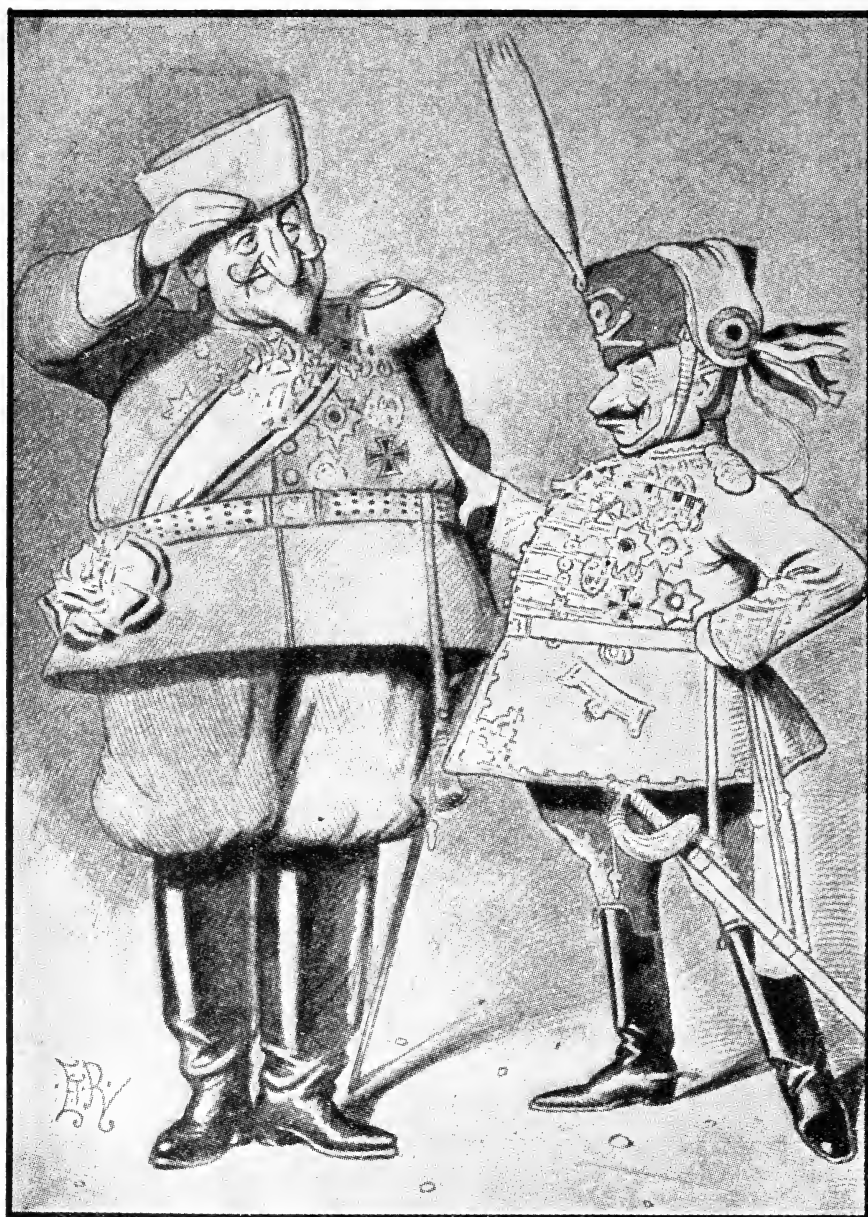
Absalom in the Balkans



—© *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

ENTENTE DIPLOMATIST: "And to think that the nasty German oak should throw me from the saddle!"

The Kaiser and His Recruit

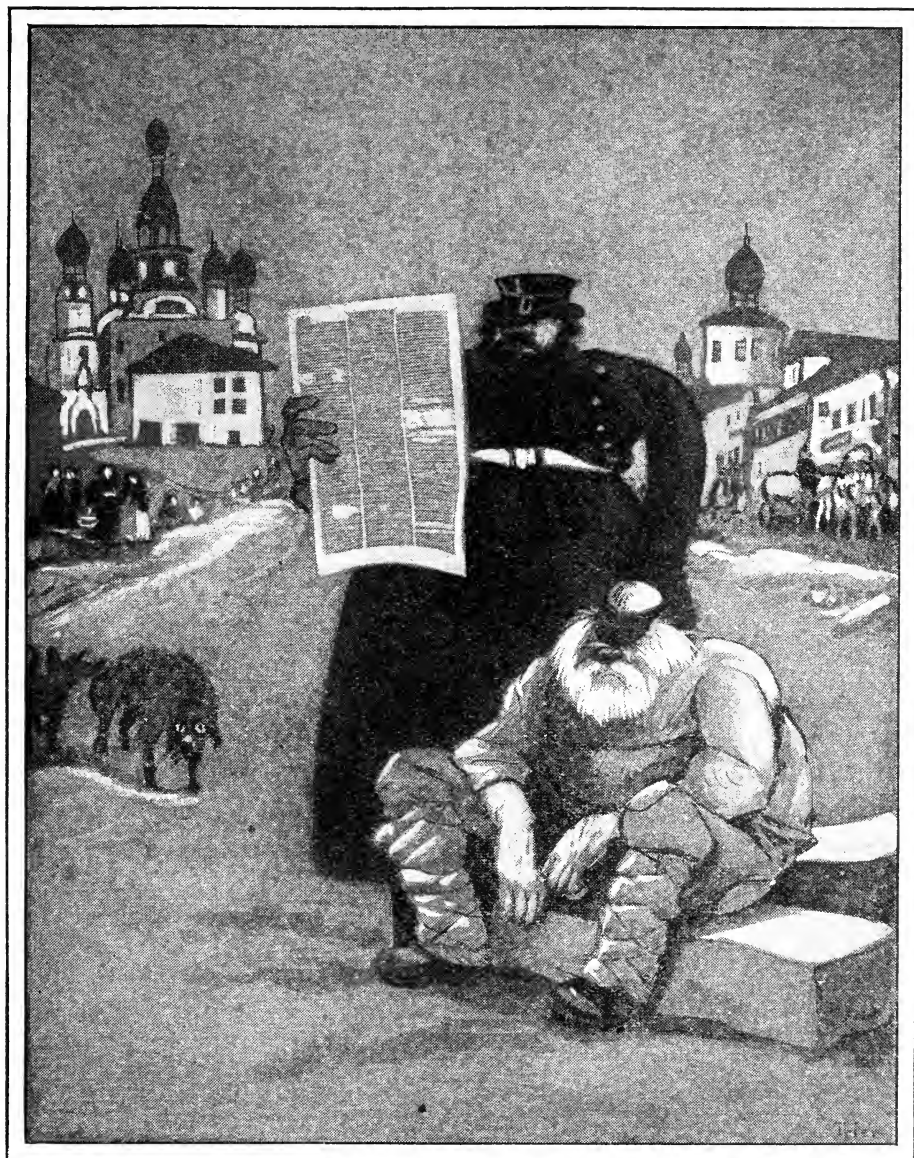


—*The Bystander*, London.

WILHELM: "Ah, that's right, Ferdy, my boy! We Germans must hang together, y' know."

FERDINAND (*sotto voce*): "Beastly unpleasant way of putting it!!!"

A Russian Bull



—© *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

“Ivanowitsch, this is awful news! The saints be praised that I can't read it!”

Ganymede and the German Eagle



—From *Punch*, London.

SULTAN: "Of course I know it's a great honor being 'taken up' like this; still, I'm beginning almost to wish the bird had let me alone."

[American Cartoon]

The Hyphen



—From *The Sun*, New York.

“The Same on Either Side.”

Realization



—Punch, London.

"When I went to Bulgaria I resolved that if there were to be any assassinations I would be on the side of the assassins."—Statement by FERDINAND.

[German Cartoon]
The Defective



MRS. JOHN BULL: "My baby Mars is over a year old, but the brat cannot yet stand on his feet."
—© *Fliegende Blaetter.*

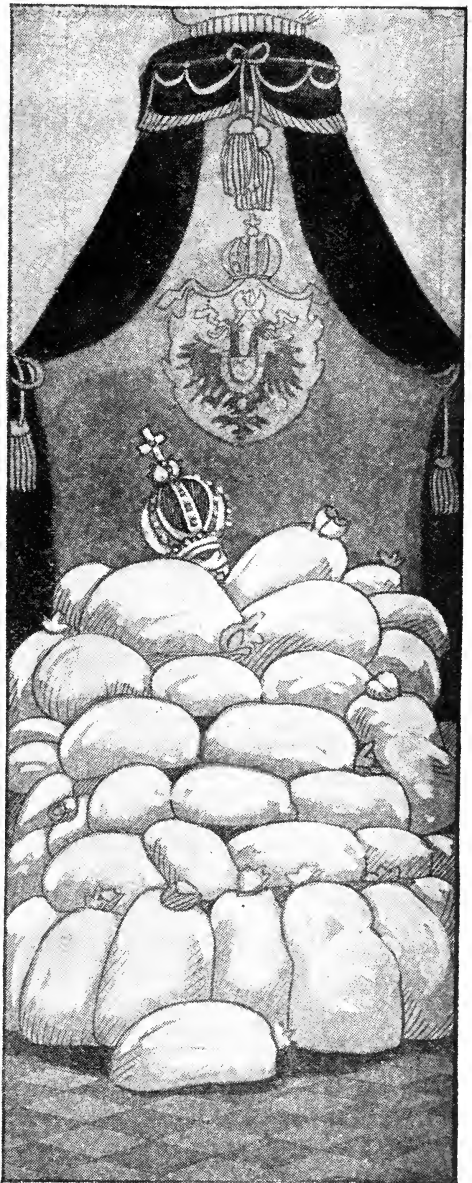
The French Phoenix



—From *The World*, New York.

The Harmonious Rise of the Briand Cabinet.

Bomb-Proof Shelters



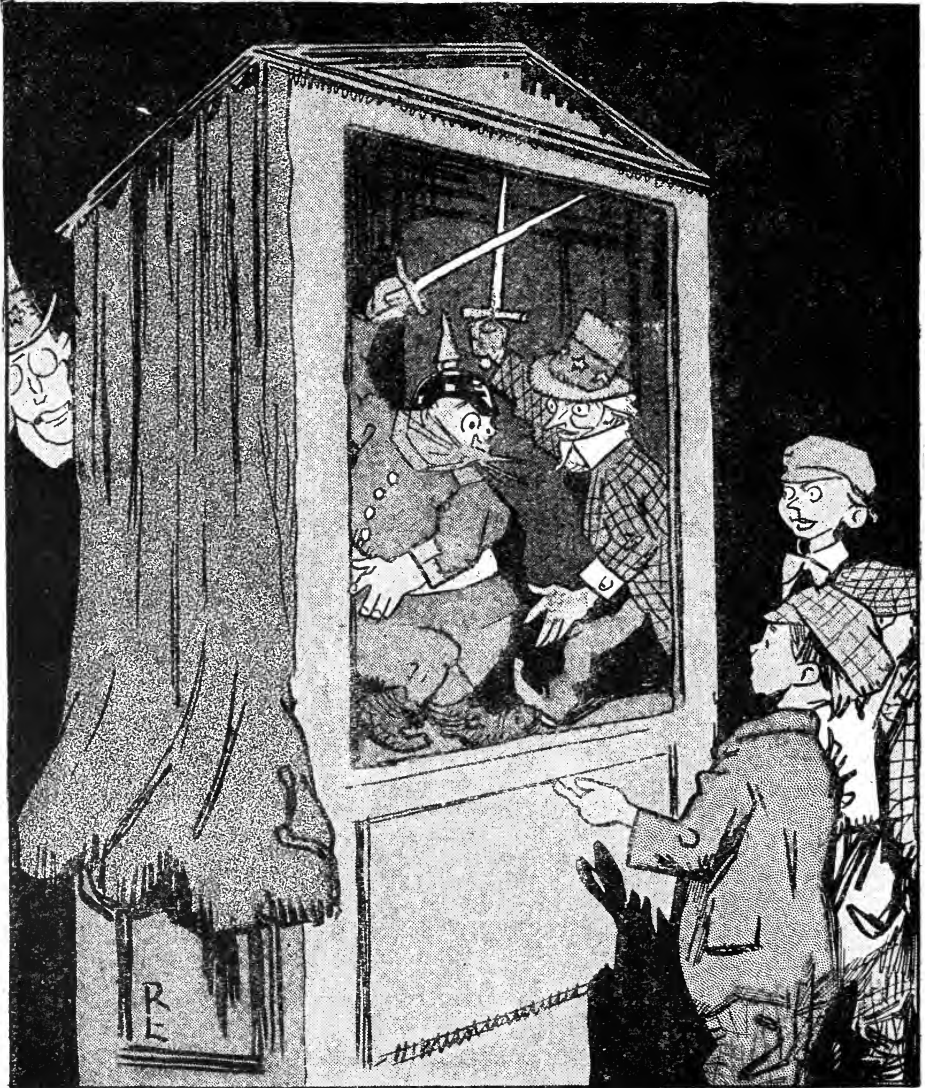
—© *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

On account of the danger from Zep-
pelins, King George might seek shelter
in one of the many empty safes of his
country.

While Czar Nicholas could be pro-
tected by sand bags.

[Italian Cartoon]

The American-German Conflict



—© L'Asino, Rome.

A war of marionettes—without shedding of blood.

Putting His Foot Down

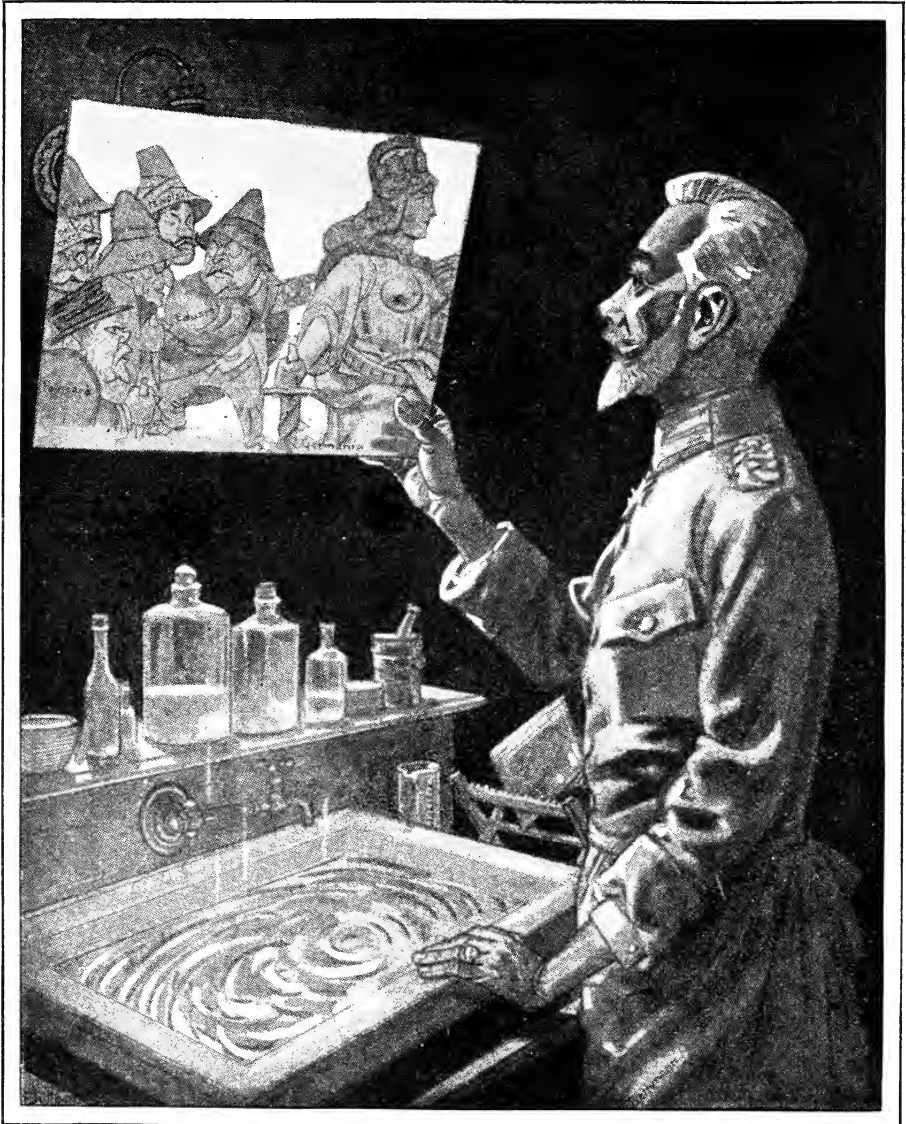


—From *The World*, New York.

Uncle Sam's Treatment of the German Bombers of Shipping.

[German Cartoon]

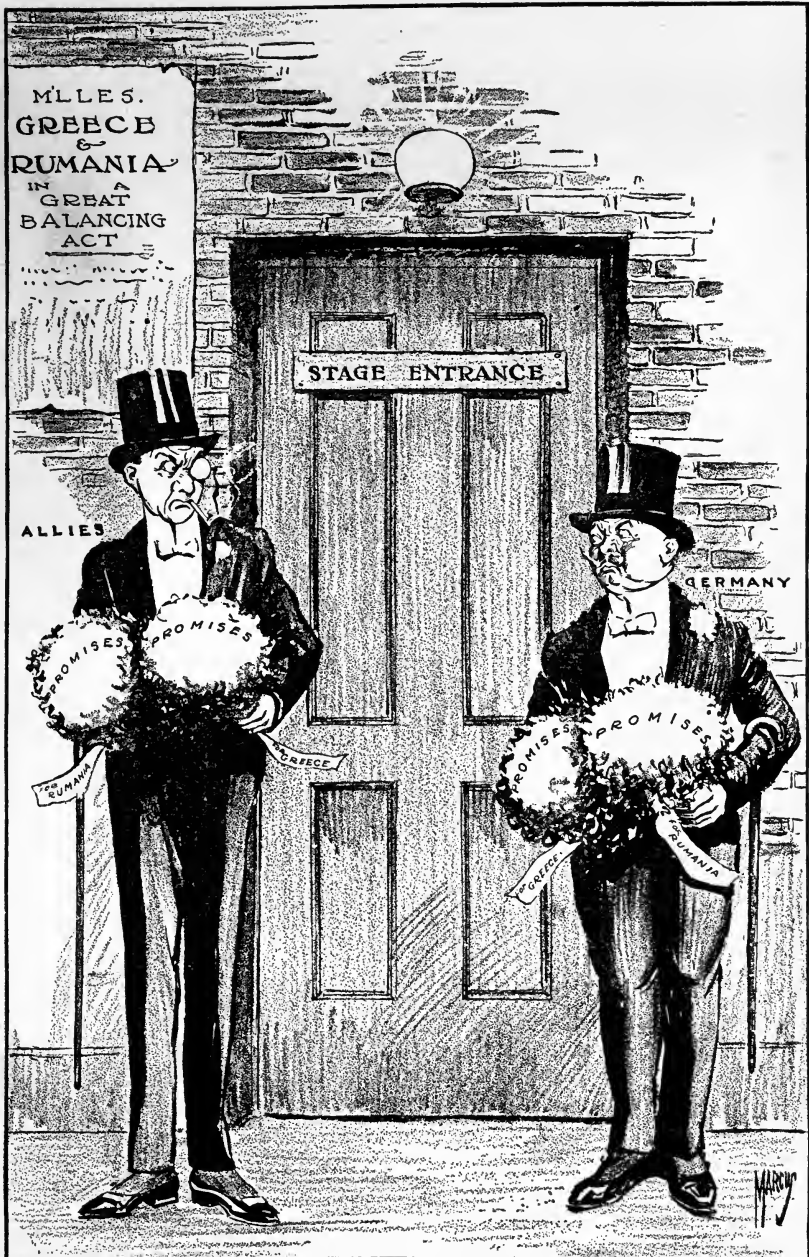
Revealed Documents



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

The picture discovered in the dark room of the Belgian archives grows clearer and clearer—Edward VII., Iswolski, Grey, Sazonoff, Delcassé, and Poincaré.

The Rivals



—From The New York Times.

The diplomats of the warring powers await outside the champion lady equilibrists.

People Who Ought to Be "Strafed"



—From *The Sketch*, London.

The Pessimist Who Tells of Imaginary Dangers—and More to Come.

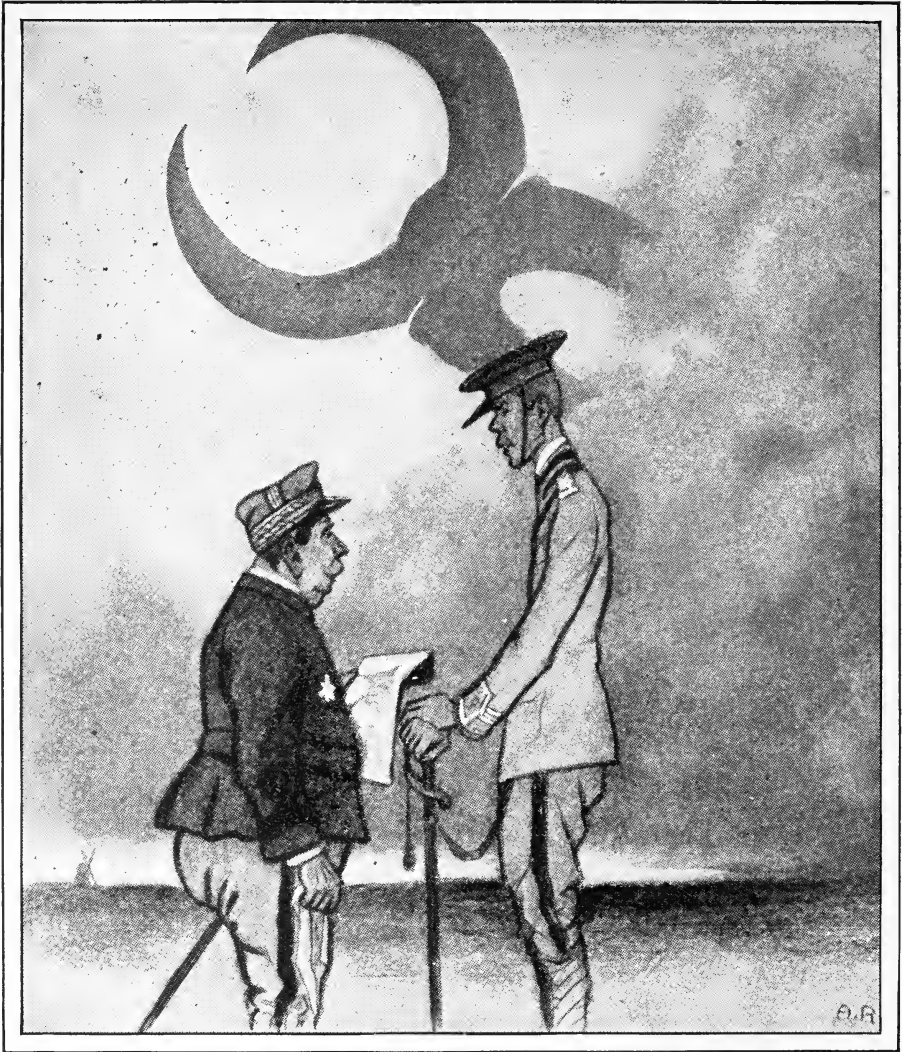
The Pincers



—From *The New York Sun*.

The Predicament of Serbia in the Balkans.

The Crown Prince's Counterdrive



—© *Fliegende Blätter*, Munich.

JOFFRE: "French, I feel as though something were nipping me—it seems as if there's something in the air."

[British Cartoon]

Never Again!



—Captain Bruce Bairnsfather in *The Bystander*, London.

“In future I snipe from the ground.”

[German Cartoon]

The Tactics of 1812



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

“Now the Russians have finally drawn the Germans as far as Riga! All that we now need to do is to entice them toward Paris and London; then we’ll have won.”

[Italian Cartoon]

Militarism Fallen



—© L'Asino, Rome.

The Peace of Tomorrow.

The Pope and Peace



—© *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“And he sent forth a dove from him,” but still “the waters were on the face of the whole earth.”

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From October 12, 1915, Up to and Including
November 12, 1915

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Oct. 13—Bulgarians attack Serbia at three points; Germans take Semendria; Russians repulse Teutonic allies near Dvinsk and in Galicia.
- Oct. 14—Russians have further success in the Dvinsk region and in Galicia, generally strengthening their positions; Serbians repulse Bulgarians on the River Nischava; Austro-Germans are making a slow but steady advance in the invasion of Serbia.
- Oct. 15—Great Britain declares war on Bulgaria; Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians continue their advance into Serbia; Germans occupy Pozarevec; Russians gain in Galicia, driving back Austro-Germans west of Tarnopol; Russians hold offensive south and southwest of Dvinsk.
- Oct. 16—France declares war on Bulgaria; troops of Entente allies leave Saloniki to help Serbia.
- Oct. 19—Russia and Italy declare war on Bulgaria; Bulgarians captured Vrania, quitting the railway between Nish and Saloniki, while Austrians capture Obrenovatz and Germans press south from the Danube.
- Oct. 21—Bulgarians are pushing into Serbia from several directions.
- Oct. 22—Russians make gains north of Tarnopol; Russians check Germans near Riga and gain ground south of Dvinsk.
- Oct. 24—Serbians are attacking along the Nish-Sofia line; Germans force crossing of the Drina at Vishegrad; French troops form junction with Serbians.
- Oct. 25—Bulgarians take Uskub.
- Oct. 26—French repulse Bulgarians on a five-mile front in Serbia.
- Oct. 27—Germans continue their attacks in the Riga and Dvinsk regions.
- Oct. 28—German army which crossed the Danube at Orsova effects junction with Bulgarian army which invaded Serbia near Prahovo; east Danube ports are lost to Serbia; Serbia is cut off from all supplies by way of Rumania; Montenegrins attack Austrians south of Vishegrad (Bosnia) and at Gora.
- Oct. 29—Germans push on in North Serbia; Bulgarians take Zaiccar and Pirov.
- Oct. 31—Germans take Milanovac; Austrians take Mount Gora; Montenegrins are resisting Austrians desperately along the Drina; Bulgarians occupy part of Veles, with heavy losses; Russians begin a new offensive in Galicia and heavily bombard Austrian positions on the Stripa River.
- Nov. 2—Germans take Kraguyevac, the arsenal town of Serbia; Bulgarians are bombarding the Nish forts; Germans begin a new drive at Riga; Russians are on offensive in Dvinsk region.
- Nov. 3—A French army has landed at Kavala, Greece; Russians take strong offensive in Galicia, on the Styr, and before Dvinsk.
- Nov. 4—Main Serbian army is falling back in good order, destroying buildings and supplies.
- Nov. 5—Bulgarians reach the outskirts of Nish; Germans are closing in on Kraljevo.
- Nov. 6—Serbians defeat Bulgarians in the Babuna Passes; French defeat Bulgarians near Valandovo.
- Nov. 7—Bulgarians take Nish, but get little booty; main Bulgarian and German armies effect a junction at Krivivir, northwest of Nish; Entente allies are rushing up troops; Entente allies defeat Bulgarians in the south; Germans take Kraljevo; French are pushing north in Serbia, repulsing Bulgarian attacks; Montenegrins defeat Austrians in two engagements.
- Nov. 8—Russians attack Austro-German lines at many points north and south; Austro-Germans in Serbia take Kruseval.
- Nov. 9—Large British forces are landing at Saloniki; French in Serbia are nearing Veles.
- Nov. 12—Germans fall back on the Riga front; French in Serbia advance on the west side of the Vardar River.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

- Oct. 13—Furious German bombardment forces French back near Souchez; Germans gain ground in the Vosges.
- Oct. 14—A British drive near Loos results in capture of German trenches and most of the Hohenzollern Redoubt.
- Oct. 16—French recapture the summit of

- Hartmannswellerkopf in the Vosges; French make gains near Arras.
- Oct. 19—French repulse a German offensive near Rheims.
- Oct. 22—Massed fire of allied artillery checks threatened attacks in Belgium and the Souchez region.
- Oct. 24—Germans fail in the eighth attack in five days near Souchez.
- Oct. 27—French blow up German trenches north of Arras.
- Oct. 28—Severe artillery fighting in Belgium, and in the Champagne and Arras regions.
- Oct. 31—Germans take the Butte de Tahure from the French in Champagne, but are repulsed in other Champagne attacks.
- Nov. 2—Furious fighting for the Butte de Tahure, which is still in German hands.
- Nov. 6—Heavy artillery engagements at many points.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

- Oct. 14—Italians make gains in Tyrol.
- Oct. 17—Italians take Pregasina, an advanced point of the Riva fortifications.
- Oct. 22—After a fifty-hour artillery bombardment, the Italians launch a drive in the coastal region and take Austrian positions.
- Oct. 23—Italians, on the offensive, gain ground at several points, particularly in the Carso region; Austrians have heavy losses in Tyrol.
- Oct. 24—Italians continue a general offensive and make gains.
- Oct. 26—Severe fighting along the Isonzo, where a battle has been in progress for four days.
- Oct. 28—Italians are making gains on the Isonzo.
- Oct. 29—Austrians repulse general Italian attacks at the Gorizia bridgehead and elsewhere.
- Nov. 2—Italians surround Fort Hansel, centre of Austrian system of fortifications around Malborghetto.
- Nov. 3—Italians continue a general offensive, which Austrians declare is meeting with no success.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

- Oct. 15—Official British figures show that the British had lost 96,899 men up to Oct. 9 at the Dardanelles.
- Oct. 19—Major Gen. Monro is appointed British commander at the Dardanelles to succeed Sir Ian Hamilton.
- Oct. 20—Both sides are using mine operations on the Gallipoli Peninsula.
- Oct. 30—Allied artillery damages Turkish trenches on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

NAVAL RECORD.

- Oct. 13—German steamer is sunk in the Baltic by a British submarine.
- Oct. 15—British submarines have sunk a German destroyer and a German torpedo boat in two engagements near the entrance to the Baltic.

- Oct. 16—Entente allies declare a blockade of the Bulgarian coast in the Aegean Sea; British submarines have recently sunk five German transports in the Baltic.
- Oct. 19—British submarines sink six German steamers in the Baltic.
- Oct. 21—Squadron of Entente allies bombards the Bulgarian port of Dedeağatch on the Aegean, killing 1,000 soldiers and doing much property damage.
- Oct. 22—British submarines sink four German ships in the Baltic.
- Oct. 23—British submarines have sunk twenty German ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 38,000, in the last ten days in the Baltic.
- Oct. 29—Russian squadron shells Varna.
- Oct. 31—Allied squadron shells Bulgarian ports on the Aegean.
- Nov. 2—German steamer is sunk in the Baltic by a British submarine.
- Nov. 7—Submarine flying the Austrian flag sinks the Italian liner Ancona in the Mediterranean; 149 persons are lost and it is stated that Americans are among them.
- Nov. 8—United States note to Great Britain, protesting against the blockade, dated Oct. 21, is made public; German Submarines have recently sunk four British merchant ships.
- Nov. 10—One French and three British ships have been sunk in the Mediterranean by German submarines.

AERIAL RECORD.

- Oct. 13—Zeppelins make a night raid on London, their bombs killing and wounding many persons, the death list being put at 55 and the wounded list at 114.
- Oct. 16—French aeroplanes bombard one of the railroad stations of Metz.

BELGIUM.

- Oct. 13—It is learned that Miss Edith Cavell, an Englishwoman, lately the head of a training school for nurses in Brussels, was shot yesterday by the Germans on the charge of harboring fugitive British and French soldiers and Belgians of military age, and assisting them to escape from Belgium.

FRANCE.

- Oct. 13—Théophile Delcassé, Foreign Minister, resigns, Premier Viviani assuming the portfolio.
- Oct. 28—Premier Viviani's Cabinet resigns, M. Briand being called upon to form a Cabinet.

GREAT BRITAIN.

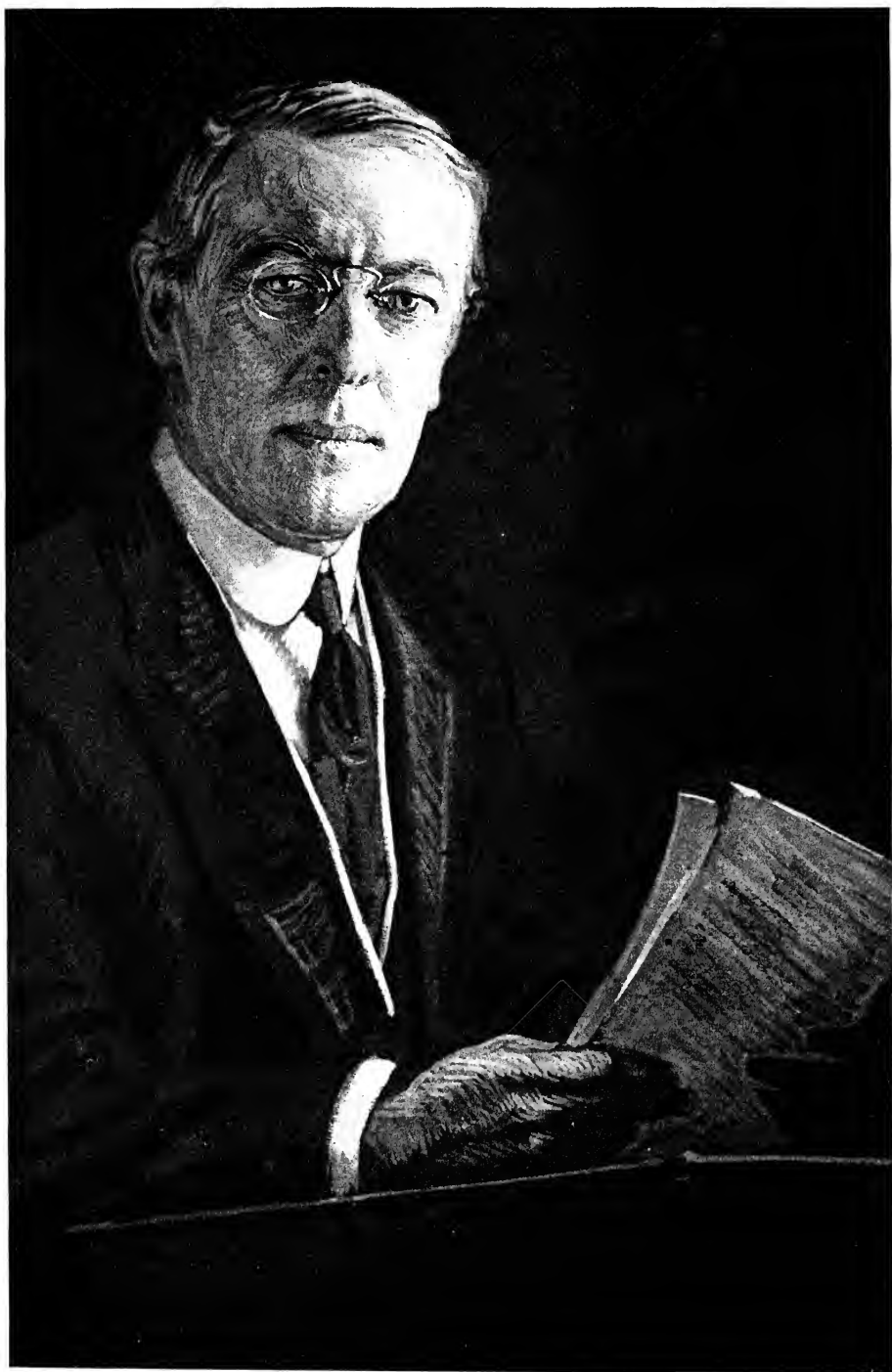
- Oct. 19—Sir Edward Carson, Attorney General, resigns from the Cabinet.
- Oct. 29—The total British casualties to Oct. 9 were 493,294, according to official British figures.
- Nov. 6—Kitchener has gone to the Eastern theatre of war.



T. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG

A Recent Portrait of the German Imperial Chancellor, Whose Address to the Reichstag on December 9 Concerned Terms of Peace

(Photo from Feature Photo Service.)



PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON
Delivering His Address at the Opening of the American Congress

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

JANUARY, 1916

WORLD AFFAIRS OF THE MONTH

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S PROMOTION

Announcements on Dec. 15 that Sir Douglas Haig, who in November, 1914, was raised from the rank of Lieutenant General to that of General for distinguished service, should be Commander in Chief of the British forces in France and Belgium, and that Sir John French, who had asked to be relieved from headship of the expeditionary forces on the Continent, had been created Viscount and Commander in Chief of the armies in the United Kingdom, followed hard upon the appointment of General Joffre as Commander in Chief of the French Army. Premier Asquith stated in the House of Commons that the elevation of General Joffre had no bearing on the substitution of Sir Douglas for Field Marshal French. The new British Commander in Chief has won golden opinions. In the retreat from Mons, in the battle of the Marne, at Ypres, and at Neuve Chapelle he has been repeatedly singled out for praise in the reports of Field Marshal French. The "skillful manner in which Sir Douglas Haig extracted his corps from an exceptionally difficult position in the darkness of night" saved General French's "contemptible little army" from annihilation in the German drive past Mons; Sir Douglas was "skillful, bold, and decisive" in his operations that enabled his Field Marshal to maintain his position for more than three weeks on the north bank of the Aisne; he commanded the First Army Corps

during the severest fighting of the war at Ypres, and his work, together with that of his divisional and brigade commanders, furnished "some of the most brilliant chapters which will be found in the military history of our time"; while in commanding the main attack that won for the British the costly victory of Neuve Chappelle his "able and skillful dispositions" "contributed largely to the defeat of the enemy and to the capture of his positions." General Haig began his military career with the Seventh Hussars in 1885, and served in the Sudan, becoming a Brevet Major for his gallantry at Khartum. As Major Haig he was Chief of Staff to Colonel French in a brilliant series of minor operations around Colesberg, in South Africa, which prepared the way for Lord Roberts's advance; when that advance began he was closely associated with General French in the work of the cavalry division. At the War Office he was Director of Military Training, and in India he was Chief of Staff to General Kitchenier's successor. During the two years before the great war he commanded the divisions concentrated at Aldershot, known as Lord Haldane's "striking force."

* * *

GENERAL FRENCH'S RECORD

From the middle of August, 1914, until his retirement, Field Marshal Sir John French had been in command of the British forces on the Franco-Belgian

frontier, occupying a line that had expanded from thirty-two miles, when the trench warfare began a year ago, to nearly seventy miles as it is at present, and troops that have grown in numbers from the first two army corps of the original expeditionary force of fewer than 60,000 men to the present six armies of over 1,000,000. He fought a rear-guard action at Mons from Aug. 21 to Aug. 28, 1914, did what was regarded as brilliant work at the battle of the Marne from Sept. 28 to Sept. 30, and in March and September of the present year succeeded after tremendous assaults by artillery in pushing back the German lines at Neuve Chapelle and Loos, respectively. These have been the principal achievements of the British forces on the Continent. The retreat from Mons, in which he resisted, in the teeth of all logical calculations, having his army destroyed by the enormous forces flung at him by von Kluck, and the manner in which he helped General Joffre to counter the ugly thrust at Paris, no less than his pursuit of the Germans from the Marne and his skillful withdrawal from the line of the Aisne and Hazebrouck to the line of Lys, a movement which throughout probably discouraged the Germans from attempting to reach Calais, fired the British imagination and won praise from the French and British press. Fighting mostly against forces from four to six times the strength he could command himself, Sir John French had never allowed himself to be cornered. But Sir John had no experience in manoeuvring large bodies of men and knew nothing about the trench warfare which was to ensue. The battles of Reitfontein and Spiren Kop in the Boer War had not fitted him for the first, nor had the operations around Colesberg in the same war game given him more than a hint of the second. His work in command of the advance guard to relieve Kimberley had taught him what to do at Mons and the Marne; no more. Sir Douglas Haig succeeds him because of his greater skill in the later forms of warfare. It is to be remarked that summary removals of Generals in the British Army have been few as compared with the wholesale work of this

nature in reforming the staffs of the German, French, and Russian armies during the first sixteen months of war.

* * *

HENRY FORD'S ARK OF PEACE

Declaring that if any of the people on the Ark had been making money out of the flood, they would doubtless have ridiculed Noah for sending forth the dove, William J. Bryan, late Secretary of State in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet, sanctioned the departure on Dec. 4 of Henry Ford, millionaire manufacturer, and a company of eighty-three peace missionaries, besides fifty-four newspaper correspondents, voyaging to war-deluged Europe in search of a rainbow. The Oskar II. arrived at Kirkwall, Orkney Islands, on Dec. 15. The trip across had been stormy. The mountainous waves seemed but a reflex of the commotion roused aboard by the wireless message sent by Mr. Ford to Congress disapproving the President's program of preparedness. He will stop first at Christiania, where some of the disgruntled members of the party threaten to leave it; thence proceeding to The Hague, where Mr. Bryan has expressed the hope of joining him. When he left New York Mr. Ford remarked that there is "a certain gang of death peddlers that would like to see us go to smash"—a reference to makers of munitions and others who profit by the war. While he dropped his slogan of "Out of the trenches by Christmas," the modern Noah has high hopes of the unofficial Peace Congress which he will herd together at The Hague. At least, he says, it "will do no harm."

* * *

DR. KARL BUENZ'S CONVICTION

Sentences of eighteen months in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, imposed on Dec. 4 by Judge Harland B. Howe in the Federal District Court of New York on Dr. Karl Buenz, Director of the Hamburg-American Line; Superintending Engineer George Koetter, and Purchasing Agent Adolph Achmeister, formed the response of the Government to the plea that the defendants were only zealously obeying the commands of the Kaiser when they filed false manifests of ships

sent out to supply German cruisers. It was the defrauding of the American Government with false manifests, not the bringing of aid and comfort to Great Britain's enemy on the sea, that constituted their guilt. Dr. Buenz, who is 72, served for several years in the German Foreign Office, was for four or five years German Minister to Haiti, was an attaché in the German Consulate General in New York, served as German Consul in Chicago and Consul General in New York, and in 1908 was German Minister to Mexico. He also served as German Commissioner before The Hague Tribunal in the Venezuela dispute.

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FRANZ VON RINTELEN'S PLOTS

A prisoner in the Tower of London, Franz von Rintelen was on Dec. 12 formally "disavowed" by Ambassador von Bernstorff for the German Government. Charged with purchasing "munition strikes" in the United States, with having befriended Huerta and Diaz, providing the former Mexican leader with 10,000 modern rifles and ammunition to force intervention by this country, with the consequent commandeering of munitions now supplied to the Allies and with having over \$30,000,000 to his credit in the United States to carry out the purposes of the German Government, von Rintelen has been traced under the aliases of Fred Hanse, Miller, Mueller, and Edward V. Gasche. He arrived here when Huerta, late Mexican dictator, came to the United States. It is reported from London that extended reports to the German Government concerning his activities in the United States are in the hands of the British.

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BARON VON ZWIEDINEK'S INDISCRETION

The facsimile of a letter bearing his signature, shown on Dec. 11 to Baron Erich von Zwiedinek, Chargé d'Affaires of Austria-Hungary at Washington, bore the suggestion addressed to the Austro-Hungarian Consulate General in New York that "passports of neutral countries" might be procured "at comparatively slight expense" to assure the return of Austrian reservists to their own country. Baron von Zwiedinek admitted

the genuineness of the signature. His plea in extenuation was that he was not personally responsible for the letter, as he signed it as a matter of routine, not knowing its contents. The President and the Secretary of State were then confronted with the necessity of determining whether Baron von Zwiedinek's disclaimer of responsibility for proposing a violation of American law should justify the granting of immunity from dismissal. The letter was signed while Dr. Constantin Dumba, since recalled, was Austrian Ambassador at Washington.

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BOY-ED AND VON PAPEN

The American request, published Dec. 3, for the recall to Germany of Captain Karl Boy-Ed, German Naval Attaché, and of his military colleague, Captain Franz von Papen, was sent because their presence in this country had become "objectionable." Emperor William personally appointed them; he assented to their recall, and on Dec. 15 it was announced that safe conducts had been granted by the Entente Allies for their passages to Berlin. The American Government denied the request of the German authorities for a statement of reasons why the two attachés were considered undesirable. It is known that James F. J. Archibald secretly carried papers for von Papen; Boy-Ed's connection with the conspiracy case to defraud the Government in making false manifests of vessels sent by Dr. Karl Buenz to supply German warships was strongly suspected; Boy-Ed's private secretary stated to President Wilson that his chief got a copy of a confidential report intended for the President and his naval advisers. Complicity in munitions plots was hinted. An "accumulation of incidents" placing the two officials under suspicion was spoken of to the German Ambassador. But no charges were preferred. That was not necessary in order to be rid of them.

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DR. HELFFERICH AND BELSHAZZAR'S PALACE

The Germans "stand like rocks in the soil of the home country," while on the columns of the British Empire "are written in glowing letters the same words that were written on the wall of Bel-

shazzar's palace." Thus Dr. Karl Helfferich, Secretary of the German Imperial Treasury, speaking in the Reichstag on Dec. 15 in behalf of the bill to provide \$2,500,000,000 as a supplemental war credit. That makes the German war debt \$10,000,000,000—a large price to pay for sixteen months of war. If the modern Belshazzar's palace is in England it is still guarded by the sea and the British Navy. A semi-official statement coming from Washington on Dec. 15 said that at the end of the war the Allies would demand an immense indemnity of the central powers, and "one of the main points in the Allies' peace terms is that on no account will the German mercantile marine flag be permitted to be seen on the high seas until full indemnification has been paid."

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BRITISH DEFEAT IN MESOPOTAMIA

The victorious advance of General Townshend's forces up the valley of the Tigris to Bagdad received a check at the battle of Ctesiphon, with casualties amounting to 6,800, forcing their retreat to Kut-el-Amara, eighty miles to the southeast. This was such a severe defeat to the colonial army from India that the Frankfurter Zeitung said on Dec. 8 that "the Turkish victories in Mesopotamia had a speedy influence upon the attitude of the entire Persian Gulf district." The official Turkish communication of Dec. 2, telling of the battle, was withheld from the public for two days by the British censor. On Dec. 8 J. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, announced that reinforcements ordered to Mesopotamia before the advance to Ctesiphon began were already arriving at the front. Apparently General Townshend ordered the disastrous advance without waiting for these reinforcements, already near at hand, to come up.

* * *

SUEZ THREATENED?

Reports from official quarters in Rome published on Dec. 17 were to the effect that allied Turkish and German forces were combining for a drive on the Suez Canal. An advance of the Turks on Aden, Southern Arabia, near the en-

trance to the Red Sea, through which the Suez Canal passes, was announced in a Turkish official statement forwarded by the Central News on Dec. 9. The advices from Rome speak of the rapid double tracking of the railway line from Constantinople to Damascus in an extension to the Egyptian frontier. The cut presented herewith shows the line



of this railway, with dotted lines for alternative courses across the desert. The taking of Suez, which has been strongly fortified, would be a direct blow at the British world empire.

* * *

NO PROSPECTS OF EARLY PEACE

"At present the enemy won't make peace. They are not yet weakened enough. We must therefore keep hammering on," Field Marshal von Hindenburg said in his interview printed by the Neue Freie Presse on Dec. 6. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg said much the same thing in his speech before the Reichstag, which appears elsewhere in this number, although he shifted the responsibility for the war's continuation in these words:

If our enemies make peace proposals

compatible with Germany's dignity and safety, then we shall always be ready to discuss them. Fully conscious of our unshaken military successes, we decline responsibility for continuation of the misery which now fills Europe and the whole world. No one can say that we continue the war because we still desire to conquer this or that country as a guarantee.

Thus Count Tisza told the Hungarian Parliament that "when peace will come depends exclusively upon our enemies." Prime Minister Asquith and Premier Briand have both discouraged the idea of peace on Germany's terms, while Baron Sonnino has signified Italy's participation in the joint agreement of the powers not to treat for peace separately.

* * *

POPE BENEDICT'S ALLOCUTION

Notwithstanding the ruin accumulating during the last sixteen months, notwithstanding that the desire for peace grows daily in many hearts and that numberless families in their sorrow long for it, notwithstanding that the Pope has tried every means that might hasten peace and allay discord, nevertheless the "fatal war still grows in fury by land and sea and threatens unfortunate Armenia with extreme ruin." These words of Pope Benedict's allocution to the Cardinals at Rome on Dec. 6 betray his reluctant recognition of a long-drawn-out struggle. Yet he repeats with renewed fervor his adjuration to calmer counsels:

Prepare for that peace which the whole of humanity ardently wishes for, that is, a peace that is just and lasting—not advantageous to one alone of the belligerent parties.

The way which can surely lead to this happy result is that which has already been tried and found satisfactory in similar circumstances, and of which we made mention in our last letter. That is, an exchange of ideas, be it direct or indirect, based upon good-will and calm deliberation and set forth with clearness, duly recognizing the aspirations of all, eliminating the unjust and impossible and taking into account with equal measure what is just and possible.

* * *

HUNGRY BERLIN AND VIENNA

While boasting of abundant corn for bread and potatoes, the President of the Reichstag in his opening speech on Nov. 30 said that in other things "there may

be some scarcity, as cannot be disputed." He trusted that the hardships caused to the majority of the poorer population "will be surmounted by the organization of the provision market." Indications of hunger in Vienna are shown by the report in the Neues Wiener Tagblatt of the Committee for the Feeding of Poor Children. In the first half of 1914 the committee served on an average 1,500 meals a day; in October, 1915, 480,000 meals were distributed, and in November over half a million, making a new average of 17,000 meals a day. Socialist speakers in the Reichstag appealed, on Dec. 2, for the virtual elimination of middlemen in Berlin, complaining of a butter famine and demanding that the Government extend the bread-card system to every form of foodstuffs.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

That the President shall report at each session of the Congress upon the state of the nation is provided by the Fathers in the Constitution. It has been remarked that in his address opening the present session no message since President Monroe's famous proclamation of his doctrine for the guardianship of the Americas has been so exclusively devoted to the greater problems of the nation, and especially that of assuring its growth with peace, with safety, and with honor. We publish elsewhere in this number the chief portions of the President's address, together with ex-President Roosevelt's animadversions thereon.

* * *

THE NATION'S EXPENSES

The American people must make up their minds to a greatly increased cost of their National Government. The two great items of prospective increase, of course, are in the military and naval establishments. The naval appropriation for the present fiscal year is \$146,619,000, while the proposed appropriation for the next fiscal year is \$211,518,000. The army appropriation leaps from the present allowance of \$103,000,000 to \$152,354,000. The total recommended increase in the cause of military preparedness is \$114,314,532. Other increases, notably

that for the maintenance of the Panama Canal and the cure of the destructive "slides" that block its passage, will combine to make the budget increase \$195,000,000 above the \$1,090,000,000 voted last year for the conduct of the Government.

* * *

THE NEW CONTINENTALS

In his annual report Secretary of War Garrison asks for 500,000 men, rebukes his critics, and pins his faith in the plan of a Continental Army. The need of compulsion is clearly expressed in this sentence: "If the nation requires certain service and offers the most favorable opportunity for the citizens to furnish such service, and, notwithstanding that it cannot secure such service, it must then resort to some method of compelling the service." He has sanguine hopes, however, that a Continental Army can be upbuilt, its members drawn from private life, put through intensive training for short periods, and be made subject to the country's call to duty in time of national peril. There should be 400,000 Continentals.

It is proposed to supplement the army that is constantly under arms by a force of 400,000 men raised in increments of 133,000 a year, obligated to devote a specified time to training for a period of three years, and then to be on furlough for a period of three years without obligation excepting to return to the colors in the event of war or the imminence thereof. For the purpose of convenience this force has been designated the Continental Army. It is proposed to recruit it territorially according to population; to have it subjected to short periods of intensive training; and in addition to what officers may be developed from its own operations, to obtain officers for it from those who have served in the National Guard, those who have served in the United States Army and are no longer upon its active list, and those who, by training acquired in colleges and schools or in other ways, have become equipped with sufficient military information and experience to make them available, and in the ways above more particularly described.

* * *

DREADNOUGHTS STILL BEST

No more striking proof of the failure of Admiral von Tirpitz to convince the world that the submarine had supplanted

the dreadnought than the communication which Secretary of the Navy Daniels, advised by his experts, sent to the House of Representatives on Dec. 14. Replying to the request of Congress, embodied in the last Naval Appropriation bill, that he furnish suggestions as to type of vessel best suited for war on the sea, he says:

My reply, therefore, to the question as to the single type of warship best suited for war on the sea is that such a vessel must possess in the maximum degree each and all of the four prime requisites mentioned in the Naval Appropriation act in connection with our battleships, which are required to be vessels "carrying as heavy armor and as powerful armament as any vessel of their class, to have the highest practicable speed, and greatest desirable radius of action." To make a vessel possessing each requisite in a maximum degree a practical possibility unlimited cost and size must be assumed, while for practical purposes the size of United States war vessels is limited by the dimensions of the Panama Canal locks. Of present and practical types of vessels the so-called dreadnought most nearly approaches the ideal aimed at in the clause of the last Naval Appropriation act.

* * *

THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

While modestly disclaiming leadership in the International League to Enforce Peace, although he is head of the American branch of the league, ex-President Taft said in a speech before the Congregational Club in New York on Dec. 13 that, at least, he was the "only ex-President who could have headed that league." He does not believe that war can be abolished so long as men are men, and nations worse than men. But when the war ends he believes faithfully that some "better method of settling international disputes will be brought about." The arbitrations of the Alabama case and of the Newfoundland fisheries claims with Great Britain have already "made a habit of arbitration with the American people as to their differences with England." It is a fact, which England's foes have remarked upon with emphasis, that the body of the American people has no thought of war now when differences arise with Great Britain. But Great Britain has not attacked the lives of American citizens. The League to En-

force Peace will bring its forces to bear toward preventing such a contingency in the case of any foreign nation. Prevent the occasion of war, and war is prevented, peace enforced.

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MR. VANDERLIP ON WAR PROFITS

That the first thing for this prosperous country to do is to make itself independent for war profits was the common-sense message of Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank, in his address on Dec. 1 to the American Association of Woolen and Worsted Manufacturers in New York. The vast foreign trade balance in favor of this country has given it an easy financial situation; a crop worth more than \$5,500,000,000—of unexampled value—has added its stimulus. The industries of the country are so nearly balanced as to be mutually supporting. When the country begins to build according to its needs it will become almost independent of foreign markets, and quite independent of the markets that are war-created. This message from the man who has lately headed a great corporation for the development of normal foreign trade with the United States is inspiring. The chief danger to its commerce, he says, is the undue political insistence of competition at the expense of economical efficiency.

* * *

INFLUENCE OF ITALY'S FLEET

The part taken in the war by Italy has been largely neutralized on land by the fact that she found her enemy intrenched along a magnificent military boundary, with full knowledge of the lessons of defense which the war had already taught. On the sea things were different. Italy has a great battle fleet. Archibald Hurd points out in *The Daily Telegraph* of London that the Mediterranean, the lifeline of the British Empire, the highway which links the British West to the British East, was not only immediately safeguarded from all danger by Italy's entrance into the war, but enabled the British fleet to make an overwhelming demonstration in northern waters in conjunction with the navy of France. If Germany had not ventured to engage

her warships with the British Grand Fleet during the first months of the conflict, by so much the more was the possibility of her challenging her formidable rival on the sea removed by the intervention of the Italian fleet.

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RESERVE STRENGTH OF RUSSIA

Accepting the estimate of a recent German writer that the total permanent Russian loss of men during fifteen months of war, including prisoners, would be 4,000,000 men, Colonel A. M. Murray in *The Daily News* of London finds a balance of 18,000,000 men of fighting age who are either enrolled or available for enrollment when called up by the Russian military authorities. That is after deducting 6,000,000 as unfit for military service. In Russia liability to military service extends from the beginning of the twenty-first year to the end of the forty-third, and, on an average, 1,300,000 men reach the age of 21 every year, after allowing for wastage in deaths and emigration. Russia has now either in the field or in reserve at her military depots from 7,500,000 to 8,000,000 men who have been fully trained. Major Moraht, the military critic of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, lately remarked that the Russians "are drawing lessons from the experience that they have acquired during the war." Of General Ivanoff in the campaign on the River Styra, he says:

He has got together artillery and pontoons, and has known how to throw a screen of fire before his military projects, just as we did on the Dunajec. He has known how to realize that "tambourine fire" (continuous hail of shells on one part of the enemy front) which the French are using on their front; he has known how to use "barrier fire"; and he has been careful, after slight checks, to fall back at once upon a war of positions. We recognize, as we have always done, the vigorous activity of the Russian command and the courage of our enemies.

* * *

WAR LESSONS FOR CHILDREN

Urging the German method of inculcating the lessons of the great war in the minds of children, Lord Sydenham declared in the House of Lords on Nov. 23 that it would not be difficult to

draw up a war curriculum for the elementary schools without encouraging German militarism in Great Britain. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a practical account, drawn from his observation of what the elementary schools were actually doing. In a typical school to which he paid a surprise visit he found that most of the men teachers had gone to the front, that the others were about to join the army, and that the boys were being taught to draw

maps of the theatres of war and to appreciate the motives behind not only this war but the wars of the past. Lord Meath, the pioneer of the systematic teaching of patriotism in Great Britain, declared that he had received more encouragement from the schools themselves than from the Government. Lord Selborne, replying for the Board of Education, reported that the causes of the war were being universally explained to the school children.

Interpretations of World Events

Yuan, Emperor of China

THE beginning of the new year will witness, for the second time within a few weeks, the coronation of an Oriental Emperor; the two monarchs, supreme lords of the Celestial Kingdom and the Flowery Kingdom, dividing between them one-third of the human race. The reason given by President Yuan Shih-kai for the date fixed for his coming coronation was naïve and humorous to the last degree—he declared that he had promised certain of the great powers that no change should be made in the form of the Chinese Government during the year 1915—therefore he fixed on the opening days of the new year as the time when he would ascend the throne. But that is far from being the only element of comedy in the exaltation of the Great Yuan; comedy has been present in abundance, from the start.

For example, the Council, which “thrice presented him a kingly crown, which he did thrice refuse,” had been previously appointed by none other than the Great Yuan himself. Adapting to his needs an expedient as old as history, that able statesman, and perhaps still abler politician, simply nominated the Nomination Committee; nominated and instructed them. For there is, at least, not the smallest element of surprise in the present events in the Middle Kingdom—so called, many a long century before, with precisely the same thought,

one of our American cities was called “the hub of the universe.” The exaltation of Yuan Shih-kai has been inevitable for years; ever since, in fact, he survived the sudden and dramatic deaths of that fiery old tyrant, the Empress Dowager Sze Tse An and her pathetic young captive, the too radical Emperor Hwang-Su—the last effective personages of the old Manchu line. For years Yuan Shih-kai had been the right-hand man of the terrific old Dowager—who was well called “the only ‘man’ in China”; her right-hand man, among other things, in the browbeating and duress exercised upon young Hwang-Su; and at the time of their sudden simultaneous death, Yuan’s enemies very openly hinted that, seeing his old protectress had only a few hours to live, and knowing full well that, should Hwang-Su regain real power, if only for a few hours, it would be hard times for Yuan Shih-kai; so, like a prudent man, he saw to it that they should both depart together to the western heaven. So said his enemies.

At any rate they died, and with them passed the last ebbing tide of the once great and conquering Manchus, who, coming down upon Peking from the northeast, from the region about Mukden, had mastered China in the years when the earliest of our colonies were struggling into being. Thereafter Yuan showed himself to be the one effective man in China, the one man who could

hold things together and exercise real authority. He lived through the protectorate of a puppet Prince; he lived through a curiously pathetic parliamentary period; he lived through a Presidency without a Legislature, and now he has his reward.

Nor is there anything in the history of China—in the three or four millenniums of that history which make China by all odds the oldest of living nations, stretching back to the heyday of Egypt and Babylon—to cast reproach on Yuan Shih-kai, because of his promotion. There is not, nor has there ever been, a sacrosanct stock in China, as there is, for example, in Japan; a royal family going back to the traditional gods. In China there has ever been in force "the good old rule, the simple plan, that they should take who have the power; that they should keep who can."

To take a few instances stretching over a couple of thousand years: enough, one would think, to establish a precedent. The Hun dynasty, beginning in the year B. C. 203, was avowedly founded on "the right to rebel." It was driven out, about 23 A. D., by a Prince of Han, by the simple, unanswerable expedient of cutting off the head of the incumbent. In the seventh century the T'ang dynasty came to power—through a poisoning. The Sung dynasty compelled their predecessor to abdicate, and then fell deep into state socialism, which paved the way for foreign conquest. The Mongols from the northern wastes overran China, and gave her one magnificent monarch in Kublai Khan, whom Marco Polo visited and Coleridge sang. The Mongols were conquered by the Mings, and the Mings by the Manchus, in 1644, the last of the Mings hanging himself as the Manchus entered the city. So Yuan Shih-kai treads no unbeaten road. He is true to type. He has conformed to the tradition. He has earned a greeting!

King Constantine and the Entente Powers

IT has been stated, but not, perhaps, made sufficiently clear, that the presence of the armies of England and France on Greek soil is, in the strictest

sense, in no wise a violation of the neutrality of Greece—not solely because of the free consent of Venizelos, while Prime Minister of Greece, but because of far older causes, wrapped up in the very existence of Greece as a modern nation. One should add Russia to England and Greece in this connection, for it was through the co-operation of all three of these powers that there came to be a Greek Nation.

Very early in the last century the then great and powerful Turkish Empire was menaced by two insurrections, which were really the first sparks of a conflagration destined to consume much of that empire—the insurrection among the Serbians in 1806 and the insurrection of the Greeks in 1821. In both these Russia, which had for centuries been warring against the Turks in what was at first a war for her own existence, played a prominent part, so that the interest of Russia in the rebuilding of Serbia goes back for more than a century. Then Great Britain and France joined in the contest, bringing the Greek war of independence to a close by the annihilation of the Moslem fleet at Navarino, at the southwest extremity of Southern Greece, that part of Greece which is called the Morea from its resemblance to a mulberry leaf.

This crushing defeat of the oppressors of Greece was followed by the Treaty of Adrianople, on Sept. 14, 1829, by the terms of which Greece was constituted an independent monarchy, through the instrumentality of England, France, and Russia. And by the Convention of London, signed on May 7, 1832, Greece was declared an independent kingdom *under the protection of* Great Britain, France, and Russia, the three great powers to which she owed the fact that, as a nation, she existed at all. These three powers included in their agreement a clause which, prompted probably by mutual jealousies, has led directly to the present very difficult situation—for them. For they bound themselves that, when a King should be chosen for Greece, members of their own ruling houses should be excluded from choice. This, of course, played directly into the hands

of the German Princes, and Otto of Bavaria came to Athens as King, and brought with him precisely the pro-German atmosphere which Greece today owes not so much to her King as to her Queen.

Otto, however, was soon abolished, and in 1862 the Greek people unanimously elected Prince Alfred of England King and sought to set up a limited monarchy like that of England. But that supremely foolish self-denying ordinance intervened, and the half-Danish, half-German Prince George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg reigned in his stead. His election as George I. of Greece was sanctioned by the Treaty of London July 13, 1863, and England made Greece a present of the Ionian Islands. But the older treaty remained, in virtue of which Greece became a kingdom under the protection of the three powers, two of whom are now, under the terms of that treaty, fighting on Grecian soil.

Kaiser Wilhelm's Balkan Adventure

IF we were asked what nation has been most grievously damaged by the triumphant progress of Mackensen's armies southward through Serbia, we should not put Serbia herself as the chief sufferer in national life and honor. While the losses of the Serbian Army have, without doubt, been severe, the misery of her noncombatants acute, (though less acute than they would have been but for worldwide indignation concerning Belgium,) yet in neither case has there been an irreparable impairment of national vitality. It is probable that when Mackensen began his drive the total Serbian forces amounted to 300,000; but for the fratricidal flank attack by Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Mackensen's task would have been much harder; yet, even with these attacks on two sides and the Austrian advance on a third side from Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is questionable whether the Serbians lost as many as 100,000 men. There is, therefore, the nucleus of a very considerable national force still in existence among the western mountains of Serbia, in the Albanian hills, and in Southern Montenegro. And these

men have shown a fiery valor, a splendor of patriotism, that promise as much for their future as a nation as did the valor of the Greeks at Marathon. The Serbian Nation, once rid of its invaders and put in possession of kindred territories—the program that will be carried out if the Entente powers win—will soon restore its life, at least as rapidly and effectively as did France when her invaders withdrew after the disasters of 1870.

No, the power that has really suffered a mortal wound in national standing and prestige is Austria-Hungary. It is absolutely true, as the new year opens, that the Austrian Army as an independent military unit has ceased to exist; it is hardly less true that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a separate political unit is definitely ceasing to exist. The very fact that after repeated failures of Austrian armies to hack a way through Serbia that feat should be effectively carried out by a German General commanding German troops, though operating from an Austrian base, marks the death of Austria's military prestige and honor.

Yet it does not follow that the Balkan venture has in any deep and real sense operated to the advantage of Germany. How does the account balance? It is notorious by now that there are two things which Germany increasingly lacks—first-class men for her line regiments and food. Does the advance through Serbia put her at an advantage in either of these respects? No, the exact contrary is the fact. She has lost in this adventure at least as many men as Serbia; the attacking power always does lose very heavily. The supplies of food she can get from Bulgaria—in reality a small country no larger than Ireland—will not go far, while her expectations from her earlier ally, Turkey, may be measured by the fact that in the trenches in Gallipoli the Turkish troops are shivering on half-rations, and both the Turks and the Bulgarians mean a drain on Germany, both in cash and in ammunition, a drain that Germany with her metal and cotton famine is daily less able to stand.

Let us suppose the case most favorable to Germany, that with the opening

months of 1916 her armies should triumphantly reach Constantinople. What would this mean, in a military sense? It is amply evident that they are not going to Constantinople merely to shut themselves in behind the Chataldja lines and stay there—something that the Turkish soldiers would view with disgust, the Turkish Commissariat with despair. They must, if they do extend their advance as far as Stamboul, hold, at the same time, all the intermediate territory, beginning with a base line stretching from Bosnia to Orsova. This will mean the necessity of occupying and fortifying a military front of not less than 1,200 miles, more than the combined Franco-Belgian and Russian fronts which the combined Teuton armies already occupy, with between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 men. The mere arithmetic of this is appalling from the point of view of Germany. But the arithmetical count does not reveal the full danger of their situation there. From the strategical side it is even worse, for, while the Franco-Belgian and Russian fronts can both be defended by Germany on interior lines—there is no longer any question of an offensive on either—the new Balkan line, at least equal in extent, is a long, narrow loop, with the scissors of the Entente Allies perpetually threatening to cut it: France, England, possibly Italy from the south, and Russia from the north, reinforced, very probably, by Rumania. And such a cutting would be irremediable disaster. It is therefore quite plain that any extension of German occupation to the southeast will constitute not an asset, but a very serious liability.

But there is a suggestion that the Balkan adventure is in no sense a finality. Constantinople is to be reached not as a final goal, but merely as the basis for further far more daring and difficult adventures—the conquest, namely, of Egypt and India. And one of the English papers, in one of those curious fits of overcandor which pose as patriotic solicitude, has gone so far as to print a map of the shortest and best road from Constantinople to the Indus. Foolish and ill-advised as this was, it is

certain that the Kaiser could make no more calamitous mistake than to accept the hint there offered. For, to begin with Egypt, the land journey thither from the Bosphorus is some thousand miles, and this means keeping open a tract with twice that frontage, for the greater part of the way assailable by sea, while the expedition to India would mean a military line of some 3,000 miles on each side, which would require an army of 20,000,000 to hold, since it would be vulnerable from the south all along the shore of the Indian Ocean, and from the north, from Russian territory, all the way from the Caspian to the Pamirs. Surely, when we come to talk of adventures of this kind we are no longer in the realm of sanity; we are dealing with delusions such as spring up in the minds, let us say, of castaways at sea, whose senses are shattered by starvation. The Balkan adventure, therefore, is more formidable for Germany, more vulnerable than either the western or the eastern front, on both of which she is losing ground.

Pan-American Preparedness

THE present war has shown that a conflict which begins with the smallest countries may swiftly include three continents. In the east the war began with Serbia, in the west with Belgium; both very small countries, smaller than little Ireland. War involves continents, hemispheres. Very well; let continents and hemispheres be prepared. And, as it happens, the one cause likely to bring war to this continent, this hemisphere, is precisely a cause certain to involve the whole hemisphere—namely, the contention of the United States that no foreign country shall have the right to establish its sovereignty, or to extend sovereignty already existing, in the two Americas.

In Cleveland's Administration, this principle—the Monroe Doctrine—brought the United States to the verge of war with England over Venezuela. That would instantly have involved the whole hemisphere, from Canada and Central America down to the great southern continent. The same thing may happen

tomorrow—is practically certain to happen tomorrow, if the power which has expressed the intention to “test the Monroe Doctrine” feels itself strong enough. Why not, then, take Time by the forelock, and act *today*? We need no military treaties. At the outbreak of the present war no military treaty bound France to England or England to Russia or Turkey to Germany; while a military treaty did bind Italy to Austria. We need only military “understandings,” such as did bind France and England; understandings with the Central and South American powers—and with Canada and the British possessions in this hemisphere, that, in case of an attack on the Monroe Doctrine, which is an attack on free institutions throughout the whole Western Hemisphere—all American nations shall stand together, *and furnish a given quota of thoroughly trained troops*. And perhaps Canada might borrow a fleet, to help. There is a good one handy.

Britain's Army of Freemen

LORD DERBY'S enlistment campaign has ended—in complete success. Advices from London announce that this success has vastly exceeded even the expectations of Lord Derby, high and confident as these were. In part because of the Zeppelin raids over London, in part because of reverses in the Near East and in Mesopotamia—these reverses being due in both cases simply to lack of men—in part through sheer force of time hammering the facts into slow minds, the people of Great Britain have awakened to the truth that they must overcome or be overcome. And, with the dogged resolution which has for so many centuries belonged to England, they have at last adequately taken the matter in hand, with the result that an army of four or five million men—free men, each impelled by his own free will and choice—is now assured.

Meanwhile, the women of England, following, in this, the earlier example of the women of France, are making shells and cartridges for that great army, making them, we may believe, with sedulous care and tireless industry—“the

shell made by the wife may save the husband's life.” In view of these remarkable results, two considerations present themselves: The first is that we have here a splendid victory for democracy, for the initiative and the responsibility of the people, for dependence on individual freedom of will, for the ultimate solution of the greatest and gravest problems a nation can be called on to face; the second is that, splendid as this result is, it reveals an element of danger, a danger grave enough for England, and likely to be finally fatal to any nation not protected by seas plowed by the strongest navy in the world.

Briefly, the citizen army of England, raised, as it has been, through a period of nearly eighteen months, and still requiring many months more before it is adequately trained, would have been hopeless and helpless, nay, would have been non-existent, in the face of such an attack as was directed against France, through Belgium, in August and September, 1914. And, it must be remembered, Germany made no complaint against France; Germany had simply come to the determination, as Bernhardt's overcandid book quite clearly showed, three years ago, that France must be crushed because she stood in the way of Germany's ambitions. Therefore, splendid as is the victory for democracy gained by Lord Derby's great success, that victory carries with it the gravest possible warning. But for other quite independent circumstances, it would never have saved England from national annihilation.

So that, if there be a question of applying the lesson there exhibited to our own problem, the great problem of national defense which is now engaging Congress, we must remember two things: First, that complete abstinence from aggression will no more protect us than it protected France—or Belgium; second, that since we do not share England's immunity we dare not count on even a year's breathing space in which to extemporize an army. We must be ready at the outset, or we shall never be ready at all. And here one may bring in a practical point—a soldier may be made,

though not very efficiently made, in six months; but to make an officer who is worth the name will take, under the most favorable circumstances imaginable, four times as long. Would it not be wise for our universities—if we are really going to take the problem of preparedness seriously—to open the new year by framing courses in the more theoretical side of an officer's training, so that we might always have, among our young university men, a sufficiently large supply of officers at least half trained?

International "Law"

THERE has been much discussion, by both sides, as to whether certain acts of the war have been legal or illegal; the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, let us say, or the British blockade of cotton and pork. The German authorities have held that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was "legal," while hotly asserting that the British blockade is "illegal," and the converse, on the other side.

No conclusion has been reached. This is, indeed, not only natural but inevitable, since the whole discussion is up in the air, and rests on a quite false use of the two words, "legal" and "illegal." A law is a perfectly definite matter, invariably distinguished by two elements: First, it is the act of a competent legislative authority, whether King or Congress; second—and this is vital—there is always a duly constituted authority possessed of the power to punish violations of the law, and bound to put that power into action: what Austen and the elder jurists call the "sanction" of a law. And, they rightly insist, if there be no "sanction," there is no law; if the executive power to punish be lacking, then we are in the presence of a proclamation, a declaration, a pious opinion; anything you please—but not a "law." Are these two indispensable elements present in what is called international "law"? If so, who or what competent legislative authority enacted international law, where and when? The question answers itself. International "law" is made up very largely of the very learned opinions of

certain writers, beginning with Hugo Grotius, and supplemented by agreements between nations, whether by treaty or in practice or at such gatherings as that which passed The Hague Conventions. But in none of these cases is there a competent legislative authority, or, indeed, any legislative act at all. Even such agreements as The Hague Conventions belong to the order of arbitrations, not to the order of suits at law. An arbitration has these three fundamental differences from a suit at law: there is no inevitable court; there is no inevitable Judge; there is no compulsion to accept an unpleasant decision; all of which elements are present in every law-case.

But the radical lack of international "law" is that it has no "sanction"; there is no competent authority possessing power to punish violations, and bound to exercise that power. Its decisions have precisely the force of pious opinions—no less, no more.

Oddly enough, the older, and now disused, conception of international law rested on a far more real basis. It was the ancient Roman *jus gentium*: the "law of nations," in the sense of "the law common to all nations": that part of law which every nation fit to be called a nation had incorporated in its own laws, however enacted. Thus, in every nation, murder, theft, arson, are crimes, defined by law and punished by law. The willful and malicious killing of the citizen of one State by the citizen of another State at peace with the first is murder, not, in the strict sense, under international "law," but quite strictly under the "law common to all nations," which was the first and sounder meaning of international law. Therefore, if we speak with exactitude, we may call the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* either a brilliant and heroic act of naval warfare, as the German Government and people call it; or we may call it a brutal and cowardly murder, as English juries called it; but the one thing we cannot correctly call it—in the international sense—is "illegal."

So with the blockade of pork and cotton; it may be arbitrary, it may be

high-handed, it may be exasperating, it may be unconventional. But in no correct sense can it be called "illegal." No competent legislative authority enacted a law in either case. In neither case is there a competent authority with power, and with the duty, to punish breaches of such a law.

Ferdinand and Bulgaria

IT is curious, but it is true, that precisely the Constitution on which the people of Bulgaria depended to safeguard their national liberties has proved their undoing, giving them over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of King Ferdinand, who is using all the resources, and shedding the blood, of his little kingdom, solely to ends of personal aggrandizement. Had the Bulgarians had constitutional usage, the constitutional spirit, but no written Constitution, they might have had a chance; but their Constitution, such as it is—such as, under astute guidance, they made it—has been a snare and a delusion; the means of giving to Ferdinand practically despotic power. We should remember that only since the Young Turk revolution in 1908 has Bulgaria been an independent kingdom; before that she was a vassal State of Turkey. Only since 1911 has her ruler borne the title of King or Tsar, (an abbreviation of Caesar, and therefore identical in origin with Kaiser;) before that he was a Prince, with the Sultan at Stamboul as his suzerain. Stamboul, by the way, is no Turkish name for the City of Great Constantine; it is corrupt modern Greek, the patois form of "Eis ten Polin," meaning simply "To Town." But to come to the Bulgarian Constitution, drawn up in May, 1893, and later amended as already indicated, in the independence and title of its ruler.

The second chapter of that Constitution defines the duties and powers of that ruler; thus, Section 2 declares that the Prince is the Supreme Representative and Chief of the State; Section 8 makes the person of the Prince sacred and inviolable; Section 9 declares that the legislative power belongs to the Prince and to the national rep-

resentatives; Section 10 announces that the Prince sanctions and promulgates the laws voted by the National Assembly; Section 11 makes the Prince the supreme chief of all the military forces of the country, in time of peace, as in time of war. He confers military rank, conformably to the law. Whoever enters military service swears fidelity to him; Section 12 gives the executive power to the Prince; all the organs of this power act in his name and under his high surveillance; Section 17 makes the Prince the representative of Bulgaria in all its relations with foreign States. He has the treaty-making power.

Now it is instantly evident that we have here precisely the powers which the King of England possesses—in name, but not in fact; because, in England, there exists a spirit of constitutionalism so strong and so all-pervading that the King is absolutely guided by it, as are his Ministers; with the result that any violation of that spirit is impossible and unthinkable. But in Bulgaria, a little nation of not very intelligent or well-educated farmers, only very recently emancipated from Turkish rule—only seven years, in strict legal fact—there is no constitutional spirit at all, nor any means or instrument through which it could act or express itself.

The consequence is that the astute half-Bourbon, half-Coburger, trained in the crafty school of Viennese policy, an avowed disciple of Macchiavelli, has been able to take the Bulgarian Constitution in its stark literalness, and has done with it exactly as he pleases. His Ministers have been his puppets—when they have not been the hirelings of foreign powers. The treaty-making power, the supreme command of the army, which the Bulgarian Constitution gives him, he has used despotically, solely with a view to his own personal advantage; and in the Constitution, as they themselves have made it, the unhappy Bulgarians have simply no redress whatever. Like the foolish children—and adults—who are perpetually getting into mischief with firearms, they have been playing with a gun, and "they did not know that it was loaded!"

Rumania's Attitude and Position

By Politicus

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EVERYWHERE people are asking: Will Rumania remain a neutral spectator, or will she participate in the war? If she should do the latter, will she join the Entente powers, or fight on the side of Germany? —Rumania will exercise a considerable influence upon the war whether she joins the fight or whether she abstains from action. As her attitude and position are perhaps not sufficiently understood by the British public, it seems worth while to study the great problem of intervention sympathetically from the Rumanian point of view.

The policy of States is guided and influenced by numerous considerations, by self-interest, and by sentimental factors, such as prejudice, antipathy, ambition, and last but not least, by dynastic aspirations and proclivities. Geography and history, political and economic considerations are apt to guide both rulers and ruled.

Geography determines history and shapes policy. Geographically, Rumania occupies an exceedingly important position. The country lies not far from Constantinople, and the Narrows which connect the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, a position which, in Napoleon's picturesque language, is "the key to the domination of the world." Napoleon's dictum regarding the strategical importance of Constantinople was no doubt an exaggeration. The great Corsican's exuberance prevented him from considering soberly the value of that much-coveted town. Still, the Constantinople position is of vast importance. It dominates not only the Black Sea and the south of Russia, but it provides at the same time the shortest and the most commodious connection between Europe, Asia, and Africa. Through Constantinople run the precious inner lines of communication, as the strategists call them, which connect the three most im-

portant continents of the world. A great European power firmly established at Constantinople, such as Germany or Austria-Hungary, can throw vast bodies of troops with lightning speed toward the south of Russia, toward Egypt, and toward Persia and India. Ever since the time of Peter the Great, Russia has striven to acquire the control of Constantinople and the Narrows in order to secure a safe outlet toward the sea, toward the Mediterranean. During two centuries Russia has endeavored to acquire, or at least to dominate, Constantinople, fearing that a strong European power, holding the water gate of the Black Sea, might either attack Russia in the vulnerable south or strangle her by cutting off her foreign trade. Since the time of Peter the Great, Russia has endeavored time after time to reach Constantinople by land. A glance at the map shows that Russia's land route to Constantinople leads through Rumania. To Russia, Rumania is therefore strategically as important as Serbia is to Germany and Austria-Hungary. The fact that Rumania separates Russia from Constantinople has determined its past history.

The Rumanians are descendants of the ancient Romans of Dacia, and they are proud of their progenitors. The Rumanian language greatly resembles Latin. The Rumanian people are in appearance similar to the South Italians, and their country is full of ancient ruins which remind them of the Roman occupation. They are Latins in character, and they consider themselves to be the Frenchmen of the Near East. The Rumanian aristocracy and the educated classes study as a rule in France, and some of the principal Rumanian papers are published in French. As their sympathies for France are so strong, the defeat of France by Prussia in 1870 filled them with sorrow and dismay, and the Ru-

manian people demonstrated noisily and passionately against Prussia and their Prussian Prince, so that Prince Charles intended abdicating.

Germany succeeded in making herself disliked by the Rumanian Nation. Bismarck desired to use Rumania as a counterpoise against Russia. He wished to make that country rather a vassal of Germany and a German tool than an ally. With this object in view he strove to create differences between Rumania and Russia so as to induce the Rumanians to seek the support of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Therefore, at the Congress at Berlin, he gave to Russia Rumanian Bessarabia, and caused bitter enmity between the two countries. In order to reduce the Rumanians to the position of humble petitioners for Germany's protection he treated the young State with brutality and contempt. German financiers, such as the notorious Strousberg, were allowed to exploit the country, and by threats Bismarck compelled the Rumanian Government to assume the financial liabilities which German speculators and fraudulent contractors had incurred in that country. Rumania was not only by threats saddled with a crushing debt, but was forced by Bismarck to give to the numerous Rumanian Jews rights which the Rumanian people did not wish to concede. Thus Bismarck made the position of Prince Charles one of very great difficulty. The Prince, who became a King after the Russo-Turkish war, was at heart a German and a great admirer of Germany, of its Government and military system, and of Prince Bismarck. He desired to make Rumania's position secure in case of a Russian attack, and as the German Government treated Rumania with undisguised hostility, exasperating the Rumanian people, he found himself reduced to the necessity of concluding behind their backs in 1883 a secret alliance with Germany, Rumania's taskmaster. Henceforward, German diplomats considered Rumania as a German vassal who, in case of war with Russia, could be made to attack that country in the vulnerable south. To strengthen their hold upon Rumania, Germany and Austria-Hungary sent to Bucharest their most eminent

diplomats as Ambassadors. Germany sent there Prince Bülow and Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter, and Austria Count Goluchowski, Count Aehrenthal, and the Marquis of Pallavicini. The Triple Alliance was in reality a Quadruple Alliance.

Fortunately for Rumania, her alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, as that of Italy, was purely defensive. As in the present war Germany had acted as the aggressor, Italy and Rumania were under no obligation to fight on Germany's side. Italy's defection was foreseen by Germany. Her enormous coast-line and her numerous islands make Italy so vulnerable that she was unlikely to involve herself in a war with England on Germany's behalf. But it was generally expected in Germany that Rumania, which is out of the reach of a naval attack, would hasten to Germany's aid. The German diplomats had reckoned without the Rumanian people. The King of Rumania considered himself morally obliged to come to the help of his countrymen. He wished to make war upon Russia. He called together a council of the elder statesmen to support him, but, according to credible report, all the leading Rumanian statesmen consulted, excepting the solitary figure of Mr. Carp, absolutely refused to make war at the bidding of their King, because they considered that a war fought against Russia on behalf of Germany and Austria-Hungary would be absolutely opposed to the vital interests of their country. King Charles was a most popular ruler. He enjoyed the greatest prestige in Rumania. If he, who had given Rumania her strong position, and who had governed the State during forty-eight years, was unable to induce the people to fight Russia in the interest of the two central empires, his nephew, who rules now, and who has not yet had time to establish a reputation, should scarcely be able to pursue a philo-German policy which is strongly opposed by the leading politicians, by the vast majority of the aristocracy and the army, and by the people as a whole.

The reason why Rumania does not desire to fight for Austria is obvious to all who are acquainted with Rumania's legitimate ambitions. Rumania wishes to



EMPEROR YUAN SHIH-KAI

Late President of the Chinese Republic, Which Has Returned to Its
Ancient Monarchism

(Photo © by Rio V. de Sieuz.)



HENRY FORD

American Manufacturer, Who on December 4 Sailed for Copenhagen to
Head a Neutral Peace Congress

remain independent. She does not desire to be absorbed by Russia, but she desires as little to become an Austrian province. German and Austrian rulers and statesmen may promise her internal self-government under the Austrian crown. They may tell the Rumanians that all the Rumanians will, with their help, be united under the Rumanian flag, provided that Rumania will consent to merge herself in the Dual Monarchy. However, incorporated in the realm of the Hapsburgs, Rumania may become not another Bavaria, but another Bohemia. The Rumanians know that the Austrian Empire is based not on freedom, but on persecution, that the Hapsburgs are, and always have been, the enemies of liberty and of nationalism, that they have always persecuted the nationalities under their sway, and that the traditional Austrian policy will scarcely be altered for their sake. Besides, they have before them the warning example of the 3,500,000 Rumanians who dwell in Austria-Hungary, and who live under a modified form of slavery. Nowadays, nations are no longer enslaved by being kept in chains, but by other means. They are disfranchised, they cannot obtain justice, they are impoverished, they are given only subordinate positions, they cannot obtain redress by the law, their education is neglected, their language is destroyed, but, on the other hand, they are weighed down with taxes and are compelled to serve in the army. That is the position of the unhappy Rumanians in Hungary.

A glance at the map shows that a greater Rumania, including Austro-Hungarian Transylvania in the wider sense, would form not only an ethnographic and a national unit, but a geographical unit as well. Geographically, Rumania and Transylvania in the wider sense form an indissoluble whole. Transylvania consists of a nucleus, lying at an altitude of from 1,000 to 1,600 feet above sea level. It is surrounded by lofty mountain chains which form almost a circle, and which convert the country into a natural fortress. Only the southeastern wall of that wonderful mountain fortress is at present included in the Kingdom of Rumania. Rumania is

known to most people only as a land which produces wheat in abundance and petroleum. In reality, it is extremely rich in agricultural and mineral resources of every kind. Maize, vine, and fruit of every description grow in abundance on the extremely rich soil, and the hills contain vast deposits of coal, rock salt, silver, copper, lead, iron, &c. The valleys of Transylvania also are extremely fruitful, and are highly mineralized. The acquisition of Transylvania would increase Rumania's population not merely by the 3,500,000 Rumanians living in that district, but by about 2,000,000 Magyars, Slavs, and Germans who live among them. Thus rounded off, Rumania, not reckoning Bessarabia, would contain about 13,000,000 people. It would be nationally and geographically homogeneous, and, owing to its favorable configuration, it would be easily developable by means of roads and railroads, and easily defensible in case of war. The acquisition of that part of Russian Bessarabia which is chiefly inhabited by Rumanians would round off the State still further and increase its population to about 15,000,000.

Naturally, all patriotic Rumanians desire to see their country rounded off and made prosperous and secure by the acquisition of the Rumanian territories outside the kingdom. But, equally naturally, the Magyars will resist the creation of a united Rumania to the death. The Magyars, although they number only about 8,000,000 or 9,000,000, have the ambition to become a great nation by denationalizing the Rumanians and Slavs in Hungary, and by extending their sway by conquest. These 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 Magyars could never hope to keep in subjection a compact body of 13,000,000 Rumanians enjoying self-government. To every Magyar patriot, the idea of a reunion of all Rumanians is an abomination, not only for political reasons, but for strategic reasons as well. The rich Hungarian Plain, which is the principal seat of the Magyar race, is protected toward the southeast by the natural fortress of Transylvania described in these pages. From the Transylvanian fortress an enemy can easily descend into the Hungarian Plain. Deprived of its

possession Hungary would stand open to the invader. To the vast majority of thinking Rumanians, statesmen, politicians, military officers, and private men, it is perfectly obvious that the German-Austrian proposals to create a united Rumania, enjoying self-government under the Hapsburg crown, is a delusion and a fraud. They clearly recognize that Hungarian and Rumanian aims and ambitions are irreconcilable, that Rumania's greatness and liberty, that the whole future of their country, depend upon Rumania's independence, that Rumania can become strong, prosperous, and independent only if she goes her own way without regard to the wishes of the schemers in Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest. All nations which are settled along a great river naturally desire to acquire its lower reaches and its mouth. For the same reason for which the Germans wish to acquire the small countries at the mouth of the Rhine, Austria-Hungary, the land of the Danube, wishes to incorporate the small States around the mouth of the Danube. Rumania bears strategically and economically a curious resemblance to Belgium and Holland. That kingdom, like Belgium and Holland, separates two great military States and lies on the mouth of one of the principal European rivers. Like Belgium and Holland, Rumania is extremely fruitful, and, like Belgium, it is highly mineralized. Rumania may, therefore, become the Belgium of the Danube. Constanza, Galatz, and Braila may become the Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp of Southeastern Europe. Rumania, which will have about 15,000,000 inhabitants when the Rumanian territories in its vicinity have been incorporated with the motherland, will have room for 30,000,000 inhabitants. When the vast Rumanian resources are adequately exploited Rumania may become one of the great nations of Europe.

Rumania sympathizes with the Entente powers and knows that she has everything to hope from their victory and everything to fear from their defeat. Why, then, has she not thrown her sword into the scales before now? The great characteristic of Rumania's foreign

policy, ever since the advent of Prince Charles in 1866, has been caution. Rumanian statesmen naturally desire to join in the war at the right moment, and equally naturally they wish to be on the winning side and to reap for their support the highest rewards which they can reasonably expect. Probably Rumania would have been wisest in joining the Entente simultaneously with Italy. It is not exactly known why she did not do so at the time, but it is believed that diplomatic shortsightedness prevented Rumania's adhesion at the time when the Russian troops overran all Galicia. At that time a little more broad-mindedness and generosity on the part of the diplomats of the Entente might perhaps have had the happiest results. The time when the Russian army seemed triumphant was no doubt the time when Rumania's aid might have been most easily obtained. But, perhaps, the Entente diplomats thought at that propitious moment that Rumania's help was scarcely necessary, that no special effort was needed to gain her support.

At the present moment the Balkan position is involved. Strategically, Rumania is in an unfavorable position. She is hemmed in by Austrian, German, and Bulgarian troops. She can receive ammunition and other war material only from Russia, and that country may have little to spare. Still, before long the Balkan position may undergo a change which will make Rumanian intervention possible. Being almost isolated it is understandable that Rumania cannot afford to strike unless assured of victory. She can probably hold the mountain passes in the north and west against all comers and detach a powerful army for operating toward the south. In such an operation she might be supported by a powerful Russian army. Everything possible should be done to convince the Rumanians by the incontrovertible logic of facts that the Allies will win, and that it will be in their own interests to join in while there is time. It must be clear to all thinking Rumanians that they can win a greater Rumania only by their own exertions.

Variety in Submarines

By Rear Admiral Degouy

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MOST people think of a submarine as a vessel that acts, moves, and fights under water. Yet what was already known to seamen has been brought home by the events of this war to many others; the submarine is a vessel that is usually on the surface and does not always fight while submerged.

One can easily see that the variety of these modes of action—navigation on the surface and while submerged, combats while submerged and while on the surface—must depend on the diversity of circumstances arising in maritime operations. But it soon becomes apparent that the capacity of the existing kinds of submarine to meet these circumstances is not what it should be. Observation of existing conditions and reflection upon them prove that what is needed is the creation of different types of submarine, each especially adapted to some one of the principal objects of submarine warfare.

Of course there are already submarines of different types in all navies, but their designers did not generally think along military lines, or, at least, did not try to have their craft solve definite tactical problems or execute concrete operations. The most done of late years was to draw a distinction between the offensive submarine and the strictly defensive submarine—which distinction appeared especially in the difference between the radius of surface action. But submarines essentially for offensive operations were not conceived yet except as "fleet submarines," since the only method of naval warfare commanding serious attention was the so-called "war of fleets." * * *

When the present war came it was not at all like what had been imagined. There was no pitched naval battle, no fine cannonade during or after which

submarines were sent out, beneath the surface, either to disorganize the enemy or give the finishing blow to the disabled ships of his fleet. On the contrary, we witnessed fleets of dreadnoughts lying motionless in defended roadsteads, defying each other from afar like the heroes of Homer, each declaring that it would "paralyze" the enemy's fleet, each justified, unquestionably, in making such a boast.

In this strange strategic state of affairs the "fleet submersible," and especially the squadrons of submarines, suddenly lost their principal claim to existence. It is impossible to conceive of a flotilla of submarines navigating on the surface of the sea unless accompanied by a fleet of warships, also navigating, operating, moving against the enemy. This not being the case, there was necessarily a return to the original conception of submarine action, viz., individual action. That at once brought up exact tactical problems, concrete operations; it was necessary to admit that the original type of submersible was not always suited to the needs that had arisen. It could, to be sure, navigate a long way from its base and withstand without too much hardship to its crew weather conditions which would have compelled the "pure submarine" to give up the fight. But these important advantages disappeared as soon as it became a question of covering considerable distances beneath the surface. * * *

So there was a revulsion in favor of the "pure" type of submarine among those who aimed only at military ends, to the exclusion of all prejudices in favor of this or that school or type.

The first serious problem that presented itself was the defense of an important port, either a commercial port

or a war base. It at once became evident that this was not a question involving great power or "endurance" in submarines. The submarine for this purpose, it was shown, should be of small displacement and of fairly circumscribed radius of action. Electric motors, even accumulators, despite their grave defects, would be suitable for such a craft, as it could frequently return with the greatest ease to its port, from which it would never go far, in order to recharge its batteries. Such a submarine, moreover, would have the advantage of operating beneath the surface immediately after leaving the port protected by it, which would be blockaded undoubtedly by a vigilant adversary by means of a first line of light vessels. The submarine must pass beneath this first line of surveillance in order to attack the deep-draught vessels stationed further out. Therefore, such a submarine should be built with a view to making trips while submerged—usually at a slow rate of speed—extending from thirty to forty miles, including the return to port, and, even though the maximum radius of action of this type is comparatively limited, the fraction of this radius allowed for operations while submerged—which are much more expensive than surface navigation—should be calculated on a generous scale. * * *

The military equipment of such a little submarine—capable, of course, of floating on the surface only to a limited extent—should consist exclusively of automobile torpedoes. Cannon would not be needed against adversaries who could be effectively attacked only while the submarine is submerged. Such submarines do not need automatic mines as part of their equipment; if certain approaches of the port have been mined by mine-laying vessels especially adapted to that purpose, this must have been done at the very outbreak of hostilities, or, more likely yet, during the period of political tension preceding it.

It is curious to recall that, a short time ago, France possessed little submarines of about sixty tons' displacement, well adapted to the purposes just enumerated. But they were condemned in favor

of larger craft. It may have been better to have retained them for the special uses mentioned above.

Let us go up a step. Some of the craft described, though remaining in the class of defensive submarines, might, it is to be hoped, be intrusted with the general protection of the coast and of essential strategic points, which are not always close to a naval base of operations. Geographic or hydrographic conditions might also make it incumbent on the defenders of a port to extend the zone of protection intrusted to submarines some distance from the port itself. For instance, in order to protect Cuxhaven, a German submarine must first cover the eighteen sea miles lying between that port and the actual mouth of the Elbe. Eighteen miles further out, to be sure, lies Heligoland, the real protection for the "Deutsche Bucht." But what I have just said applies perfectly to Emden.

At all events, the radius of action and displacement of craft like those mentioned must be increased in order to meet the new conditions. As this brings up the question of "endurance" and better conditions for the crew, as well as the necessity of recharging the accumulators, there must be a further increase of displacement, and the motor problem becomes more complicated. The tendency is toward the double apparatus, for submersion and surface navigation, the latter being used for renewing the energy of the former by means of suitable dynamos.

But no change is required for the time being in armament. The automobile torpedo suffices; one might possibly allow exterior tubes if they can be reconciled with the essential characteristics of a "pure" submarine. * * *

Having assured the defense of ports and territorial waters by means of submarines, of which one type must not exceed 100 to 150 tons' displacement when submerged, and the other, of which more is expected, may displace as much as 350 to 400 tons, submerged, one naturally thinks of extending the scope of submarine warfare to hostile waters or in more or less distant theatres of war. One wishes, naturally, to act on the of-

fensive, since this is the only means of gaining a prompt decision.

But the offensive is costly. The craft to be employed in it must be increased in size and transformed. They must differ more in type, since they must meet the exigencies of three different kinds of naval warfare—coastal war, warfare on the high seas, (operations on routes of commerce and on lines of communication and supply of the enemy,) and, finally, warfare between fleets. Let us first take up coastal warfare.

If this expression has any exact significance in so far as applicable to submarines it must certainly be the effort to win the considerable advantage resulting from surprising—by submersion, of course—the harbors where lie the enemy's ships which have returned from the high seas for rest, repairs, supplies, &c. It is a fact worthy of remark and one that will always occasion astonishment in the future that—after it was impossible to question, and after, in fact, nobody questioned—the material and moral results to be obtained from employing submarines in this manner, the proper officials *nowhere*—not even in foresighted and methodical Germany—took adequate measures in time to win such advantages.

The very difficulty of solving this problem should have led by logical deduction to providing the submersible or submarine—let us not specify which yet—with the weapon known as the automatic mine. In cases where it cannot force an important passage, it is at least expedient to make that passage unavailable to the enemy. It is useless to retort that there are mine-layers, especially adapted for this purpose, perfectly equipped and supplied with more mines than can be carried even by a submarine of large tonnage; these mine-layers, being surface craft, cannot operate at all times and beyond the protection of warships. They cannot pass within the zone of fire of land batteries in territorial waters. The submarine has no such limitation and the operation in question is one in which invisibility becomes a particularly valuable asset. * * *

Nor is that all. In addition to the question of exterior arrangements and special armament of the submarine for coastal warfare, there is that of the radius of action and general duration of submersion. * * * In order that a submarine may go, for instance, from the Aegean Sea into the Sea of Marmora, without coming to the surface in view of the coast batteries or guardships for the purpose of recharging the accumulators of the submersion motor by means of the surface motor, these accumulators must be capable of making possible, surely and as a regular thing, twelve or eighteen hours of navigation at a rate of at least 6 knots, allowance being made for adverse currents and maintenance of a speed sufficient for manoeuvring. This does not seem like asking too much, but it is, nevertheless, in the case of many submersibles, in which the duration of submersion has been sacrificed to the desire of obtaining speed and radius of action on the surface, since it is, after all, a question of weight, and we know that the accumulators are very heavy.

"They are too much like torpedo boats, too little like submarines," wrote an especially competent officer recently, in allusion to some well-known submarines, which, in other respects, are excellent engines of warfare. * * *

One may realize from the above how complex is the question of coastal operations and how necessary it is that there should be a sharp distinction between the type of submarine for coast operations and that of submarines for operations on the high seas and for "fleet warfare."

In the latter, evidently, the submersible—the type accused of being more torpedo boat than submarine—again comes into its own. It is like a war vessel and a vessel on which existence, from a hygienic point of view, is relatively easy. It has a radius of surface action and a certain amount of speed, which essential characteristics tend constantly to increase, as does also the displacement. Therefore, these craft can, on the one hand, cruise at a considerable distance from the coast, and, especially, from their base of operations, and, on the

other hand, can follow a fleet without inconveniencing it and be in a position to render decisive aid in battle.

But we must not confuse the two types. A somewhat careful examination of the conditions to be fulfilled will show differences sufficient to require that another distinction be drawn.

First, if we consider speed and radius of action, always closely related, it is apparent that the first is the more important in a fleet submarine or submersible, whereas the second is more essential in a cruising submarine. For the latter, a maximum surface speed of sixteen knots may suffice—this was certainly not reached by the submarine which sank the *Lusitania*. Such a submarine does not have to give chase to a liner, but simply place itself across the liner's route at the opportune moment. And let us remember, by the way, that liners making sixteen knots an hour are rarer than is supposed.

On the other hand, a speed of sixteen knots would be entirely insufficient for a fleet submersible—on that everybody is agreed. It must go twenty knots an hour at the least; even then, it would fall behind if the big ships of the fleet, in a serious emergency, should regulate their speed to that of the submarine. As to the speed when submerged—which now in no case exceeds twelve knots—this, too, must be greatly increased. It is a question whether submarines, even with a speed of fifteen knots, can carry out those opportune movements of concentration at some one point indicated to them by the commander on a vast field of battle, which alone can insure success. I hope that there is no longer the belief held some years ago that speed is essentially a strategic factor; it is also in the highest degree a tactical factor.

Great increases of displacement will be necessary, without a doubt, to obtain such rates of speed on and beneath the surface. Engineers who for special reasons were not always in favor of this rapid increase in size of the submersible now allow of a surface displacement of 1,000 to 1,200 tons. Since the beginning of 1914 England has been calculating on

allowing 950 tons to her ocean-going submarines. In shallow waters, naturally, submersion and even navigation while submerged may become most difficult for vessels eighty or ninety meters long and drawing eight or nine meters. * * *

What radius of action will each of these two types of submarine have? I do not hesitate to say that, for one type, it should be double that of the other. The "fleet submersible," for the very reason that it will always form part of a naval force which can replenish its supplies from a vessel especially equipped for such a purpose, may be allowed a radius of action on the surface of 1,000 miles, which may be doubled if necessary by its taking on at the base extra fuel as ballast. For submersion, which will be relatively the exception for such a craft and should last, at a maximum, only as long as a naval battle on the high seas, thirty miles at the submarine's highest speed should suffice. This is a generous estimate, as it represents two hours' navigation at the maximum rate of speed, whereas only one hour or an hour and a half are calculated for present-day submarines.

The high seas, or cruising, submarine, operating alone and far from all support, needs a much greater radius of action—2,000 miles under normal conditions, and 4,000 when extra fuel is taken on at its base. If information from a reliable source is to be believed, the German submersibles which navigated from Heligoland to the Dardanelles put forth with a supply calculated to last 3,000 miles, which, I admit, seems a good deal for vessels displacing only 675 to 700 tons on the surface and about 850 submerged. Anyhow, it is known that they did not reach their destination entirely empty, having been replenished two or three times en route. But it must be taken into consideration that, after the present war, there will probably be new international agreements which will place difficulties in the way of transactions from which unscrupulous neutrals derive so much profit and certain belligerents such great advantages.

Austria-Hungary Still Lives

By Count Khuen-Héderváry

Late Prime Minister of Hungary

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IT is an open secret that the Quadruple Entente, when it loosed the present conflagration, counted especially on the decay of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It had sought for years, by means of agents sent to Hungary and Austria, to foster dissension among the various nationalities of that empire, and, thanks to easily understood auto-suggestion, it became convinced that our monarchy would not resist the formidable shock of a Russian attack.

Events have cruelly contradicted all the politicians who relied upon the collapse of Austria-Hungary because of so-called internal dissensions; for, without an instant's wavering, the inhabitants of the two States of the monarchy faced the common danger as one man, and their intimate union has given them a power of resistance against which the imposing strength of Russia has dashed itself in vain. To the Austro-Hungarian Army fell the difficult task of meeting the first big Russian offensive moves, and the heroic struggles of our soldiers, from October to March, in the Carpathians, not only formed a dike against the Russian avalanche, but at the same time vanquished that crushing numerical superiority which was the boast, not without reason, of Russia and the whole Quadruple Entente.

The fights waged by us in the Carpathians will rank among the most glorious deeds of our armies; only posterity can do full justice to the incomparable tenacity and bravery of our soldiers. But the great importance of this struggle lies in the fact that the check suffered by the Russian Army is the first step toward collapse. The battle started by us in conjunction with our German ally on May 2, when we broke the Russian front at Gorlice-Tarnow, was, so to speak, merely a result of the weakening and demoralization of the Muscovite Colossus,

which had suffered immense and useless losses in its violent endeavors to pierce our Carpathian front. Yes, it is largely to this weakening and demoralization that we owe the tremendous success of our great offensive which dislodged the Russians from Galicia, wrested from them their fortresses along the Vistula, and prepared our victorious thrust forward to a front running from Riga to the Bessarabian frontier. At Gorlice-Tarnow we and our allies simply reaped a harvest which had been sown by the Austro-Hungarian Army on our Carpathian crests, made fertile by the abundant streams of precious blood shed upon them.

Therefore, on the one hand, this war deceived our enemies, who had based their plans on a prompt crumbling of the monarchy of the Hapsburgs and, in addition, put an end to the legend that Russia was "invincible." Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey have absolutely proved the falsity of that legend. Only a blind man would deny that it is the central powers which have proved themselves not only invincible, but capable also of delivering the blow that has felled the Muscovite Colossus, reputed to be invincible.

The intervention of Italy could do nothing to change the decree of fate. Duped by the illusion that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a worm-eaten structure about to crash to the ground, and by that other lie, reiterated by the press of our enemies, that our army was already tired out, our former ally rushed into the fight with a candid optimism whose utter futility has been proved in a manner unprecedented in military history by her sterile five months' campaign. Italy's fatal error originated in the false belief in a disunited Austria-Hungary, and the provocation of Turkey by the Entente was based on an unjustified faith in an

"invincible" Russia. And it may be said that it was for the purpose of making this invincibility even more evident that the allies of Russia undertook the Dardanelles campaign and decided—reluctantly, to be sure—to offer her Constantinople. The forcing of the strait was to crown the monument erected by Pan-Slavic arrogance to the "invincibility" of Russia.

But the military bankruptcy of Russia has been completed by that of her allies; moreover, the failure of the French and English on Gallipoli may have an immeasurable effect on world politics of the future. The first result was to remind the world that Turkey was not a "sick man," but a great power which had again found its vigor in the gigantic struggle brilliantly waged against the united fleets and land forces of France and England. Yes, the enemies of Turkey, who are likewise our enemies, have helped, against their wills, in the grandiose rise of the Ottoman Empire and in the restoration of its ancient splendor.

Impending events in the Balkans likewise prove that the first fifteen months of the war have not elapsed without bringing a radical change in the mentality of little nations. The Balkan States, like everybody else, have seen that Russia is not invincible and that the hour of their true independence has struck. Only Austria-Hungary, faithful to the political traditions of Count Julius Andrassy, took seriously the doctrine of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples." Russia, while pretending to free the Balkan peoples, sought in reality to subject them to her influence. Liberation to her meant subjection to Russian ambitions. We, on the contrary, sought only to establish relations based on mutual interests, and not prejudicial in any way to the liberty of action of the Balkan States. By our victory over Russia we and our allies have brought real freedom to those who endured the ascendancy of the Muscovite Colossus more from fear of Russia than from devotion to Pan-Slavic ideas.

Freed from the nightmare of fear which oppressed them, Balkan statesmen will no longer feel obliged to rush

continually to St. Petersburg to ask advice as to how they shall shape their policies. In future they may work in complete independence toward the realization of their national ideals, since between these and our legitimate efforts there is no antagonism whatever.

The great offensive against Serbia which we have undertaken in conjunction with Germany and Bulgaria is no more than the putting into practice of the political idea that the desires of an imperialistic Russia must cease to tyrannize over the Balkan nations. Serbia must be crushed not only in expiation of the crimes committed by her against us, but especially because she has opposed the realization of the doctrine that the Balkans must belong to those inhabiting them. Bulgaria, fighting victoriously by our side, is only trying to realize her perfectly legitimate national aspirations, and we and our allies have as our only object the creation of a stable equilibrium that will harmonize with the necessities of free development felt by the Balkan peoples.

The terrorizing pressure exerted just now by the Entente on Greece and Rumania is an edifying example of how they interpret "the liberty of little nations." I should not be surprised if, by their cynical acts, the Allies succeeded in forcing these two nations to armed intervention—on the side of the central powers. Anyhow, Rumania might well remember how Bessarabia was snatched from her, and, by retaking that province, she might think of extending her frontiers instead of committing suicide, as her false friends of today are urging her to do, in their boundless selfishness.

To resume: I think that we are on the eve of attaining our object. We have destroyed the legend of an Austro-Hungarian Monarchy about to break into pieces at the first touch of a hostile power. We and our allies have demonstrated that the belief in an invincible Russia was likewise a fable invented by the Entente. Austria-Hungary has given a proof of her vitality which has disconcerted her enemies, and the victory over Russia merely shows the justice of the cause for which she has entered the war.

Neither we nor Germany have any ambitions of conquest; it was the Allies who forced us to draw our sword in defense of the integrity of our dominions. Our foes, on the other hand, have given themselves up to the easy task of making all sorts of plans for our dismemberment, and, by remodeling the map of Europe, they have, so to speak, betrayed the secret hidden at the bottom of their hearts regarding our future—had they been victorious. This alone would suffice to show the fundamental difference between us, who seek only to defend ourselves, and the Quadruple Entente, which has caused the conflagration in order to satisfy its mad ambition for illegitimate domination.

By foiling the diplomatic intrigues of the Allies and reducing to impotence their efforts on the field of battle we have achieved our goal. The large tracts of hostile territory occupied by us and our allies, almost in spite of ourselves, should serve to protect us against the future possibility of an aggression similar to that of which we have been the victims. We are convinced that the central powers have won the game, that the prolongation of this universal slaughter will be useless. It goes without saying that, if forced, we are ready to keep up the fight, but it will be in vain to "fight to the end"—nothing will efface the failure of the Entente.

To those who maintain that France does not consider herself beaten yet, and that England, renowned as the home of obstinacy and perseverance—and hypocrisy—expects to push the war to the very last, I answer that I know the Germans never had the idea of making con-

quests in France; that only the crazy brains of certain French "patriots" have evolved the conception of an aggressive Germany seeking to attack the "territorial integrity" of France.

As to England, she also, I believe, can only lose by pushing the war to extremes. Even if she is not already completely beaten, she may be. Among the numerous illusions that have vanished at the breath of reality "the invincibility of the British Navy" is neither the first nor the last. This war has demonstrated that the future—and also the present—belongs not to the dreadnought, but to the agile submarines. Even if the construction of gigantic ships is to remain the privilege of the great powers, the smallest nation may create a submarine fleet.

The technical superiority evinced by Germany in submarine warfare has inflicted a mortal blow on that maritime hegemony of which England was so proud. Therefore, if England persists in not acknowledging the freedom of the seas and in prolonging the general struggle, she will merely hasten the crisis which will make her lose Egypt and later shake her grip on India. For it is difficult to be mistaken regarding the fate awaiting Serbia and the consequences arising from the junction of the Austro-Hungarian and German armies with those of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire. The formation of an Austro-Hungarian-German-Bulgarian-Turkish union will threaten the Suez Canal and eventually strike even deeper and be fatal to the universal dominion unquestionably exercised by Great Britain for several centuries.



On Catching Up a Lie

By Israel Zangwill

I OWE to the courtesy of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the opportunity of scotching further—killed it never can be—the lie circulated by a New York correspondent of The Observer that I had “sold and published” a two-column sneer at the British Army in a great “pro-German” American paper, stabbing my country, so to speak, in the back, and in the dark, and for thirty pieces of silver. When I say that the “pro-German” paper has published an attack from my pen on Prussian militarism, that the article now indicted appeared simultaneously in The Daily Chronicle, (to an unqualified chorus of approval,) and that so far from sneering at the British Army it is to be given in French by the Revue de France to cheer our ally, it will be seen that the “libel was tolerably complete.

And yet, as I have said, it bears a charmed life. It has set out around the world, and—with a week’s start—can never be overtaken. In vain The Observer has expressed its regret; its readers are not observers. Some will have seen the lie and not the contradiction, others the contradiction and not the libel. I did not even see it myself, though I glanced through the paper for the more official war lies, and though it was headed in large capitals: “Why Is Mr. Zangwill Allowed?” (The answer to Brudder Bones is, I suppose, “Because he will not be silent.”)

My first intimation of the libel came from a neighbor and of its seriousness from a dismayed friend who wrote: “I hear that the dinner that was given to Beerbohm Tree in London on Nov. 18 was the subject of a good deal of disagreeable talk.” That great British actor having sailed for the States before the falsehood was exposed, we perceive how the seed of error might be indefinitely and innocently scattered. Nothing would surprise me less, if the next time I have a piece at a theatre a gentleman in the

gallery hisses to avenge England—to the great relief of the critics, thus given a cue for their aesthetic principles. It is true The Observer has asked the journals that copied its accusation to copy its correction. But they will do nothing so foolish, and even legal compulsion cannot extend to statements of my demerits, which are not necessarily untrue because I omitted to sneer at the British Army.

If, as one “friendly” journal urges in my defense, “it is only Mr. Zangwill’s ungovernable passion for pose,” the passion may be there, though the opportunity for this particular pose was let slip. Or if, as another press oracle asserts, such assaults on England abroad are to be expected from “a pinchbeck genius,” galled by insufficient recognition at home, pinchbeck does not revert to gold, even if the lie be brazen. Why should these journals withdraw their whips and scorpions merely because there was no crime to chastise? If I know newspaper nature, they will not, and the only journal I have looked into bears out my foresight, for it corrects its account but not its abuse. Nor will the anonymous patriots who obscenely reviled my race on postcards now write to congratulate me on it.

No; a lie once loosed is a mephitic vapor that, like the Arabian djinn, can never be got back into its bottle.

But how came the journalist to loose the lie?

He was suffering, I take it, from pro-Germania—a malady akin to that diagnosed in my very article as espionage. The unhappy victim scents pro-Germanism in every writer who deviates by a hairsbreadth from the stupidest view of the greatest number. And if to loathe Prussia and all her works; if to watch with patriotic grief the Prussianizing of England; if to dread—as I see Magna Charta, Parliament, the press, all her great historic landmarks disappearing—that our young men who have gone

out to fight for England will find no England to return to; if to hold that the duty of us who are beyond the age for foreign service is to go to the front for the defense of England against her home-born Huns, and to preserve England for her absent sons; if this be pro-Germanism, then I must assuredly be written down a pro-German!

But it is not even necessary to watch over England—the simplest guardianship of reason, of justice, of the sense of humor, is pro-German; as if to the diseased logic of the afflicted patriot, reason, justice, and humor were German! Breathe one syllable suggesting that France, Russia, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, or Japan (with power to add to their number) are not academies of archangels, and you are equally pro-German. There was a moment—with Bulgaria balancing—when Sofia, too, was a holy city, though finally Tsar Ferdinand had a Jewish nose. Who would dare to say today what The Westminster said then—that Bulgaria was the great peasant democracy? That would be pro-German.

Fairness, in short, is the mark of the beast. My libelist confesses it openly. "A judicial frame of mind," he classes under "German propaganda." The Americans do not understand it, this observer tells us. "To be fair to an opponent argues weakness in one's own case." What a standard!

The true British patriot must assert that the German gray is jet-black and the British gray snow-white. I fear color-blindness is not my forte. But I thought if there was one thing John Bull prided himself on it was fairness. Does the ideal hold good then only for sport? Is it unimportant that a thing is "not cricket" the moment the thing is important? A wise woman writes to me: "We have befogged ourselves with talk of our governing class instead of asking ourselves if they could really govern, and

have prattled about the traditions of our public schools instead of asking if the traditions of schoolboys were the last word necessary in conducting modern life." Let us at least not throw away the one jeweled word in their traditions. Fair play, when we have to face adult problems, issues affecting the whole future of humanity!

Where was our public school tradition when our scientists and scholars shamelessly turned and rent German scholarship and science, to which they had all their lives paid homage? It is true the Germans have not "played the game" either, have, indeed, played if freely, opening up still lower circles in the inferno of war. But this is no reason why we should copy their spiritual poisonous gas, however the devil of military necessity drive us to copy their chlorine. What military advantage is there in denying their achievements, caricaturing their motives, and embellishing our own?

Where was "cricket" when we hastened to anticipate with jeers and accusations of theatricality the Kaiser's rumored design to recreate the Kingdom of Poland, though we had made the welkin ring with cheers for the Czar's identical proposal? Why do we make Turkey's German ally responsible for the Armenian massacres which she could have stopped, and hold England blameless for Russia's anti-Jewish pogroms?

This is the true "fog of war"—that we no longer see each other, that we hack blindly in the dark at the monstrous images we have made of each other. The German crimes are largely the outcome of an inhuman logic pushed to extremes by a panic of fear, and the bulk of the Germans are no more responsible for them than you or I for the deaths in the Dardanelles. When we last caught sight of their faces—on Christmas Eve, in the trenches—what was there but the lineaments of our common, our poor, pitiful humanity?



Germany Invincible and Secure

By T. von Bethmann Hollweg

German Imperial Chancellor

In his statement in the Reichstag on Dec. 9, 1915, the German Chancellor made his long-expected speech in answer to the Socialist interpellation on peace, and painted a picture of Germany triumphant on all sides and supplied with everything necessary to continue the war, even though some supplies were not abundant. The cabled report of the speech appears below.

The interpellation, which was presented in a speech by Dr. Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, read as follows:

"Is the Imperial Chancellor ready to give information as to the conditions under which he would be willing to enter into peace negotiations?"

Dr. Kaempf, President of the Chamber, read the interpellation and put the formal question as to whether the Government was prepared to reply. The Socialist leader, read as follows:

GENTLEMEN, this interpellation has attracted great attention in hostile countries, mostly of a joyous nature. The question regarding the German terms of peace is interpreted as a sign of the diminution of German strength or the beginning of the end of the unanimous will of the German people. I hope and believe that the declaration just heard and the explanation of the interpellation will not increase, but rather disappoint, the joyous expectations of our enemies.

The interpellants certainly desire a speedy opening of peace negotiations. From the statements of Dr. Scheidemann, sounded out of anxiety, we might dodge the possibilities of an honorable peace and reject reasonable proposals of peace, made to us only because we wished to retain all the conquered territories, or even add new territories thereto. I must admit that the previous history of war naturally leads to his suggestion to make an end to the war and proclaim openly under what form the German Government conceives peace.

We have gained enormous successes and deprived our enemies of one hope after another. So long as hope in Bulgaria beckoned and Turkey remained without connection with the central

powers, we could not expect our enemies to abandon the hope of a reverse of decisions of arms in one way or another.

After the alliance of Bulgaria had become effective; after the great success in Serbia; after the opening of the road to our Turkish allies, with the involved threat against the most sensitive spot of the British world empire, must not our enemies realize more and more that the game for them is lost?

Must not many a man among us, who sees that the war will not end to our disadvantage, ask himself the question, why further sacrifice? Why does not the German Government offer peace?

In reality none of our enemies has approached us with suggestions of peace. Our enemies have rather considered it to their interest to attribute to us falsely offers of peace. Both facts have the same explanation—self-deception beyond compare, which we would only make worse if we approached them with peace proposals, instead of waiting for them to come to us.

If I am to speak about our own peace conditions I must first examine the peace conditions of our foes. In the first intoxication of hopes which they believed they could proclaim at the beginning of the war, they set up the broadest goals of the war, and proclaimed the destruction of Germany; England was willing, if necessary, to wage war for twenty years. The people there meanwhile have become a bit alarmed at the possibility of a war of that length. Their final goal, despite intermediate events, remains the same.

The speeches in the House of Lords, to which Dr. Scheidemann has referred, have found scarcely an echo in the British press, but, on the contrary, have

evoked only a statement of the wildest aims of the war.

The attitude of the enemy Governments is, however, fully decisive. Mr. Asquith announced in his Guildhall speech that the objects of the war are the same now as at the beginning, namely, the freedom of the smaller States, notably Belgium, and the destruction of Prussian militarism.

I need waste no words over the freedom of the small State. The world has lent credence for a year to this English philanthropy, but will be cured after Greece. So will the smaller nations, probably. Since England fights for them, the small States are having a hard time. We in Germany have known from the first day that the protection of small States concealed a desire to finish, once for all, with the big power whose development has been followed so long with envy and disfavor. That is what is called the destruction of Prussian militarism.

This British "parole" has been adopted by all the allies. Sazonoff, Briand, and Viviani have declared repeatedly that they will not lay down their weapons before Prussian or German militarism is crushed.

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg took up the alleged press campaign against Germany, which he said had been deliberately employed to deceive the people of the hostile countries. Nevertheless he realized that no victories had been won through such methods, but there was evidence of military and diplomatic defeats on every hand. He continued:

But the Catonian cry, "Germany must be destroyed," must be kept up. Our enemies have so nailed this to the mast that they cannot get rid of it. Therefore, further hundreds of thousands must be driven to the slaughtering block.

The latest weapon for stirring the blind rage for war is the hope of our exhaustion. We are fully united in the knowledge that our food supplies are adequate, and the only question is of dividing them properly. The district reaching from Arras to Mesopotamia cannot be crushed economically.

If not a shortage of food, then one of

raw materials is to crush us—but we are provided with everything necessary for a prolonged war.

It is noteworthy that the same France, which is now mobilizing the class of 1917, and which has already thrown in the class of 1916 to a great extent, ventures to speak of the exhaustion of Germany's supplies of men. We have not gone so far in mobilization as Russia, nor, like France, extended the age service beyond the forty-fifth year. With the number of men liable for military service still at our disposal, we are not thinking of extending this limit. Our losses are not only relatively but also absolutely smaller than the French.

Referring to the bitterness of feeling displayed by the enemies of Germany, the Chancellor said:

To what point of hatred this has led is shown in the horrible case of the Baralong, that shameful deed of a British warship sailing under the American flag, whose crew murdered in the most atrocious fashion the helpless sailors of a German submarine.

This frightful deed of murder has up to the present been completely ignored by the English press. Was it due to shame? We do not know. The Britons have ever been proud of the spirit in their navy. Can they answer for this cold-blooded murder of helpless men? It will remain for all time as an ineffaceable blot upon the history of the British marine.

I will not draw general conclusions from this case, although the British press contains frequent evidences of an extremely brutal view of the work of war. I need to recall only the report in The Daily Chronicle (London) from headquarters, in which the sport of British soldiers in slaughtering German soldiers is portrayed and held up to praise in such shocking terms that I hesitate even to utter the words used.

For to no German soldier is the killing of an enemy a joke or sport.

When history finally passes her verdict upon the responsibility for this most frightful of all wars, she will uncover the horrible evil which hatred, ignorance, and falsification have erected.

So long as this mixture of guilt and ignorance dominates the feelings of the hostile nations and their leaders, every tender of peace on our side would be folly, which would not shorten, but lengthen the war. The masks must first be dropped; our enemies are still waging a war of destruction against us.

With theories and declarations regarding peace we make no progress. Whenever our enemies approach us with peace proposals which are in consonance with Germany's dignity and securities we will always be ready to discuss them.

In full consciousness of the success in arms which we have attained, we disclaim responsibility for the continuance of the misery which is filling Europe and the world. No one may say that we wish to prolong the war unnecessarily to conquer this or that country as a guarantee.

In previous speeches I sketched the general aim of the war. I cannot be more definite today, or say what guarantees the Imperial Government demands, for example, in the Belgian question, or what combination of powers seems necessary as a foundation for these guarantees.

Our foes must tell themselves one thing—the longer and bitterer they wage this war against us, the greater will be the necessary guarantees.

If our enemies wish to erect a barrier for all time between us and the rest of the world, I should not be surprised if we arranged our future accordingly that neither in the east nor the west might our foes control the entrance gates through which they might attack or threaten us anew.

It is well known that France granted loans to Russia only under the condition that it develop its Polish fortresses and railroads against us; also that England and France regarded Belgium as their route of advance against us. We must protect ourselves politically and militarily against this, and also insure our economic development. What is necessary, therefore, must be attained; and I think there is no one in the Fatherland who will not work toward this goal. We must preserve full freedom of decision regarding the means to this end.

As I said on Aug. 19, we are not the

ones who are threatening the small nations. We are battling in this struggle, forced upon us, not to subjugate foreign nations, but to protect our life and freedom. This war remains for the German Government what it was in the beginning and what has been maintained in every pronunciamento—a defensive war of the German Nation for its future. This war can only be ended in a peace which, so far as human foresight reaches, will give us security against a recurrence. We are all united in this aim. That is our strength and shall remain so to the end.

"GERMANY CAN WAIT"

In his speech, opening the session, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg explained the military situation on all the fronts and declared emphatically that Germany could not be starved out. The country had enough food, if properly distributed. Germany's enemies, he said, were suffering more than the Germans and paying higher prices for food.

Rumors that Germany is on the verge of a collapse, said the Chancellor, and the attribution of a peace mission to every prominent German who goes abroad, Prince von Bülow, Prince Maximilian of Baden, Dr. Solf, Secretary of the Colonies, and Cardinal von Hartmann, (reports in which there is not a word of truth,) are all part of a deliberate campaign to keep up the spirits of the enemy peoples in the face of repeated defeats.

There is not a weak point in the German reckoning. If our enemies do not choose to accept the situation and end the war now they must do so later. Germany can wait.

Turning to the military situation, the Chancellor said:

In order to induce Bulgaria to fight for the Entente, Serbia was asked to make a territorial concession to which she was not inclined. Thus our enemies remained at variance. The justified national demands of Bulgaria in Macedonia after the last Balkan war were considerably restricted in favor of Serbia. Left in the lurch by Russia, Bulgaria, who bore the main burden of the war, had to see the fruits of her victories fall to her Serbian neighbor. Ser-

bia was to be given preference before all others because she was to be advanced as the power against Austria-Hungary.

Now King Ferdinand has redeemed the pledge which he made to his people at the end of the second Balkan war, that the Bulgarian colors which then, after glorious fighting but severe disappointment, were folded up, should be flying free over the country lost at that time.

Serbia, instead of seeking an understanding to save the country from the sacrifices of a fresh campaign, decided not only to oppose the united attack of the allied German and Austro-Hungarian armies, but also to attack her eastern neighbors.

Our troops have fought brilliantly in the Serbian mountains, overcoming all hardships. We tender to them our warm thanks, as well as to our loyal Austro-Hungarian comrades and to our newly won friend the Bulgarian Army, which by our side is winning its due place in the Balkans.

With heroic bravery the Turks have held watch over the Dardanelles, the fall of which Mr. Asquith prophesied in the Summer. Today the Dardanelles stand firmer than ever. Also at Bagdad the Turks have given a perceptible blow to the English.

The opening of the way in the Near East is a landmark in the history of this war. Direct military connection with Turkey is of inestimable value. Economically, the imports from the Balkans complete our supplies in the most welcome manner. Prospects, moreover, for the future are full of promise.

Thanks to the foresighted policy of King Ferdinand, a firm bridge has been constructed between the indissolubly allied Kaiser powers, the Balkans, and the Near East. After the conclusion of peace this bridge will not resound with the tread of marching battalions, but will serve for works of peace and culture.

Vigorous applause followed this remark, and Dr. Liebknecht interjected, "and of the Deutsche Bank," which occasioned a great commotion.

Continuing, the Chancellor said:

In the reciprocal exchange of our goods we shall strengthen the friend-

ship consolidated by the comradeship in arms, not in order to stir up nations against each other, but in order to participate actively in the rise of countries and peoples desirous of vigorous development. What our adversaries have lost politically and militarily in the Balkans, they are now attempting to compensate themselves for by a policy and actions of violence against neutral powers, thereby remaining true to the principles which they have followed from the beginning.

Now it is Greece's turn. The Entente asserts at first that when the Entente's troops were landed at Saloniki, Greece had asked for their assistance. Meanwhile Venizelos (ex-Premier) has himself expressly declared in the Greek Chamber that the landing of the troops at Saloniki had no connection with the earlier inquiry as to whether the Entente could place in readiness 150,000 men for the assistance of Greece against Bulgaria.

Arbitrarily England and France began disembarking troops at Saloniki and proceeded with the landing in spite of the energetic protests of the Greek Government. Now they are behaving there as masters of the country. We are now witnessing the interesting spectacle of how the combatants of Prussian militarism employ the dominating power of the British fleet as a brutal menace to compel the Greek Government to violate its duties as a neutral. At first the promise of benevolent neutrality was extracted. When the principle was admitted they proceeded to interpret it. From Greece was demanded the withdrawal of all Greek troops from Saloniki and its surroundings, free disposal of the port for establishing military defensive measures, the transferrence of the Greek railways and roads to the frontier for military transports, and freedom for military measures of all kinds of Greek territorial waters. That is what the Entente understands by benevolent neutrality.

The Greek Government, despite the difficult situation, is resolved to continue to preserve the neutrality which corresponds to its desire and which takes into consideration the dignity, independence,

and interest of Greece. The matter is not yet concluded.

With cunning stage management England impressed on the world the idea that in noble unselfishness it took up arms for the sake of a violated Belgium and was called upon to inflict punishment on Germany for this act of violence. England succeeded in making capital out of that, but in time she had to give up Belgium as the motive for war.

It became publicly known, too, that Great Britain's encircling policy, which had been carried out without the previous knowledge of Parliament and the assumption of obligations toward France, which was chained to Russia, had so bound the hands of the British Cabinet that when Russian mobilization unchained the war, Sir Edward Grey resolved to join in it, whether willingly or reluctantly, I offer no opinion. The Times newspaper was the first to admit that Belgium was not England's motive for war. All the more persistently did England continue to denounce us to the neutral world as a treaty-breaking nation, lusting for power and compelling the world to submit to its militarism, which must be destroyed.

Whoever pursues a policy of oppression, such as the Entente is now pursuing toward Greece, can no longer play the hypocrite. This we shall repeat before the world as often as England tries to hide her true features behind a cloud of calumny.

In an article on Nov. 13 The Westminster Gazette openly admitted that England had taken up arms against Germany because that was the only way in which Germany could be mastered. The world knows now at least the reason for which, at England's command, this murder of nations continues.

Returning to the military situation, the Chancellor said:

In the east our troops with the Austro-Hungarians are occupying a far advanced and well consolidated defense. The position of Russia is always ready for a further advance. In the west, it is true, the French and British, with the greatest defiance of death, have squeezed

in our front at some points, but the irruption, which was to be forced at all costs, failed, as all previous attempts had failed.

The Austro-Hungarian defensive positions against Italy are firmly intact. In Austria's heroic defense against continual attacks the Italians have been repulsed with gigantic loss of life. Italy shoots to ruins peaceful towns whose deliverance she made her task. This will hardly compensate her for her military failures.

In Belgium the economical situation is almost normal. Industry and commerce have been reinvigorated; monetary matters have been regulated. The post railways and shipping roads are in operation, the production of coal is increasing, and reached in the last quarter almost three and a half million tons. Unemployment is being checked, but it is impossible to bring the labor market to its normal state because England is strangling Belgian industry by closing its overseas export.

In Poland, Lithuania, and Courland we found terrible destruction caused by the Russians—a state of complete dissolution. We created new police and municipal laws and sanitary organization. Never in history, when so many millions are fighting in a life or death struggle, has so much peaceful work been accomplished behind the front.

Economically we have sufficient provisions, if rightly distributed. This is a fundamental determining factor. The enemy is paying higher prices than we for important foodstuffs.

From our military and economical situation our enemies conclude that we are near an immediate collapse and are begging for peace. To Prince von Bülow in Switzerland, Dr. Solf at The Hague, Prince Maximilian of Baden at Stockholm, and Cardinal von Hartmann at Rome were attributed missions to mediate for peace. They also said after our Serbian successes that the German Emperor was going to Constantinople in order to dictate peace from there. There is not one word of truth in all these legends. This press campaign

began when the Entente policy in the Balkans threatened to collapse and the enemy attempts to break through in the west failed.

I have tried to give a clear description of the situation in the theatres of the war. Against the logic of facts even our enemies can do nothing. Our calculation shows no flaws, and there are no uncertain factors to shatter our firm confidence. If our enemies are not inclined to yield to facts they will have to do so later.

The German people is unshaken in its reliance upon its strength, which is invincible. It would be an insult to try to make us believe that we, strong from victory and standing far out in the enemy's country, should be inferior in endurance, activity, and internal moral power to our enemies, who are still-dreaming of victory.

No, we shall not yield to words. We shall resolutely carry out the war which the enemy wanted, in order to complete what Germany's future demands from us.

Crosses

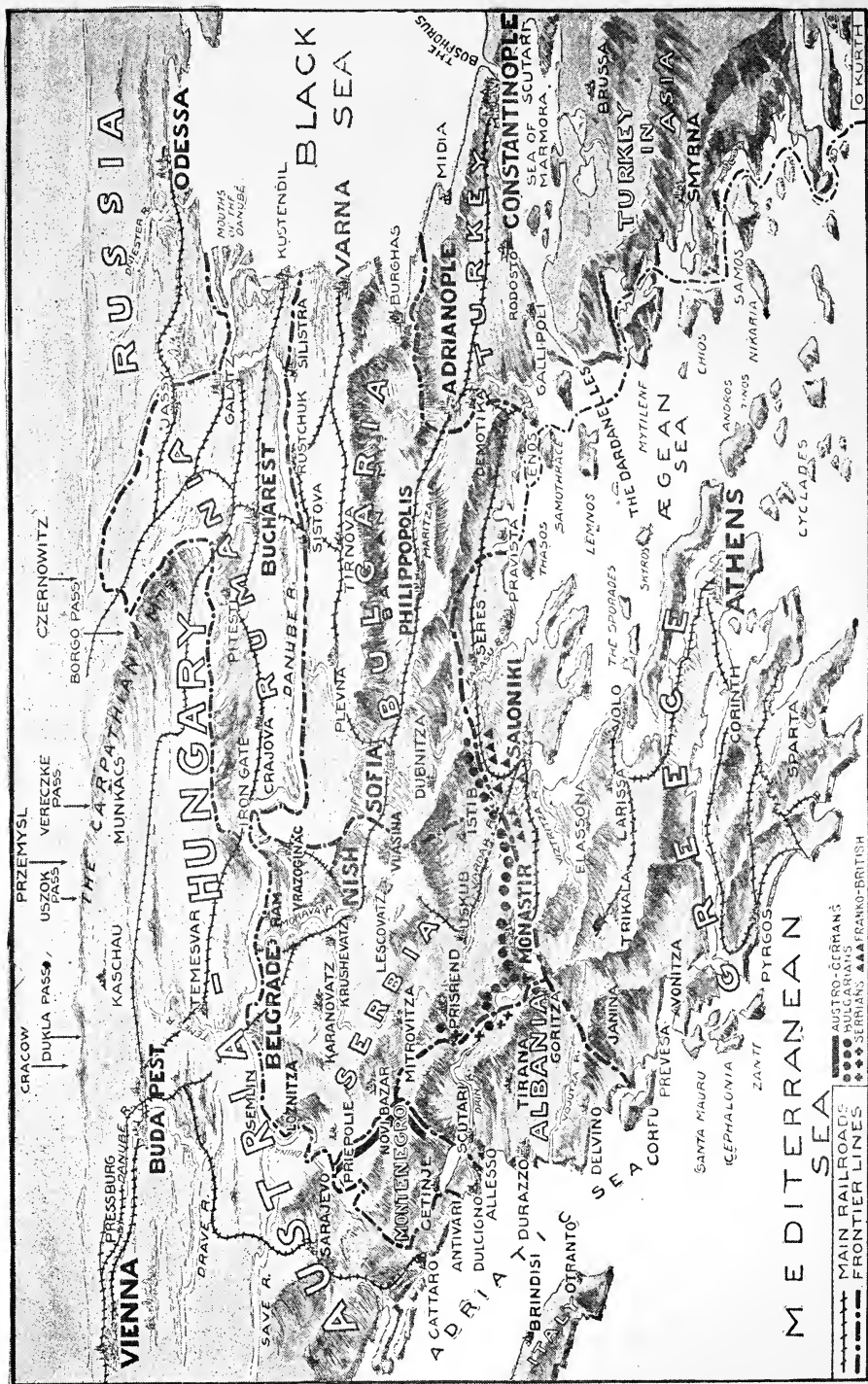
By BEATRICE BARRY

There is a cross—a cross of iron,
The gift of an iron hand.
Who wears it over his iron heart,
He must relentlessly do his part
For the sake of the Fatherland,
And deal, with bullet and bayonet thrust,
Death and despair—alas, he must!

There is another cross; it is
Simply a cross of red.
Who wears it knows neither friend nor foe,
But pity only; and to and fro,
In the wake of the carnage dread,
He is swift to carry relief from pain,
And, to the tortured, strength again.

Working to save, salvation's own
Sign he may fairly don.
The bursting shells and the shrapnel dust
Fall, all unheeded; if die he must,
He will die—but his work lives on;
He is tender, tireless, and none more brave;
Fighting always—to cheat the grave.

If it is true a day is due
When reckoning shall be made,
Who then will face the tribunal dread,
Among the ranks of the risen dead,
Calm, steadfast, and unafraid?
In the dawn of that Resurrection Morn,
Which cross *then* will be proudly worn?



See Key Above for Positions of Austro-German, Bulgarian, and Entente Forces on December 15, 1915

Situation in the Balkans

Second Phase of the Campaign Following the Germanic-Bulgarian Victory Over Serbia

WITH the capture by Bulgarian forces of Prisrend, in western Serbia, near the Albanian border, and the surrender of Monastir in the south—both admitted in London on Dec. 1, 1915, the Teutonic-Bulgarian allies had thoroughly disposed of the Serbian army. A very small fraction of the Serbian forces was able to form a junction with the British and French in Macedonia; the remainder by Dec. 19 had scattered in guerrilla bands among the wild hills of Eastern Albania and Montenegro. On Dec. 10 the press in London announced that the British and French forces in the southeastern part of Serbia were retiring before the onslaughts of superior forces of Bulgarians. By Dec. 16 they had retreated entirely across the Greek frontier and close to their strongly fortified base at Saloniki, where reinforcements were reported to be arriving daily.

The presence of the still mobilized Greek army at Saloniki, and the question whether Greece would permit the armies of the Teutonic powers and of Bulgaria to cross her neutral frontier formed problems that were acute, even after the report from Berlin on Dec. 4 that Greece had assured the Entente Allies the use of the Saloniki-Glevegli Railroad and the other Macedonian railways from Saloniki to Monastir and from Saloniki to Okschiliari, besides Kavala Harbor. But that furnished to the Entente an extensive theatre of operations, which it guaranteed to return to Greece after the war, and in a dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated at Saloniki on Dec. 14, Richard Harding Davis said:

Two months of debate and uncertainty were concluded at 4 o'clock this morning when the Greek Army began the evacuation of that strip of Greek territory stretching from Dolran to Saloniki.

This ends a situation of the greatest embarrassment to the British and French armies here. Instead, as stated in the

German communiqués, of the Anglo-French leaving Saloniki, it is a sign that they have just begun to fight. It is the clearing of the prize ring.

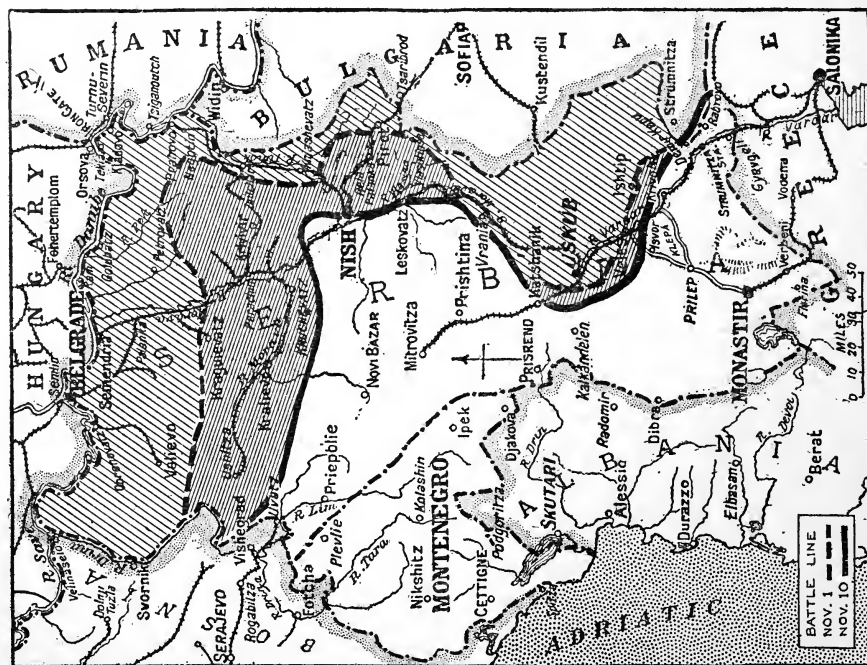
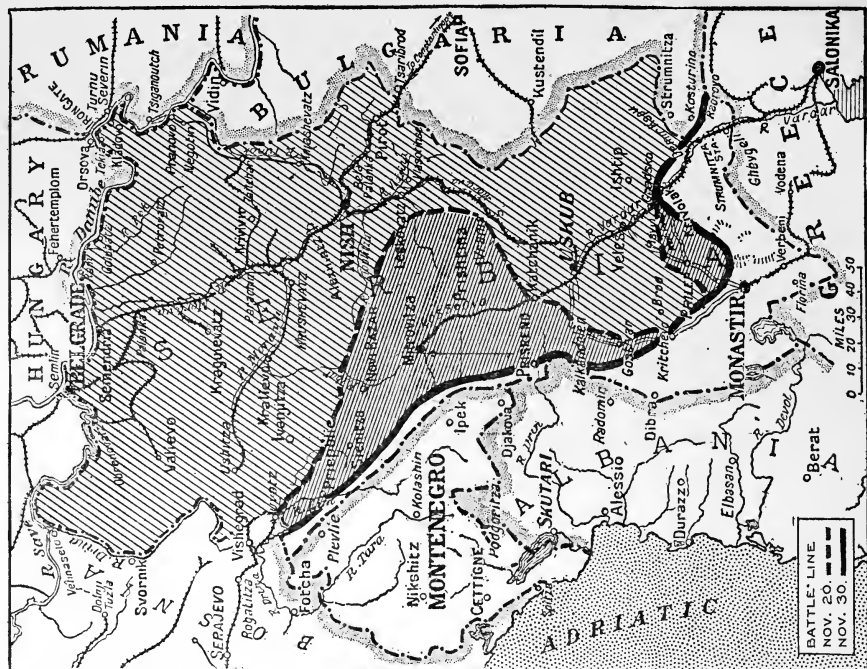
The Allies now control the customs.

The enemy's Consuls are expected to leave at once, the spy nuisance will end, and except for one battalion of Greeks remaining as a sign of Greek sovereignty the entire Greek Army will withdraw eighty miles west.

Since sunrise an unbroken column of Greek regiments has been departing with artillery, cavalry, pontoons, ambulances, and thousands of ponies and donkeys carrying fodder, supplies, and tents. The sidewalks are invaded by long lines of infantry. The water front along which the column is passing is blocked with spectators of all nationalities.

Dispatches to The Daily Mail of London from its Athens correspondent on Dec. 18 estimated the total available Germanic forces near Saloniki at 200,000. The London Morning Post's Athens correspondent said the fact that action to drive the Allies from Saloniki had not yet begun was attributed in diplomatic circles to the necessity in which the Germans found themselves of concentrating sufficient forces, repairing of communications destroyed by the Allies and Serbians, and of bringing up sufficient supplies of munitions. The Mail's correspondent also sent a report that the intended German reinforcements had been diverted to Rustchuk, to meet the expected menace from Russia. The second great phase of the Balkan campaign had begun with Saloniki strongly fortified, with the backing of warships; the strengthening of the Entente's position at Gallipoli; the presence of a powerful Russian army on the Rumanian border, and the placing of Egypt in a state of defense.

Rumania is today the most potent influence in the East. She can put into the field an army fully as great as the combined Teuton-Bulgar army now in Serbia, and holds a strategical position



Maps Showing the Rapid Occupation of Serbia by the Austro-German and Bulgarian Armies. Serbia's Area is 18,650 square miles; its population in 1910 was 2,688,747.

which would enable her to strike wherever she can be most effective.

The overrunning of Serbia is sure to deeply impress Bucharest, and before the Entente Allies can hope to see the Rumanians fighting under their banner, they will have to send enough men to the Balkans to keep the Bulgarians busy and prevent Rumania from being struck in the flank and rear. In this may be found the true answer as to why Russia

was preparing an invasion of Bulgaria during December. If Russia really does send 350,000 men into Bulgaria, the Serbian campaign in so far as it affects Sofia will have to be abandoned. The Bulgarians cannot muster more than this number all told. And once the Russians have landed on the Danube, unless the Bulgarian forces were drawn from Serbia to resist them, they would be in Sofia in six weeks' time.

Gorizia and Its Battle Front

Campaign on the Terraces of the Julian Alps to December 18, 1915

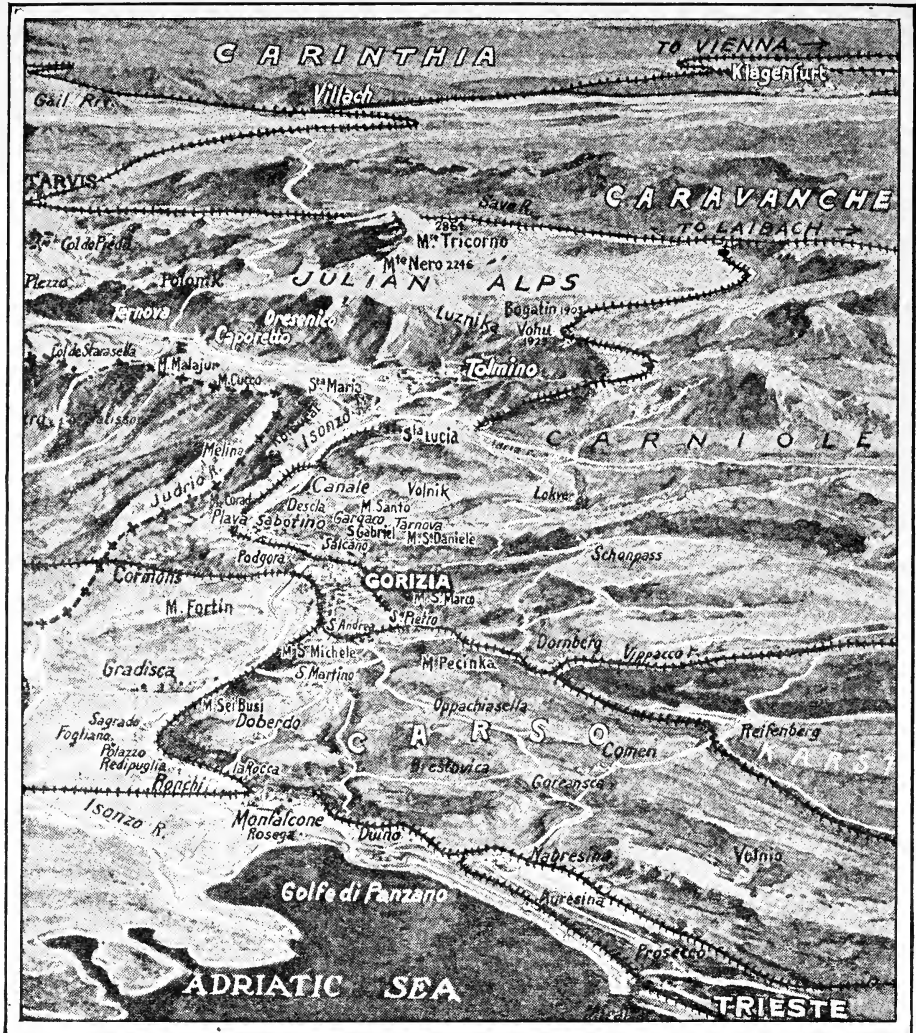
TOLMINO, Gorizia, and Trieste are the keys to the doors of Klagenfurt and Vienna. In 1797 Napoleon needed only one, Gorizia, which had taken him to within 100 miles of the Austrian capital, when peace cut short his march. But tactics, if not strategy, have changed since then. Now, on account of gigantic howitzers and long-range naval guns, the key of Gorizia would be useless without those of Tolmino and Trieste.

Will the first sign of exhaustion among the Teutons be betrayed by the taking of Gorizia? Insistent reports from neutral diplomatic sources have been to the effect that Emperor William's recent visit to Vienna was to dissuade Emperor Francis Joseph from concluding a separate peace with Italy. That he could not do this without the concurrence of all the Entente powers was emphasized by Baron Sonnino's statement in the Italian Parliament on Dec. 2 that Italy had signed the joint treaty of the powers pledging not to conclude a separate peace. Meanwhile, on Dec. 1, the official Austrian report contained the significant words that, if humanly possible, the Italians "will, at all costs, force a victory near Gorizia."

Italy had seemed thus far not to be making much progress in her campaign.

The reason is obvious. The superiority of defensive operations by trench warfare had been demonstrated in France long before Italy declared war on Austria. To the immense natural advantage accrued from having the Alps as her boundary line, which must be scaled and pierced by an invading Italian army, Austria had time to fortify them with formidable trench works. The Isonzo, her most vulnerable line, is defended by the powerful terraces of the Julian Alps, rising on three sides before Gorizia, the plateau of the Carso forming the southern tier. Now the town and spur of Podgora, which gives command of Gorizia, are in Italian hands, and the heights of Oslavia, which also dominate the bridgehead, have been taken.

Had Austria's forces not been worn very thin by withdrawals to many fronts the Isonzo could have been easily defended, and Plava and Monfalcone would never have been yielded to Italy. At the present conjuncture Italy has made impossible what should have been a formidable invasion of her own territory from the Alps, and, having pierced Austria's Isonzo line at the centre, she is preparing either to force a retreat of the inferior Austrian troops—Austria's best troops were long since destroyed—or to roll them up and defeat them in detail on both flanks. This, possibly, explains



Region of Italian Operations About Gorizia.

the perturbation of Emperor Francis Joseph.

The town of Gorizia is like the orchestra of a Greek theatre, the stage being the vast rolling fields stretching southward, on the east Isonzo, to the foothills of the Monte San Michele, while the audience may be imagined as occupying the half-encircling mountains to the west, north, and east—the three summits of the Podgora heights.

Into this audience the Italians sud-

denly threw themselves on Nov. 23, and secured what may be considered a box commanding the entire auditorium as well as the broad approach across the stage. It was then that they captured the highest of the three peaks of the Podgora, Monte Calvario. With Italian guns on this peak there has since been expected an exit of occupants from the entire theatre, not perhaps without the assistance of the infantry operating from the stage.

Russia's Winter Prospects

By a Military Expert

IN the latter part of last July, when it was evident that the Teutons' "scissor movement" would cause the fall of Warsaw, none of the military critics of this country thought the Germans would push further east. With the fall of Warsaw, it was argued, they would hold what is probably the strongest defensive line to be found in any of the war theatres—the line of the San, the Vistula, the Narew, and the upper Niemen. The logical step, as it appeared at that time to our critics, was for the Germans to intrench on this line and to act purely on the defensive while turning their strength westward into France.

Other considerations, however, moved the German General Staff to adopt a different plan. The very demoralization of the Russian forces, coupled with a well-known shortage of ammunition, indicated the possibility of eliminating Russia entirely from the conflict.

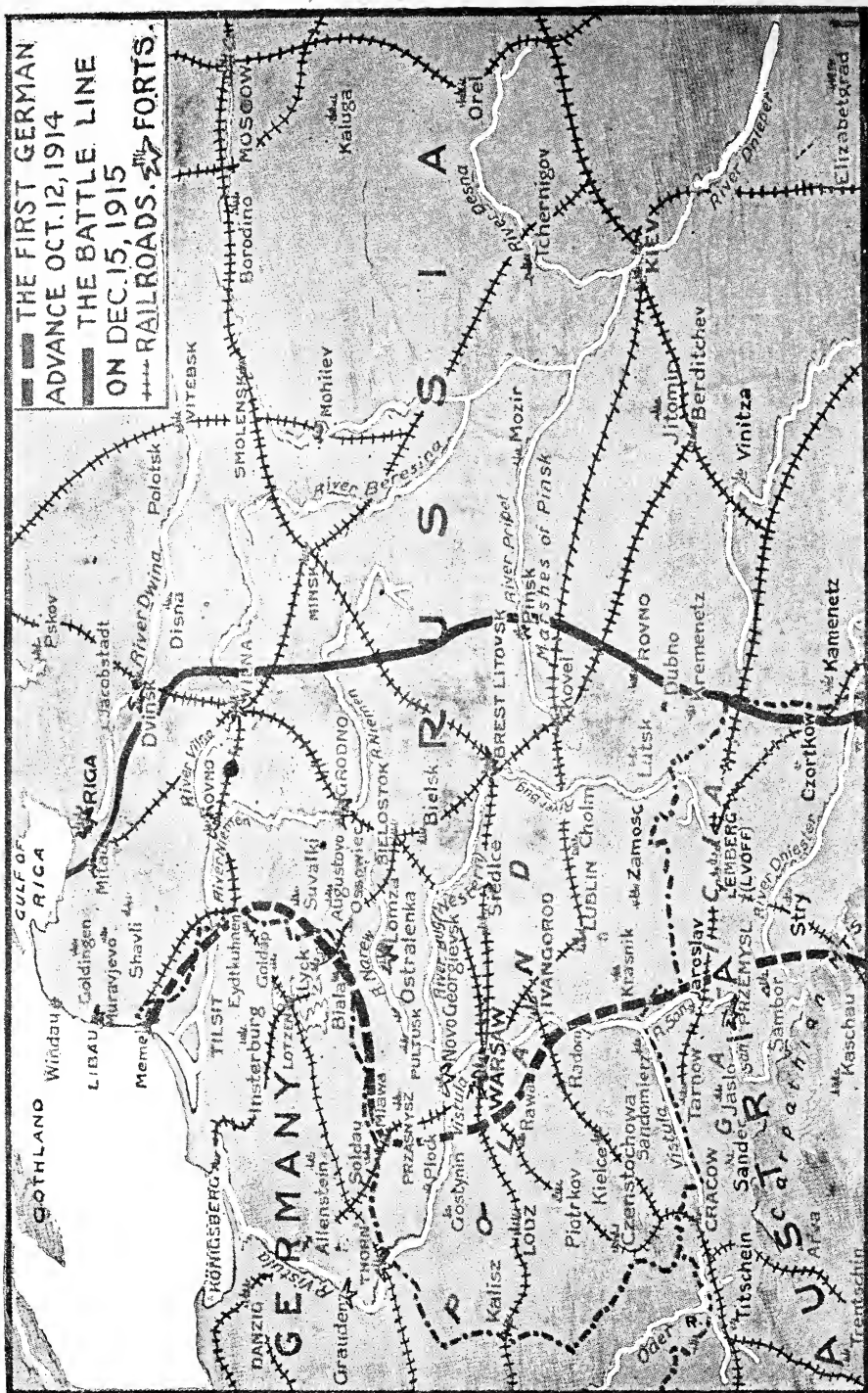
Germany, therefore, decided to push on and take the chances of beating Russia to her knees. By this decision the German Army was condemned to an indefinite offensive. The Russians were driven back mile after mile, and in a short time the Germans held the entire railroad line through Vilna, Grodno, Brest-Litovsk, and Kovel. Again an opportunity was presented to Germany to intrench and strike against the west. Almost all of Poland was in German hands, her own borders were absolutely safe from invasion—in fact, for many months to come there was nothing to fear from the only one of Germany's enemies who, while it can be defeated, cannot be crushed.

The temptation was too great to be resisted. Visions of the capture of Petrograd were before the German eyes, the prize which the genius of Napoleon

could not reach was almost within their grasp. Once again a north and south railway, in a country where good highways are almost unknown, was abandoned and a drive to the next line of railroad, fully 200 miles distant, was started. The Russians were driven back as before, but before the line of the railroad was reached something happened, and the Russians held fast. The German drive was ended.

The German problem on the present front is a peculiarly difficult one. Of the two north and south or lateral railroads in this part of Russia one is behind the Teutons at least 200 miles—much too far in their rear to be of service—the other is held for the most part by the Russians. Several railroad lines come up perpendicular to the front from the field bases. These roads are adequate to transport the needed supplies to certain specified points on the line. But when supplies reach these points the facilities for distribution break down, for not only is there no lateral railroad, but lateral highways are few and incapable of bearing heavy continuous vehicular traffic.

Germany, then, is dependent almost entirely on the dirt roads in a country where good roads are unknown. When the heavy snows come and these roads cannot be traveled, the question naturally arises, can Germany remain on her present line all Winter or will she have to retire in order to obtain the benefit of the line in her rear, through Vilna, Grodno, and Brest-Litovsk? Germany alone can answer, but the problem is an ever present one, growing more acute with each day that passes. In fact, rumors have been plentiful to the effect that Germany is already preparing the last-named line for occupancy preparatory to falling back.



Battle Line on the Russian Front, December 15, 1915.

Sinking of the Ancona

President Wilson's Note and the Austrian Reply

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6, 1915.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR
PENFIELD:

*Please deliver a note to the Minister of
Foreign Affairs, textually as follows:*

RELIABLE information obtained from American and other survivors who were passengers on the steamship Ancona shows that on Nov. 7 a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag fired a solid shot toward the steamship, that thereupon the Ancona attempted to escape, but, being overhauled by the submarine, she stopped, that after a brief period and before the crew and passengers were all able to take to the boats the submarine fired a number of shells at the vessel and finally torpedoed and sank her while there were yet many persons on board, and that by gunfire and foundering of the vessel a large number of persons lost their lives or were seriously injured, among whom were citizens of the United States.

The public statement of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty has been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States and received careful consideration. This statement substantially confirms the principle declaration of the survivors, as it admits that the Ancona, after being shelled, was torpedoed and sunk while persons were still on board.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has been advised, through the correspondence which has passed between the United States and Germany, of the attitude the Government of the United States as to the use of submarines in attacking vessels of commerce, and the acquiescence of Germany in that attitude, yet with full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government of the views of the Government of the United States as expressed in no

uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary, the commander of the submarine which attacked the Ancona failed to put in a place of safety the crew and passengers of the vessel which they purposed to destroy because, it is presumed, of the impossibility of taking it into port as a prize of war.

The Government of the United States considers that the commander violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel. The conduct of the commander can only be characterized as wanton slaughter of defensive noncombatants, since at the time when the vessel was shelled and torpedoed she was not, it appears, resisting or attempting to escape, and no other reason is sufficient to excuse such an attack, not even the possibility of rescue.

The Government of the United States is forced, therefore, to conclude either that the commander of the submarine acted in violation of his instructions or that the Imperial and Royal Government failed to issue instructions to the commanders of its submarines in accordance with the law of nations and the principles of humanity. The Government of the United States is unwilling to believe the latter alternative and to credit the Austro-Hungarian Government with an intention to permit its submarines to destroy the lives of helpless men, women, and children. It prefers to believe that the commander of the submarine committed this outrage without authority and contrary to the general or special instructions which he had received.

As the good relations of the two countries must rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the Government of the United States cannot be expected to do otherwise than to demand that the Imperial and Royal Gov-

ernment denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel.

The Government of the United States expects that the Austro-Hungarian Gov-

ernment, appreciating the gravity of the case, will accede to its demand promptly, and it rests this expectation on the belief that the Austro-Hungarian Government will not sanction or defend an act which is condemned by the world as inhumane and barbarous, which is abhorrent to all civilized nations, and which has caused the death of innocent American citizens.

LANSING.

Defense of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty

The Austro-Hungarian Admiralty on Dec. 15, 1915, stated its case and the attitude of the naval authorities as follows:

IT is a submarine commander's duty to make a report to a designated base as soon as possible, and the commander who sank the Ancona did this as soon as he was within wireless distance of land. He made a supplementary report at Pola and accompanied it with his log. No examination of the crew was held, because the commander's report was considered complete, and there was no reason to suppose that the crew could add anything thereto.

So far as the commander is concerned, his course is clear. The Admiralty has received his report and sees no reason to find any fault with his course of action.

If any such reason existed—that is, if the Admiralty had found that the commander had done anything contrary to his instructions—it would spontaneously institute an investigation against him without waiting for any demand to come from some foreign Government. It can happen that a commander in the

heat of battle deals contrary to instructions, but nothing of the kind has occurred in this case.

It appears clearly from his report that his ship was in danger, indeed, in double danger, first from the fact that an enemy boat was approaching on a line that threatened to cut off his retreat, and the enemy ship and the Ancona could have established his radius of action and could have set a torpedo boat flotilla on him, and, second, there was danger of the Ancona escaping, which, according to his instructions, was to be prevented in all circumstances. Hence the conduct of the commander, much as the loss of innocent lives must be regretted and deplored, cannot be disapproved.

On the contrary, if he had departed without destroying the Ancona it would have been a failure to do his duty, since the Ancona could have notified other ships of his whereabouts. The loss of American lives is regrettable, as well as that Americans used a vessel belonging to a nation at war with Austria-Hungary.

Foreign Minister Burian's Reply

SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON:
AMERICAN EMBASSY, VIENNA,
Dec. 15, 1915.

Following note received from Minister for Foreign Affairs noon today:

IN reply to the much esteemed note, No. 4,167, which his Excellency Mr. Frederic Courtland Penfield, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

of the United States of America, directed to him in the name of the American Government under date of the 9th inst., and in the matter of the sinking of the Italian steamer Ancona, the undersigned, preliminary to a thorough, meritorious treatment of the demand, has the honor to observe that the sharpness with which the Government of the

United States considers it necessary to blame the commanding officer of the submarine concerned in the affair, and the firmness in which the demands addressed to the Imperial and Royal Government appear to be expressed, might well have warranted the expectation that the Government of the United States should precisely specify the actual circumstances of the affair upon which it bases its case.

As is not difficult to perceive, the presentation of the facts in the case in the aforesaid note leaves room for many doubts, and even if this presentation were correct in all points and the most rigorous legal conception were applied to the judgment of the case, it does not in any way sufficiently warrant attaching blame to the commanding officer of the war vessel or to the Imperial and Royal Government.

The Government of the United States has also failed to designate the persons upon whose testimony it relies and to whom it apparently believes it may attribute a higher degree of credibility than to the commander of the Imperial and Royal Fleet. The note also fails to give any information whatsoever as to the number, names, and more precise fate of the American citizens who were on board of the said steamer at the critical moment.

Moreover, in view of the fact that the Washington Cabinet has now made a positive statement to the effect that citizens of the United States of America came to grief in the incident in question, the Imperial and Royal Government is in principle ready to enter into an exchange of views in the affair with the Government of the United States. It must, however, in the first place, raise the question why that Government failed to give juridical reasons for the demands set forth in its note with reference to the special circumstances of the incriminating events upon which it itself lays stress, and why in lieu thereof it referred to an exchange of correspondence which it has conducted with another Government in other cases.

The Imperial and Royal Government is the less able to follow the Washing-

ton Cabinet in this unusual path, since it by no means possesses authentic knowledge of all of the pertinent correspondence of the Government of the United States, nor is it of the opinion that such knowledge might be sufficient for it in the present case, which, in so far as it is informed, is in essential points of another nature than the case or cases to which the Government of the United States seems to allude. The Imperial and Royal Government may, therefore, leave it to the Washington Cabinet to formulate the particular points of law against which the commanding officer of the submarine is alleged to have offended on the occasion of the sinking of the Ancona.

The Government of the United States has also seen fit to refer to the attitude which the Berlin Cabinet assumed in the above mentioned correspondence. The Imperial and Royal Government finds in the much esteemed note no indication whatever of the intent with which this reference was made. Should, however, the Government of the United States thereby have intended to express an opinion to the effect that a prejudice of whatever nature existed for the Imperial and Royal Government with respect to the juridical consideration of the affair in question, this Government must, in order to preclude possible misunderstandings, declare that, as a matter of course, it reserves to itself full freedom of maintaining its own legal views in the discussion of the case of the Ancona.

In having the honor to have recourse to the kindness of his Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America with the most respectful request to be good enough to communicate the foregoing to the American Government, and on this occasion to state that the Imperial and Royal Government, in no less degree than the American Government, and under all circumstances, most sincerely deplores the fate of the innocent victims of the incident in question, the undersigned at the same time avails himself of this opportunity to renew the expression of his most distinguished consideration to his Excellency the Ambassador. (Signed) BURIAN.

PENFIELD.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

Several articles printed by joint arrangement with leading magazines of Europe appear elsewhere in this number. The subjoined excerpts represent the entire range of able opinion, comment, and information concerning the war as expressed in the chief magazines of Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, and the United States.

America's Duty

By Baron d'Estournelles de Constant

Baron de Constant, diplomat, legislator, has outlined in *The Atlantic Monthly* for December what he conceives to be the fitting policy of America in respect of questions raised by the war. He has written extensively upon arbitration and the organization of peace and represented France at the two Hague Conferences and The Hague court. It is, therefore, not as a hardened militarist that he approaches his subject. The reasoning and conclusions of Baron de Constant are of interest to this country, where he is held in high regard.

THE United States, who were the promoters of the organization of international peace, see the very principles of their work threatened by the present war, and not only their work but the guarantee of their existence. * * *

The peace observed by the United States with Great Britain or with France or Russia has never been "peace at any price." It has always been based on a spirit of conciliation and justice, on mutual respect for right and on the guarantees provided by treaty. The violation of treaties is incompatible with peace and is, in fact, the negation of peace and a crime against peace. * * * And if, furthermore, the violated treaties were signed by the United States, and if they admit such violation, they simultaneously renounce their rights, their duty, and the part they should play. * * *

All neutrals have, of course, been influenced by the brute force of the German system of terrorization. Germany's neighbors could hardly look on without trembling at the spectacle of the weakest State invaded by the strongest, one that had guaranteed its neutrality! It is quite easy to understand why Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark should hesitate to expose themselves to the terrible fate of Belgium. It was a question of life or death for them. The risks run by Ameri-

can democracy were quite different and much smaller, if there were such risks, and that is why its duty was so evident. For this reason the admirers of the United States were deeply disappointed when that country remained unmoved by the declaration of war, the violation of Luxembourg and Belgium, and all the execrable crimes that will forever hold up the tragic month of August, 1914, to the horror of the world. It is true that the Pope, who is still more inaccessible and invulnerable than the Government of the United States, has observed the same reserve, but at the cost of a great weakening of his churches and of religion itself. Who can maintain that this war should lay Europe waste with impunity, in the name of the German God allied with the God of Mohammed, without a word from the representative of Christ? St. Peter has denied his Master a fourth time!

The abstention of the United States Government is, to my mind, more serious than that of the Pope, because the United States are a young people—the great resource on which we counted for a better future. If France had held aloof under similar circumstances, it would have been said that the French were an old nation in a state of decadence. But that was not the case. France has often laid her-

self open to unfavorable opinions from foreigners who see her under false conditions, but she did not hesitate to do her duty, and, after one year, she is still more determined than on the first day.

In August, 1914, the United States ought to have uttered a whole-hearted protest against any violation of right. A definite, humane protest from them would have had incalculable consequences. It would have opened the eyes of the German people by warning them that they were on the wrong road. It would have emboldened other neutrals and brought them together, and, in this way, the people of the United States would have been raised to the rank of directors of the modern conscience and also to that of judge for the future. And what a judge! No mere Pontius Pilate, indifferent to the death of the Just Man, but the arbitrator to whom all would have had recourse after the war.

A year has gone by. Is the duty of the United States any less urgent than it was? No; even admitting a complete victory for the German armies, the duty of America will be all the more thankless and the more pressing. The longer the

Government of the United States delays its protest, the more certain will be the necessity of making that protest.

Sooner or later—and the sooner the wiser—the United States, without declaring or waging a useless war on Germany, must depart from their reserve and take up their part as the guardians of right. Their subsequent influence will depend upon the clearness and definiteness with which they speak. They will not have become belligerents, but they will have taken sides. If it is urged that the German jingoes in the United States will respond by attempting to cause general disorganization, my reply is that such an attempt would not only fail, but would demonstrate that it was to the interest of the United States to prevent the war and to prevent the triumph of German pride.

It seems to me that the United States, without taking up arms, can still conciliate their interest with their duty, the Monroe Doctrine with their need for stability. They can give distracted Europe the example of their union in respecting right, and help her to establish a new order on the basis of a permanent peace.

Britain's War Finance and Economic Future

By J. Ellis Barker

In The Nineteenth Century and After for December Mr. Barker makes the following summary of the cost of Britain's war:

A LITTLE while ago Mr. Montagu stated in the House of Commons that the British war expenditure came to £5,000,000 a day, that the war was swallowing up half the national income. This was evidently a very serious understatement. Five million pounds a day is equal to £1,825,000,000 a year. According to the British Census of Production, published in December, 1912, and relating to the year 1907, the national income of that year amounted to £2,000,000,000. Even the most optimistic statisticians have not seen in that figure a very great understatement. It therefore

appears that the British war expenditure per day is at present approximately equal to the entire national income per day in normal times. It need, however, scarcely be pointed out that the war, which has taken 3,000,000 able-bodied British men from the productive occupations, and which has diverted the industries from the production of useful commodities to that of war material, has very seriously diminished the national income. Besides, with the constantly increasing numbers of the British Army, and the steadily growing financial requirements of the Allies for British loans and subsidies, the daily war expenditure of this country will probably continue increasing. Hence, the daily cost of the war may soon greatly exceed the whole of the national income.

The vastness of Great Britain's war expenditure staggers the imagination not only of people in general but even that of financiers and statisticians. It can be visualized only by comparison. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, which lasted nine months, cost Germany £60,000,000; the Panama Canal, the greatest and the most expensive engineering undertaking the world has seen, cost the United States in ten years £80,000,000; the Boer war, which lasted three years, cost this country £250,000,000. It follows that Great Britain spends on the war every two weeks almost as much as the total cost of the Panama Canal, and that she spends every two months considerably more than she did during the whole of the protracted campaign against the Boers.

The war has so far cost about £1,300,000,000. The national capital of Great Britain is usually estimated to amount to about £12,000,000,000. As the struggle seems likely to continue for very many months, it may eventually swallow a sum

equal to one-third of the British national capital, if not more. Interest will have to be paid on the gigantic war debt. Its capital must gradually be reduced to manageable proportions by purchase, and in addition untold millions will be required every year for the support of the crippled and incapacitated veterans, and for the widows and orphans. Before the war, budgets of £200,000,000 per year seemed monstrous. After the war, budgets of £400,000,000 may seem modest. If we now remember that years of hard times followed the relatively cheap Boer war we can well understand that statesmen and business men look with grave anxiety and alarm into the future and at the mountainous debt which Great Britain is rapidly piling up, and that they are asking themselves: Can this over-taxed country stand the additional financial burdens? Will not the war destroy the British industries and trade, drive the country into bankruptcy and ruin, or at least permanently impoverish Great Britain?

Criminal Psychology and War

By Dr. Erich Wulffen

Judge of the District Court at Zwickau, Germany.

This article appeared originally in the supplement of the *Berliner Tageblatt* of Oct. 24, 1915.

THE influence of war on the criminality of a people cannot be judged until from two to five years after the war. According to statistics the total of all crimes decreases during a war in all nations. This is proved, in a striking manner, by the French and Prussian criminal statistics of 1870-71. But, beginning with the very year after the war, the figures again reached the point where they had been before the war, and continued to increase appreciably during the next three to five years. Then they dropped again to the ante-bellum ratio.

Influences of war on criminality become distinctly perceptible, and it is apparent that such influences must be stronger in proportion to the length of a war. For this reason, we must expect a

considerable increase in criminality in all the belligerent nations after this war.

The question of weapons is interesting. The history of mankind teaches us that thrusting and slashing weapons and firearms were invented for hunting, and bettered and completed for combat and warfare. But history shows also that criminals borrow their weapons from hunting and war; criminals have not invented a single weapon unaided. Dagger and knife, the hunting and fighting weapons of primitive peoples, were superseded for warlike use by sword, sabre, and bayonet. Thereupon dagger and knife became the weapons of major and minor criminals, but in this war they are again coming into a place of honor.

The arrow is a primitive weapon; Eng-

lish airmen have again revived it. Dumdum bullets recall the barbed weapons of primitive days. "Stinkpots" were once the most dangerous weapon of the Mongolian pirate. The infernal machine used by the notorious Thomas on a ship in Bremerhaven in 1875 was also no invention of a criminal. Infernal machines were used in war a long time ago, and later, for instance in 1585, they were employed to blow up the bridge built by the Duke of Parma over the Scheldt.

As the criminal does not himself invent any weapon, but simply makes use of war weapons already tested, we shall probably witness after the war a more widespread use by criminals of the new weapons brought forward in the present conflict. After the war of 1870-71 particularly noticeable use was made by criminals of explosives.

For these reasons the pros and cons of projected instruction of boys in the use of arms should be carefully weighed. For my part, I think that a great increase both of accidental and deliberate homicidal acts is to be expected if this form of instruction is introduced. Just before the outbreak of the war Governments were considering limiting the trade in weapons in order to counteract their growing misuse by criminals and lunatics.

Another question is whether there will not be an evil influence on the criminality of children, whose fathers have been

participants in the war, born after or during the conflict. This may well be the case if the fathers have gone through nerve-shattering horrors. Some have sought to show that the great increase among youthful criminals in Germany during the eighties was due to what the fathers had undergone in 1870-71. Possibly the proofs adduced were not sufficient, but, in any case, German criminal statistics of these years are not without significance.

From 1889 on, the comparative figures of youthful criminals sentenced begin to increase remarkably, and, in the following years, the increase goes forward by leaps and bounds. Those are the years during which children born in 1870-71 reached the years of strongly juvenile criminal instincts. Like results come from a study of the combined statistics of criminals sentenced; that is, for grown-ups and juveniles.

It is naturally impossible to give figures on the influence of the war of 1870-71 on juvenile criminality. The increasing industrialization of Germany had also much to do with it. But, in the case of the war of 1914-16, the whole question certainly takes on great importance, since the millions of soldiers at the front represent 10 per cent. of the population exposed for a long period to the effects of warlike experiences which, in violence and nerve-shaking characteristics, far surpass those of 1870-71.

German Education: A Leading Factor in German Success

By Professor Dr. G. Budde

The article from which this is translated appeared originally in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* of Nov. 1, 1915.

A SHORT time ago the Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Dr. J. E. Russell, in a lecture before teachers, remarked that one must admire the excellence of the educational system of the Germans, which alone had enabled them to defy a world of enemies. Though it

is not alone our education to which we owe the great victories of the present war, there can be no question that we owed much to it before this war, and have also become its debtors as a result of the present conflict. German education was and is a prime factor in German success.

But it must be remembered that this success is due, first of all, to the spirit of German education, as it was transmitted to the German educational system by men like Pestalozzi, von Humboldt, Süvern, and others: * * *

The work of our pedagogues had as a basis the idea of Pestalozzi that all education of youth must develop all the mental power from within by means of a method based on man's inner nature. Süvern wished to imbue both lower and higher schools with this principle, in the educational scheme worked out by him. This was the basic idea of a school of thought in which individuality and interest in the individual were combined with the great events in the history of Prussian officialdom. Recognition of individual life was especially emphasized; all that tended to kill it was emphatically rejected.

From the point of view of this school of thought the most important thing of all was to bring about a most thorough awakening of personal life, not only in the interest of the individual but in that of the State. Its exponents believed that man must be educated not for external objects, not even for his human fellows, but for himself, that he should be made into an independent personality and a spiritual individuality. Such an end having been attained, they thought, he would be capable of the best external influence also, since a man who does not make an external purpose his principal goal, but, before all else, deepens and strengthens his soul, will be in a position to do his best for his fellow-men. In other words, the idea was to build up a personality first, and only then to proceed to social education. * * *

But this spirit, the spirit of genuine German education, thrives only in an atmosphere of freedom of personal life; it withers as soon as the bureaucratic pattern is forced upon it. That was another lesson taught us by the stirring days of 100 years ago. Those who immediately succeeded Humboldt failed entirely to understand the pedagogic demand of his spiritual executor, Süvern. The principles of Süvern were finally "robbed of their original basis by opposing tendencies and adapted to the

rigid formal system which again came to the fore." Until far into the nineteenth century lower and higher schools suffered equally from this formal system and the awakening of personal life, insisted upon by the spirit of German education, was hampered. In fact, even until the present day we have not been able to overcome this formal system sufficiently to conform to the personality-building spirit of the originators of the German educational idea.

But, on the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that, despite this too rigid educational development, German education in the course of the nineteenth century has acquired an organization which has had the most beneficial effects on the development of the nation. This organization has undoubtedly hampered the spirit of German education, but has never killed it. Quite on the contrary, it shows, in the continual fights waged by it, even until very recently, against the pedagogic blunders of educational organization a still unimpaired vitality.

Thus, German education, which even in the past showed its power, has become again, in the present tremendous struggle between nations, a leading factor in German success. One might draw from this the deduction that nothing ought to be changed in the present form of German education, as it represents an ideal not to be excelled * * *

Those, however, taking such a view are not working for the best interests of German education. It will preserve its strength in future only if it is changed to meet the new conditions and tasks with which the future will confront it. When Germany emerges victorious from this greatest of all struggles the new Germany will make demands on the generation whose duty it will be to keep and defend what its fathers conquered—for the fulfillment of which our existing system of education will be inadequate—demands that will emphatically require a development to meet the nature of the new conditions. * * *

"In our educational system we must make the German language the basis." Those words, uttered by the Kaiser, which referred to our high schools, must be further extended to our classical schools.

These, too, must adopt German as a basis, for in them also must we educate young Germans, not young Frenchmen and Englishmen. The first requisite after the war

is a strong and determined nationalization of our entire upper school system. That is the most important task set our national educational system by the world war.

Conrad von Hoetzendorf

By Dr. Artur Gaspár

In the article from *Die Oesterreichische Rundschau*, from which excerpts are made below, the author gives an interesting picture of the Chief of the General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian Army, who, little known in America, has won glowing opinions abroad for his part in conducting the war. According to Dr. Gaspár, von Hoetzendorf's strategy has two strikingly original characteristics, which are touched upon below.

IT was a fixed military axiom that the first and second reserves must be destined to fill the gaps in the first line, while the *Lanstorm* was to protect lines of communication, keep order behind the front and serve to fill gaps only at the last extremity. But, even before the outbreak of the present war, Conrad von Hoetzendorf recognized that the complete unified development of a whole nation's military power was necessary if victory was to be won against superior numbers. For this reason he threw tradition to the winds and, from the very beginning of the fighting, placed *Landsturm* formations at the front, where they fought side by side with first line and first reserve troops and acquitted themselves splendidly. Along some important sectors of the front there were only *Landsturm* men, of all arms.

Similar prejudices existed before Hoetzendorf's day concerning the use of railways in war. It was an unassailable axiom that, after the advance of an army, railways must serve only for the rearguard, for transport work to and from the front. But von Hoetzendorf raised the railway to the position of a combatant. Just as Germany maintains that the German schoolmaster won the war of 1870-71, Austria-Hungary can well maintain that this war is being won

to no small degree by the locomotive driver.

When the whole front was withdrawn to the Dunajec and Cracow, as far back as the Prussian-Silesian boundary, the second Austro-Hungarian army, under the command of the Cavalry General von Boehm-Ermolli, which had just been fighting hard rearguard actions against the Russians on our extreme right near Sambor in Middle Galicia, suddenly appeared, overnight as it were, on the left wing of the Austro-Hungarian front, in the vicinity of the Prussian-Silesian boundary, beside the German Army group of General von Woyrsch. The entire army of von Boehm-Ermolli covered in express train time a distance of several hundred kilometers and had long been in action near the border of Russian Poland while the Russians still supposed it to be near Sambor. There an army group consisting mostly of bearded *Landsturm* men, thrown forward from the Carpathians, fooled the Russians for a long time regarding von Hoetzendorf's plans. This method of using railways for the transportation at lightning speed of entire armies, including sanitary and ammunition columns, field hospitals, and field kitchens, in order that they may be hurled unexpectedly at the enemy's flank, gives an entirely original stamp to von Hoetzendorf's tactics.



The British \$500,000,000 Loan from America

By Maximilian Harden

This comment by the brilliant German journalist on the Anglo-French loan appeared in his weekly periodical, *Zukunft*, Nov. 6, 1915.

THE Anglo-French loan in New York, which is scornfully considered far too often in Germany as a sign of weakness, as a target for ridicule, was, in British eyes, neither an important matter nor a loan in the true sense of the word. It was looked upon as a means of covering future expenditures. The question as to whether one billion or half a billion were to be given first was never important.

England did not wish to pay in gold what she and her allies had to pay in the United States, and therefore asked Morgan, her American banker, to take upon himself this payment for the time being, in conjunction with his banker friends. If a new amount is due in a few months, then the same group (or a greater) will repeat the transaction. That a dozen millions, more or less, must be raised for interest is unimportant at a time when the war costs a great empire about three millions of marks an hour.

The main object, to avoid gold payments and to raise the sterling rate of exchange, is fulfilled. England's banker

pays directly for what England has bought in the native land of this banker for herself and her friends. To ridicule England or speak of her begging for money is unwise, (to express it with the caution now necessary.)

Every nation handles its war financing according to its nature, inclination, and traditions, and according to deciding circumstances. When nothing is to be obtained from abroad and export trade is cut off by the enemy, loans are raised at home, as in the case of Germany. When money is needed for industries not useful to the waging of war and for foreign trade, another method is adopted.

In England (the first country to take upon itself the tax burden created by the war) there is gold in circulation, unfortunately, even in small trade. As late even as August travelers leaving England were not asked whether they were carrying gold out of the country. Britain, too, is beginning to suffer. But whoever says that England's money supply, or even her credit, is exhausted is talking his fellow-citizens into dangerous lunacy.

The Hatred for Germany

By Alfred Capus

Member of the Académie Française

This article appeared originally in *Les Annales* for Nov. 7, 1915.

HOW profound it is, and worth making known, that saying of Sir Edward Grey's about the monstrous ideal of domination which is that of Germany! "I should prefer to perish or to leave Europe forever rather than live under such conditions."

There, in the presence of so many sillinesses and horrors, is the thought of all the peoples, of all the human

beings who have kept the passion for liberty and justice! There is henceforward, in all hearts, such a certitude that it is Germany and Germany alone who opposes herself to free and civilized life, that the hatred for this people is universal. Even her military bravura is no longer esteemed, nor her discipline, nor the power of her methods; disgust set in when the ignominy

of her purpose was discovered. Germany has dishonored even her own courage.

The hatred she inspires, and that after the war she will continue to inspire for a long period of history, will be one of the forms of progress. That hatred will

signify the love of noble and delicate life, pity toward the weak, human tenderness, the discoveries of science turned toward the good and the useful. Germany has put herself in such a position that progress will be defined by her punishment.

Help for Serbia

By Emile Faguet

Member of the French Academy

M. Emile Faguet of the Académie Française continues his column of "Impressions" in Les Annales.

OCTOBER 21. The news from Serbia is not as good as one would have it. If the Bulgarians up to the present have not done much harm to the Serbians, the Austro-Germans have been pressing them actively, and, though valiantly held back almost everywhere, they are gaining ground here and there. Certainly Serbia is in danger. However, we must remember that it is a mountainous country, cut up by precipices, that it is easy to defend, and that it will be defended with the last energy and the utmost tenacity by the people which has shown itself to be, for courage, in the first rank among European peoples—and it has doubtless not

changed in that respect since last year. I still have hope for Serbia. But we must make haste to succor her.

It is infinitely important that Germany be cut off from Turkey and that the road that could take her there continue to be strongly occupied. Serbia is not equal to the task. But the rapid and prolonged intervention of France and England will be sufficient for it.

I wish and hope that this intervention be made fully and boldly, without hesitation or reserve. As I think I proved conclusively in another article, the German campaign in the Balkans *may be* the biggest mistake committed during this war. But that is on condition that the Allies, on their side, do not commit the faults of evasion and of procrastination.

The Poet Charles Péguy

By Adolphe Brisson

M. Adolphe Brisson, editor in chief of Les Annales, has a department of that weekly entitled "The Extinguished Stars," in which homage is rendered to the distinguished men who have died in the war. The following is from his pages on the poet, Charles Péguy:

NO loss will have been more deeply felt, no death will have been more sincerely, more unanimously lamented. Charles Péguy fell at the moment when his glory was beginning to

shine forth on the world, when he was about to bring home the fruits of a long effort. * * *

Péguy, a great student, critic, historian, philosopher, and an intellectual of refined culture, had remained very simple. He belonged to a race of peasants and did not deny his origin. Primitive feelings and instincts governed him. He loved the earth. To relax his nerves and repose his mind, when an excess of brain-work had depressed him, he took

a spade and worked in his garden. He has described in savory terms the joys of rustic life, the physiognomy of the wine-growers, his ancestors, and the graces of his native country, a little town of the Orléans region. * * *

Passionately attached to the soil of France—see how everything is bound together!—he wanted to have it free; he hated those who had tried to enslave it in the past, those who in the present or in the future were menacing it. Hence his cult of Joan of Arc, the saintly deliverer. Hence his taste for the army. * * *

A survivor, (of the engagement at Villeroy, where Péguy was killed,) Victor Boudon, evokes the final scenes of the poet's drama in an exciting page sent to M. Maurice Barrès:

"* * * Captain Guérin and the other Lieutenant, M. de la Cornillière, were killed outright.

" 'Lie down,' roars Péguy, 'and fire at will.'

" But he himself remains standing, his fieldglass in his hand, directing our fire, heroic in an inferno.

" We shoot like mad, black with powder, the guns burn our fingers. Every moment there are cries and moans, significant gasps; dear friends are killed by my side. How many are dead? We no longer count them.

" Péguy is still standing there, in spite of our cries of 'Lie down!'—a glorious madman in his courage * * * he draws himself up erect, like a challenge to the hail of bullets, seeming to draw toward him that death which he glorified in his verse. At that moment a murderous ball crashed through the head of the hero, breaking in his noble and generous forehead. He fell without a cry, having had the vision, at the last moment, of the recoil of the barbarians and of the victory near at hand."

England and the War

By André Chevrillon

The great hope of the Germans being a rift in the alliance formed against them, particular interest attaches to the article of M. André Chevrillon in the November-December number of La Revue de Paris. A note of admiration for the allied people is constantly apparent in his pages, as well as a thorough understanding of English character and traditions, as related to Great Britain's participation in the war.

AT the critical moment, [the author speaks of the last days before England's declaration of war,] while the Minister [Mr. Asquith] was demonstrating that no diplomatic text had created an alliance, the alliance appeared, morally commanded by the past. Quite true—England had bound herself in no way; the conversations between the military staffs of the two countries were only conversations in view of a possible accord and not one decided on, but they

had introduced the English into the secret of our defense and that intimacy could not help exciting the hope in France of English support in case of German aggression. More imperative yet, and noted as such by the great conservative newspapers from the beginning of the crises, was the arrangement which led our navy to leave the French coast on the Channel and on the Atlantic under the protection of the British fleet, so that it might retire to the Mediterranean, where it looked after British interests. And this last fact counted so much that on the 2d of August, before there was any question of Belgium, Sir Edward Grey gave M. Cambon as much assurance as he was empowered to give, that England guaranteed these shores from attack, which did not prevent his adding—such was the solicitude, even at that moment, to avoid any gesture that might have a

warlike appearance—that it must not be understood from this assurance that England would intervene in the war. But of all the reasons which, at the critical moment, pushed England to the side of France, the most active and at the same time the most undefinable and noble was the notion of the Entente, the memory of so many gestures of friendship from which a tacit promise seemed to be born; it was the feeling that an intimacy covering ten years is worth as much as a written contract

in binding two peoples to each other in so grave an hour, and that one of them cannot without dishonor turn away when the other is in danger. On the 2d of August, when Germany openly marched against France, every Englishman—in whom the internationalist religion of humanity, fortified by pacifist puritanism, had not killed the sense of the person, morally speaking, that one's native country is—felt mortified that England was not already at France's side.

The German Soul in German Art

By Charles Morice

In the Mercure de France for October M. Charles Morice, an eminent critic and litterateur, studies the problem indicated by the above title, taking painting as the art for consideration.

THAT poetry and art are the most genuine expression of races and individuals, of their nature, of their virtues, of their vices, and of their destiny, is a matter as to which I think there will not be the least dispute. Is it necessary to show how far science and even philosophy are from possessing this representative virtue?

* * * The German painter has not the painter's qualities. At least, at the beginning he lacks them. He is first a thinker who uses plastic expression to formulate his thought, and it is a language that he uses without skill or ease, and so the thought which he esteems so precious, so important, is never brought fully to the light. His constant pretention is to teach, but it is rare that his lesson is profitable because it is rare for it to be clear. * * * They propose to teach everything—religion, mythology, legends, history—and with a heavy sincerity and cruel perseverance, they accomplish their design. They have scruples as to meticulous truthfulness that never falter, and a hatred for beauty that never compromises. * * *

To these criticisms I can already hear the objections that must be made. They consist of four great names: Dürer, Cranach, Grünewald, and Holbein.

Albrecht Dürer is one of the world's finest geniuses and undoubtedly the greatest figure in German art. He would be an admirable exception amid the most richly gifted people; in Germany we may consider him as a miraculous anomaly, and a unique one—for the three other painters just named, who are, after him, the most important ones, cannot be thought of as his equal. And his genius is a beneficent one. Its most especial character is perhaps that power of kindness that we seek in vain among the works of the majority of his compatriots and which shines from his own like the light of a soul; it commands our sympathy imperiously: one is compelled to love Dürer.

But that is not to say that one does not find, even in him, the negative qualities of his race, and even if in finding them one is pained at resisting the charm with which he covers them over.

Looking at the question from the outside at first, one sees quickly enough that Dürer is not a colorist. He draws and engraves more happily than he paints. * * * One would even say at times that the excellences of color

trouble him, prevent him from stating his thought entirely. * * * For him the dazzling color of the great Italians and Flemings is only a charming and superfluous luxury; faithful to his irreducibly German nature, he sees the principal interest and the highest mission of art in the exact and precise writing down of thought—and the enchantment of color contains the danger of distracting his mind and his eyes from it.

* * * As to his cult of force, we must not think to find him alone in it: it is above all others the mark of the German; but it is important to note it in the greatest, "the most kind and good" of German artists. Quite as little as the others is he sensitive to the softening beauty of the fragile splendor, the gentle curves, to the lines so delicately and yet so grandiosely sim-

plified, to the sweet fullness, to all that marvelous weakness that Christianity has consecrated in crowning the Virgin. * * *

Woman for the German artist has no existence or value of her own. She exists only through man and thanks to maternity. So he does not hesitate to show us, in his nudes, the deformations and wounds due to her function of bearing children. He does so without feeling that he lacks shame: these are the woman's only valid titles to glory. * * * How much more the painter is at his ease, more himself in that "Hercules" which he has made the symbol of human power. There is a page that all Germany has countersigned and which it has not since ceased commenting on with pen and brush as with iron and fire.

Italy in the Upper Adige and Pan-Germanist Aggression

By Alberto Manzi

The following, by Signor Alberto Manzi, appeared originally in the Rivista d'Italia:

THIS study was written before the declaration of war between Austria and Italy, when it seemed possible to some that the impossible thing of an accord between Rome and Vienna might be brought about through the ceding of a strip of the unredeemed country. It was our intention to make known under what sad conditions our brothers are living their national life, and how they have had every day to combat Governmental insolence and defend themselves every day against Pan-German violence and cunning; we wanted to show how, up to today, the geographically and historically Italian character of the country that descends from the Retic Alps to the Padana Plain goes on in intimate accord with the Italian character of sentiment among the inhabitants—of the Trentino at least. * * *

* * * It is well, however, for this paper to remain unchanged, to keep its documentary value entire, and give its inflexible but serene testimony to the historian of tomorrow.

The Pan-Germanists have attributed this phrase, "Italy up to the Brenner Pass," as a motto to the Italian Irredentists. But since, up to a short time ago, there were no real Irredentists in Italy; this motto, stammered by a few scholars, served the Pan-Germanists exclusively to defend and justify their own slogan—"Germany down to the Lake of Garda, to the Mincio, and the Po." Finally, with a leap, they went as far as Genoa. The difference between the supposed and real combatants for the historic motto was this: The Italians of the kingdom, especially since 1870, did nothing to bring to a reality the program which was tagged on to them, whereas the Pan-Germanists dared and did everything to win over the minds of their countrymen to the program laid

down and executed wherever it was possible. And they pushed the possible—to the impossible. This is not a play on words—it is a sad reality.

In Germany they teach in the schools that the greater Germany to the south with Northern and Southern Tyrol—including the Trentino—takes in also the Lake of Garda, Mantua, Verona, Venice, and Trieste. The Pan-Germanist societies send out booklets, maps, and postcards in which these limits are given as the minimum of conquest. And it is, in fact, a minimum of frontier for the conquest of Europe (while waiting to conquer the world) planned by William II. shortly after his ascension to the throne. It was left in studied forgetfulness during thirty years of active military preparation and then taken up and affirmed with cannon shots in August of last year. The Austrian Pan-Germanists—sustained in this by the military party and the clerical party, which are omnipotent in the country—extend the frontiers set by the Germans, include the former Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, and add to it a Papal kingdom under the protection of the two-headed eagle. * * *

And you may imagine that they do not limit themselves to dreaming. * * * They have formed societies, many of them—too many—to render morally and materially effective their conquest of the “southern province,” leaving to the force of arms the mission of transforming, at its own time, the spiritual and moral conquest prepared by them for so long into political occupation.

The moral conquest takes place by means of schools and the pulpit in villages stolen by the Austrian Government; in Italian regions free German schools are founded, German Catholic priests are bought, (and the Pan-Germanists are Protestants!) the debts and, in part, the taxes are paid in villages that permit the foundation of Pan-Germanist groups, &c.

The material conquest is effected by the purchase of farms and houses in linguistically Italian territory, so as to be able to send away the Italians and import Germans. It is the territorial dispossessing violently applied by the Prussians in Poland—and without effect. * * * It has had as little effect in the Trentino.

The Evolution of Modern Warfare

In a long and carefully documented editorial article the Nuova Antologia studies the new phases which war has assumed, dividing them according as they have to do with the land, (trenches,) the sea, (naval ambush,) military, and civil preparation, accumulation of a reserve of metal, economy and finance, and blockades—marine, food, and economic. We extract the lines which introduce the subject:

THE formidable war which burns throughout almost the whole of Europe presents new and unforeseen aspects, which mark its character. Throughout the centuries every war which periodically afflicted and burdened humanity presented itself under an aspect different from preceding

ones. And that country was victorious which, according to the laws of adaptation, first understood how to draw most profit from the new coefficients of struggle and victory. Often the victory was personified by a great captain, who, in turn, personified in himself the new methods and new factors which assured him the supremacy over his adversary.

The first characteristic of the present conflict is that of a slow war, a war of resistance. This new and almost unforeseen aspect of it can be summed up in a single concept—trench warfare. But the war in the trenches is only the extrinsic, material, and military form that the war of resistance on land assumes; behind the trench there is the moral, financial, and economic resist-

ance of a whole nation, of a whole people, and of a whole grouping of allied peoples.

For many years, in the previsions of a future and improbable European war, the imagination of men was concentrated on a few colossal, grandiose feats of arms, on a gigantic action of a few weeks, of a few months at the most, on a few immense spectacular battles of millions of combatants, in a formidable shock of men, horses, arms, artillery, big and small ships—of aeroplanes and dirigibles. * * *

Now none of that has taken place or is taking place; the visions and the fantasies of the past have vanished. * * *

The war of 1870-71, after the first acts which began it, may be resumed in three rapid and successive actions—the days of Metz, the taking of Sedan,

and the siege of Paris. Today we feel that the present war cannot be resolved into such a brief measure of time and action. Last year all were prepared for the siege of Paris by the Germans, and, though we were hardly at the beginning of the evolution of modern war, no one expected that with the fall of Paris the conflict would end. The war of resistance was already substituting itself for the war of assault. * * *

For any one who observes these phenomena attentively there soon appears a co-ordination of direction and action in the most different fields—from the trench to the feeding of the civil population. All is directed to a single end: prolonging to the maximum the resistance in each of the factors—military, economic, and moral—which must work together to secure the final victory.

Holland's Trade Grievances

By a Dutch Merchant

According to the Dutch *Het Nieuws van der Dag*, commercial circles of Amsterdam and Rotterdam are considerably agitated because of what is termed the oppressive Government regulations regarding exports and imports. *Het Nieuws* publishes the opinion of a leading merchant, as given in the subjoined article.

THE royal decree of Aug. 7, 1915, has had a specially important bearing on the German-Dutch trade. Article 1 of this decree demands nothing less than from that date on the name of the importer, as well as the utilizer of the raw product in question, must be given. When the margarine was added to rubber and oils of various kinds the situation became ominous.

At first glance this may seem quite inconsequential. And the Government may declare with a clear conscience that in reality there is no prohibition against exportation of these articles. But in practice it amounts to stopping export of margarine to Germany, while day after day shipload on shipload is going to England.

Many merchants who have been buying at second or third hand are asking themselves the question how it is possible for them to specify the respective importer.

They fail to understand why the requisite documents, such as bill of lading, contracts, receipts, &c., are not sufficient for all purposes. What happens then? In the royal decree there is the provision that the name and residence must be written in the papers, and that it is left to the judgment of the Custom House officials to take action in every case where there is violation. But this is not enough. Supposing the merchant does name the importer, presents his papers, and tells fully about his sources of supply. If the customs officials are not satisfied they can require the importer to make the statement in person.

The result is that in many instances lies are resorted to in order to obviate all the difficulties in the way, and the merchants then simply say they are the importers. As a matter of fact, when officials are told that all this super-regulation stands as a preventive

against export across the border the reply comes back that that is exactly what is wanted.

We ought not, however, be too severe on our Government. The fact is that these precautions are taken on evident pressure from England, and there is undisputed evidence that the Dutch bu-

reaucracy stands in the service of Great Britain. How seriously the situation affects business may be gathered from the fact that some firms in Rötterdam have recently been fined from 70,000 to 80,000 guldens each for violating the decree having to do with the exports of fat stuffs and margarine.

The Submarine in War

By A. Chernyavski

In an interesting review in the Vvestnik Evropy, (The European Review,) Petrograd, of "The Past and Present of the Submarine," Mr. A. Chernyavski reminds us that

UP to 1905 Germany had not a single submarine. The first German submarine was launched on Aug. 30, 1905; even then it was considered merely an experiment; only in February, 1907, was it added to the register of the fleet. * * *

On the threshold of the twentieth century, on Jan. 1, 1901, there were only four nations that either possessed submarines or were engaged in the construction of submarines. At their head stood France, having fourteen, (of which only six were completed;) next came the United States, with its eight boats; then England with six, of which not one was completed, and, finally, Italy, counting two submarines in its fleet. * * *

We have already seen that the first German submarine, the U-1, (from the initial letter of unterseeboat,) was com-

pleted in the Autumn of 1905. Evidently the U-1 brilliantly justified the expectations of its constructors. Already in 1907, in the naval credits, 6,250,000 marks were set aside for submarines. In 1910, the credit was thrice as great, 18,750,000 marks, and in 1913 it was already 25,000,000 marks. During the last seven years, according to official information, Germany spent on submarines a total of 133,500,000 marks. It is possible that the actual amount spent was much larger, for we know little or nothing of the details of German military apportionments.

On Jan. 1, 1914, the total number of submarines, whether completed or under construction, of all nations was approximately four hundred. It is needless to say that, with the outbreak of the present war, the rôle of the submarine came rapidly to the front. Without doubt on all hands feverish efforts are being made to complete, with the utmost dispatch, the submarines already begun, or to lay the keels of new ones. * * *

The Future of Poland

In the latest number of the Russian Sovremenniy Mir, (Contemporary World,) Petrograd, R. Vydrin, the Russian publicist, thus sums up the present status of the Polish Question:

THE municipal reorganization of the Kingdom of Poland had not yet been carried out, when peculiarly heavy and painful days began for Poland.

The Russian Army, evacuating Warsaw before the Teuton advance, began, at the end of the Summer of 1915, to quit the soil of Poland. And along with the withdrawal of the Russian Army came the enforced evacuation of the population of the Kingdom of Poland.

This removal of the Polish peasantry from their native land, turning them into

homeless refugees, constitutes the most tragic moment in the whole history of the Polish people. Up to the present all the national misfortunes of the Polish people took place at home, on their own soil. Now, masses of the population were torn from the soil and cast forth to meet their fate. * * *

Summoned on the occasion of the removal of masses of Poles, a committee of Polish organizations appealed to Russian society, depicting the suffering of the Polish people, and calling on Russian society to give heed to this national tragedy through which Polish society was passing: "An age-old culture has perished, the wealth of a nation has perished, men and women are perishing. * * * Men and women are forced to leave their native land which they have inhabited for generations. They are forced to give it up to their sworn foes, as though to facilitate the possibility of German colonization, while they themselves must depart."

L. Kozlovski writes concerning this grandiose Polish exodus: "A whole nation cannot change its abode, a whole people cannot thus lend aid even to a brother nation, at the cost of drying up the well-springs of its own existence. Such a loss of economic independence is worse than the loss of political independence. This was indeed the end—*Finis Poloniae*, and autonomy for the empty soil of Poland would be a bitter irony for the Polish Nation, scattered over the vast extent of Russia." With reference to the article of N. Shtchepkin, in the Russian News, concerning the necessity of depopulating Poland in order to conserve the forces of the country, the "Polish House," the Polish organization in Moscow, writes: "From our point of view, these masses must be preserved for Poland, and, at the conclusion of the war, must be restored to their fire-scarred native land."

In the conflagration of these elemental sufferings which have overtaken the Polish people, perished, at last, the Russian "nationalism" which demands the Russification of Poland. I. L. Gorymekin, President of the Council of Ministers, informed the Imperial Duma that

after the war Poland would receive autonomy. "Russification" recognized its bankruptcy in the Polish question, even at the beginning of the war, but it did not wish to surrender its position until the day when the Russian armies retreated from Poland. The war revealed in the most drastic way the contest between the interests of "Russification" and the interests of Polish nationalism. At the same time, while trying to a firm wall of hatred and hostility between the Polish and Russian peoples, Russifying "nationalism," absorbed in its "internal affairs," exposed Poland and Russia with her to the invasion of the enemy. * * *

The fall of Russian "nationalism" in the very development of the war put an end to all possibility of its intrusion in the future fate of the Polish question. This by no means implies that Poland no longer needs to unite her fate with that of Russia. The progress of the war shows that Polish hopes of Austrian orientation are sufficiently problematical. Judging from the authoritative pronouncement of the German Chancellor in the Reichstag, the forces occupying Poland are very far not only from accepting the idea of an independent Poland, but even from the solution of the question in the direction of Austrian orientation. There remain, therefore, only two possibilities for Poland—to be with Russia or with Germany. At the same time we remember that in the most diverse strata of Polish society the tendency toward a rapprochement with Russia, on the basis of the international and economic interests of both countries, has always existed. We likewise remember that the inclination of Poland toward Russia was always strongest in the years of social prosperity. Even at the time when Russian "nationalism," in its efforts to crush the Polish movement, was ready to seek the support of Prussian bayonets, the Polish industrial democracy sought and found support in the Russian industrial democracy, in the person of the Council of Labor Deputies, making a protest against the crushing of Poland one of the rallying cries of the uprising of the working class in Russia in 1905.

The more quickly and thoroughly the

evolution of Russia progresses the more ground will be gained by the idea of an alliance of the two nationalities—the

Russian and the Polish—which are bound together by common international and economic interests.

What Russia Has Learned From the War

Writing in Novoe Vremya, (Petrograd,) an unnamed contributor says:

THE absence of organizers and of co-ordination have been our greatest defect. Yet * * * in Russia there is a strongly knit organization, and precisely the war has taught us its immense and sometimes fatal meaning, the "Invisible Empire," the American scholar Jordan aptly named it. The "Invisible Empire" incarnates in itself the mighty power of banks, syndicates, and large capitalists: a power mighty not only because it possesses ideal co-ordination, in the midst of the wholly unco-ordinated Russian Nation, not only because the Government of the "Invisible Empire" soldered by the strong cement of internal unity, strong in the absolute confidence of agents, while the Government of Russia is * * * not always of one mind with the people, but it is formidable also in this, because it is welded by an iron chain to the foreign provinces of the "Invisible Empire"; the "Invisible Empire" is an organization covering the whole world. And at the same time, the life-breath of contemporary wars, money and produce, are the inheritance of the "Invisible Empire." This is why all projects put forward hitherto to combat high prices suffer from the one defect—that they are condemned beforehand to failure: they are not directed against the source and cause of all economic and industrial difficulties. Therefore, courage of a high order is required in any Government which determines to enter into conflict with the invisible Emperor. And the example of Western Europe convincingly shows how a mighty but secret force swiftly sweeps away such a daring power. This is the reason why, when the little merchants are punished by fines of a ruble or a thousand rubles, the banks, as we are assured, serenely

keep back produce in their storehouses until prices rise. Pray explain in what the shopkeeper is to blame who sells kerosene, firewood, sugar, and so on, at a high price, if he himself buys them from the wholesaler at frightfully inflated prices? And why is it that, while imposing maximum prices under penalties on the retail merchants, the Government seems not to notice the indications of the newspapers, or of public men, or of the Imperial Duma, pointing out the raising of prices by the banks and other large capitalistic organizations? Now that A. N. Khvostoff has been appointed to the post of Minister of the Interior, he will, perhaps, remember the admirable speeches which he pronounced in the Imperial Duma in the years 1913 and 1915. Perhaps in these speeches he will remember the description of the offices in Petrograd, in which, for the conduct of affairs, are employed, on the one side, men of action, and, on the other, personages of weight. For the power of the "Invisible Empire" consists in this, that it *everywhere* discovers and employs trusty servants subjected to iron discipline. And A. N. Khvostoff was absolutely right when he said, in the Duma, that in Russia this question is far more menacing than in Western Europe or in America. For the Western nations are to a remarkable degree co-ordinated nations, while the Russian people are not, and therefore the unequal struggle is much more difficult for us.

But we should be frank and clear to the end; the struggle against the "Invisible Empire" is as arduous as the struggle against Austro-Germany. Therefore, it cannot be waged on a basis of complete rupture and the opening of stormy activities. It is more advantageous for Russia, in her gigantic battle with the enemy, to negotiate pacifically

with the masters of the "Invisible Empire" than to add a new enemy to the old. And this proposal is not in the least fantastic, because the situation is becoming too threatening. This is why in many servants of the "Invisible Empire" noble Russian hearts are beginning to awake, helping them to restrain the appetite of capital. But, of course, it

is not the bank employe, or any one coming from the midst of the banks, that can come to an arrangement with them, but some one else, whose talent for organization and diplomatic tact stand on the required high level. Such a one will be listened to, because he will represent the Government, strong in the confidence of the nation. K.

A Year of Naval Warfare in the Baltic

The Naval Record, (Morskoi Sbornik,) Petrograd, the official publication of the Russian Admiralty, gives the following account of naval operations in the Baltic, concerning which contradictory reports have been given out by the belligerents:

THE eleventh month of warlike activities began in the Baltic with the elimination of one of the line-of-battle ships of the German fleet. On May 21 the Russian submarine Okun, (Lieutenant Merkusheff,) meeting an enemy squadron of ten ships between Vindava and Gotland, attacked it, and, firing several torpedoes, heard loud explosions.

The submarine was unable to determine accurately the result of the attack, because the attack was delivered at such close quarters that when the ship struck by the torpedo sank the submarine collided with it, its periscope being broken off, and so rendered useless.

The Germans, of course, deny this fact, as they deny the further successes gained by our submarines during this period.

Almost simultaneously with the attack of the Okun the transport Hindenburg was blown up by a submarine, and an English submarine sank a transport and a torpedo boat, at the same time injuring another, which lay alongside the transport, (the injury to the latter being admitted by the Germans;) two enemy vessels, one of them a light cruiser, came to grief in our mine fields.

The very successful activity of our submarine fleet somewhat cooled the efforts of the enemy fleet to penetrate deep into the Baltic Sea and limited the sphere of its activity to the occupied coast of Libau.

Equally unsuccessful were the operations of the German fleet at Vindava on June 15, when a squadron consisting of the coast-defense battleship Siegfried, (4,100 tons, 15 knots, 3 9-inch and 10 3.5-inch guns,) four cruisers, and torpedo boats began to bombard the town and the wharves of the port, one of the torpedo boats being blown up while trawling for mines; the bombardment, which lasted for fifteen minutes, proved devoid of results, the squadron being repulsed by gunfire from the shore. Our torpedo boats attacked from the north the scouts of the enemy and compelled them to retire.

Thus the activities of the Germans from the sea proved fruitless, and Vindava fell into the hands of the Germans only on July 3, (6,) when our land forces withdrew, under the pressure of the Germans who crossed the Venta.

Our only loss during this period was the destruction of the mine-layer Yenesei, which was torpedoed by a submarine, only a small number of the crew being saved. The men went down with heroic courage, and the men who were drowning in the icy water found strength to cheer for their glorious boat.

The answer to the destruction of the Yenesei was the successful attack by an English submarine, (also denied, of course, by the Germans,) of a line-of-battle ship of the type of the Deutschland, (according to later information the Pommern, 13,200 tons, 1907.)

This exploit earned for our glorious ally, Commander Horton, the highest military reward, the Order of St. George of the Fourth Class; since he has been

operating in the Baltic he has sunk five ships, and in the North Sea he sank the cruiser *Hela* and the torpedo boat S-126 close to Emden.

On June 19, (July 2,) at 7:35 A. M., twenty-three miles from the Island of Gotland, there was an encounter between the Russian scout cruisers *Makaroff*, *Bayan*, *Bogatyr*, and *Oleg* and the German *Augsburg*, *Albatross*, *Bremen*, and *Roon*. It was a very misty, foggy morning when our squadron made out the two leading ships and attacked, trying to cut their line of retreat—a manoeuvre which was in part successful—the *Albatross* turned to the north, the *Augsburg*, thanks to its speed and the curtain of smoke thrown out by the torpedo boats, disappeared a half hour after the beginning of the battle; the torpedoes missed their mark. Hard hit and cut off, the *Albatross* made for neutral waters, and, under fire of our guns, ran aground on the Island of Gotland, under the *Esterharn Lighthouse*.

Leaving the *Albatross*, our squadron turned to the north, toward Russian water, and was attacked on the way by the armored cruiser *Roon*, the cruiser *Bremen*, and four torpedo boats. A battle which lasted thirty minutes began. Our squadron was strengthened by the arrival of the *Rurik*, whose ten-inch guns punished the *Roon* badly; the *Roon* made off, the pursuit lasting an hour. Meanwhile the *Rurik* was attacked by a submarine, but without success, the attacking being repeated after the return to home waters, when the torpedo boat *Vrimatelny* rammed the submarine. Details of this battle are lacking. Our injuries were insignificant—in all, fourteen sailors wounded. On the German side the greatest damage was suffered by the *Albatross*, which ran ashore, and next by the *Roon* and the *Augsburg*, which did not take part in the second battle. Photographs show the injuries of the *Albatross*, on which twenty shells fell. Of the crew of 200, 23 were killed and 29 wounded, some of whom died on shore in the town of *Visba*, where the crew was interned by the Swedish authorities. The officers refused to promise not to escape, and were therefore put under guard.

A serious result of the battle was the protest made by the Swedish Government against a violation of neutrality; one of the shells, according to the note, flew over an island belonging to Sweden, and fell into the water 200 yards from the shore.

The Imperial Russian Government expressed to the Swedish Government its most sincere regrets concerning the fall of the shell, and gave the most positive assurances of Russia's intention to observe the strictest neutrality—the fall of the shell being a regrettable accident springing from the circumstances of the battle.

The further activities of the Germans were directed against the Gulf of Riga; two torpedo boats bombarded the coast close to the *Domesnes lighthouse*, the lighthouse itself being slightly injured; and at the same time, as their army advanced, the fleet endeavored to keep pace with it, but met with resistance: our torpedo boats and hydroplanes attacked them and even compelled one of their ships to run ashore. The approach of the German fleet to *Tukku* was stopped by the fire of our guns.

In this way the activity of the Russian Baltic fleet during the first twelve months of the war can only be described as more than satisfactory; in spite of the loss of the *Pallada*, *Yenesei*, two torpedo boats, and several auxiliary boats, for which the Germans paid with the loss of the *Magdeburg*, *Friedrich Karl*, *Albatross*, two line-of-battle ships, four or five torpedo boats, and a number of transports, our Baltic fleet has been strengthened by the addition of a group of dreadnoughts, which has greatly increased its fighting weight.

Note.—The dreadnoughts mentioned in the last paragraph are, apparently, three new dreadnoughts recently added to the group of four sister ships: *Sevastopol*, *Petropavlovsk*, *Gangut*, launched in 1911, displacing 23,000 tons, and carrying twelve 12-inch guns as their main armament. If this be so, then Russia has in the Baltic seven dreadnoughts, five predreadnoughts, nine cruisers, about seventy destroyers, and a dozen or more submarines.

The Pan-German Society

By Kurt Eisner

Below is a translation of a pamphlet describing the activities of the Pan-German extremists in Germany before and during the war which, for brutal and sensational frankness, scarcely has a parallel in the literature of the struggle. It appeared first as an article in the Social Democratic organ, *Neue Zeit*. Despite its ultra-jingoistic and warlike character, it has been reissued in its present form by the Neues Vaterland League, which is devoted, according to its prospectus, to the cause of promoting peaceful international competition and bringing about a political and economic understanding between civilized peoples.

FOR about ten years I have been busy at the hitherto entirely fruitless task of explaining the political importance of the association which works, under the name of the "Pan-German Society," for a greater Germany. Even today, in our partisan newspapers and also in those having a large circulation among the bourgeois class, the Pan-Germans are mentioned almost entirely in jeering fashion. They are "a mere handful," or "people who play absolutely no part in Germany's public life" or "fantastic, extremist dreamers of world power, hardly to be taken seriously!" That is the opinion concerning them, more or less.

The opposition element of former days in the bourgeoisie had a keener understanding of the tireless activity of the "small but mighty party," which was buried in 1848. German parliamentary life gives an erroneous impression by making people believe that the well-known personages mentioned daily on account of their oratorical activity are the men really at the head of Governmental affairs. That is as far from correct as the belief that our leading newspapers, the "world newspapers," portray the realities of German politics. Great events that burst upon us as sudden surprises do so only because the organs of public opinion have no interest in the circle wherein German policies are really shaped. As for foreign affairs, intimate participation in world problems began among us only at the moment when the world war created the most absolutely unfavorable state of mind for recognizing the relationships of international affairs.

Who wields the decisive influence on the trend of foreign politics in Germany? Who gives the life impulse to economic driving forces? Absolutely none other, for a quarter of a century, but the Pan-Germans. They have acquired a greater influence on the shaping of national policy than even the mightiest combination of interests among the great landowners and capitalists. In the course of years they have put through more measures than all the political parties and all the parliamentary subdivisions of Germany taken together. Always most uncompromisingly and unscrupulously in opposition to the Government, combated by semi-official elements, ignored by the great mass of newspapers, they have nevertheless succeeded, even if not in the fullest measure, in carrying out their projects. Though the Government has been always arrayed against the "unbridled policy" of the Pan-Germans, nevertheless the policy of those at its head has itself become constantly more and more Pan-German, because the Government has always submitted eventually to that which it first opposed, acting in agreement with the entire mass of public opinion played upon from Berlin by centralistic influences.

From the first projected naval program to the most recent law for defense, every single plan for preparedness has originated in Pan-German circles. They were the advance guards. Twice they pushed the Morocco question almost over the precipice to a world war. And eventually Sultan Abdel Aziz, whom I made in 1906 the hero of an article which unfortunately passed un-

perceived, became, after all, the "Sultan of the world war," in so far as Western European problems are responsible for the catastrophe.

When the Panther suddenly appeared off Agadir in the Summer of 1911 German public opinion was caught entirely unprepared. But anybody who had taken the trouble to follow the propaganda and publications of the Pan-German Society might have predicted months before that some day a world crisis would come as punctually as any of the issues of the weekly organ of the society, the Pan-German Gazette, (*All-deutsche Blätter*.) To readers of this paper the act of the Panther was as comprehensible as the arrival of their favorite sheet—they had been, so to speak, subscribers for six months to one as well as the other. And it may be remembered what a joyful outcry there was in the press, especially in provincial papers, over the "act of deliverance" of the Panther. What had previously been urged only by Pan-German sheets, from their hiding places, was now taken up by the great papers. They sought to make the incident lead to the uttermost extremes. In vain the semi-official ones tried to reassure themselves; for months the press agents of the Pan-German Society proved themselves the stronger. The publisher of the *Grenzboten*, Cleinow, a trusted ally of the Foreign Office, spoke in those days of the activities of a Krupp press agency. And when the responsible heads of the Government succeeded once again in calming the storm a renewed passionate agitation of the Pan-Germans began. Under the immediate pressure of the unwelcome German-French agreement General von Bernhardt wrote his fateful book, "Germany and the Next War."

The program of the Pan-German Society is simple and clear. The "nationalistic" Pan-German illusions are merely an idealistic by-product for the delectation of teachers and professors affiliated with the society. The real goal is the acquisition of colonies where Germans may settle, where German peasants may cultivate the soil; of colonies that may supply us with raw mate-

rial for our manufactures and use German products in exchange. That is the "sure market," the dream of the German export trade.

This colonial empire can be obtained, according to the view of the Pan-Germans, only by strengthening Germany's position as a power in Europe. For this universal military service must be introduced to the utmost limit, and there must be unhindered building of warships, for whose efficiency, in addition, the acquisition of coaling stations and naval bases is indispensable.

Lending their co-operation to this program of the Pan-German Society and its manifold ramifications and affiliated organizations are the Land Owners' League, the Central Industrial Society, and others, a portion of the capitalistic interests, especially ship owners, and finally—and herein lies the special nature of this society—its executive heads are former Generals and Admirals. Besides this, it has the co-operation of a staff of "intellectuals" whose activities extend everywhere. The latter, having acquired, mostly by foreign travel, certain kinds of knowledge and experience, are welcome to the press as experts whenever there is a controversy regarding any question of world politics; on such occasions the Pan-German propagandists bob up, as collaborators and information suppliers of the press, in huge numbers, like snails after a rainstorm, and public opinion is delivered over almost defenseless to them. The secret and the danger of their influence, however, lie in the fact that, whereas, public opinion is invariably swept forward irresistibly by the force of events, the Pan-Germans, by unflagging energy, have been preparing these very events for years.

When the world war broke out in the Summer of 1914, it came as a stunning blow to most Germans. Only a few days before persons who knew what was coming and sought to warn and prepare the rest were called crazy by "leaders" of public affairs. But to all who had been accustomed to find better sources of information in the modest Pan-German Gazette than were available in

the great newspapers of Frankfort and Cologne, the approach of the world tempest was no secret. Since the second Morocco crisis the "world war" had been the ever-recurring catchword in the Pan-German Society's organ, and the German world "concerns"—the popular word for "interests"—had been the dominant subject. From the early part of 1914 the leader of the pan-German propaganda, Dr. Ritter, who was dismissed shortly before the war, traveled about making speeches dealing with the world war, in which, following a well-known pattern, the splendors of war and the immorality of peace were presented, and the absolute necessity of war for the realization of German world ambitions was set forth.

Even in the first 1914 issue of the Pan-German Gazette there are these significant words apropos of a retrospect on the centenary celebrations of 1913: "Let us not forget what the leaders and directors of that time bore within themselves, what they preserved throughout their struggles, and let us also preserve clear will power, indomitable courage, and constant zeal in the service of our people."

In the issue of Jan. 10, 1914, the question was put: "Are we Chauvinists?" This was naturally answered in the negative. But Germany needs new territory. And as the English will not tolerate any expansion of the German Empire, this follows: "If they persist in this attitude, then the great German object is certainly not to be attained without war."

In the third issue of the paper for 1914, in a leading article entitled "Open Your Eyes," a violent attack was made on the Bavarian Minister of War, who had spoken, in agreement with von Hertling, President of the Council of Ministers, regarding the machinations of Pan-German militaristic fanatics. The Pan-German Gazette called this protest of the Minister of War a piece of interference in the affairs of the empire which was at variance with the spirit and wording of the imperial Constitution. It went on to say that the Pan-German fanatics had first called

attention to the weak spots in the German armor and were being opposed in consequence, but that, finally, a project for preparedness had been introduced "which was exactly in accordance with the wishes of the Pan-German militaristic fanatics." And the article closes proudly with the statement that when it came to the question of strengthening the army, those responsible for the sins of the past "should be particularly careful as to how they attacked the driving forces of our national life."

In the succeeding issues, in connection with expressions of sympathy for Colonel von Reuter, new warlike preparations are demanded with increasing vehemence. Attention is called to Russia's preparations and figures adduced to show that the forces of the Triple Alliance were weaker by 90,000 men than those of the Dual Alliance. In the fifth issue the policy of the Foreign Office was criticised in these bitterly scornful words: "Let us rather crawl into a mouse-hole than blunder from one failure to another."

On March 14 this warning was printed in italics:

We maintain, today more than ever, that Germany and Austria-Hungary, even with the most honorable desire for peace, cannot avoid war with their eastern and western neighbors, that a frightful, decisive struggle will be forced upon them. * * * Whoever willfully seeks to hide the fateful gravity of a future not far away because he fears the effect on the situation of the moment commits an unspeakable crime against the Ger-treason against the German Nation. man Nation and becomes guilty of high

On April 4 the efforts of the German organizations seeking to promote an understanding between Germany and England were thus held up to scorn:

In this way a not unimportant part of our people * * * is deceived as to the seriousness of the situation and continually taken on walks through a political Utopia in the clouds. And if what has been approaching year by year, one may almost say month by month, becomes a reality, we shall have a nation as well fitted for emerging victoriously from days of trial as a lot of Berlin afternoon tea aesthetes for agricultural pursuits.

In the very next issue—April 11, 1914—one finds comments by General Freiherr von Gebtsattel (who at that time



MOHAMMED V.
Reining Sultan of Turkey
(Photo from Feature Photo Service.)



PRINCE SAID HALIM PASHA

Grand Vizier of Turkey

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

exercised a very considerable influence in certain South German circles) concerning our foreign foes. Referring to the statement of a war-inspired writer that the German Nation had overcome with comparative ease the consequences even of the Thirty Years' War, but that it seemed doubtful whether it could live down those of forty or fifty years' peace, Gebtsattel said that the German people would not incur the "danger" of proving the correctness of this statement. He then pointed to the hatred of France and Russia and called our relation to England actually tragic:

Nowhere is there a valid excuse for genuine hostility with this nearest relation of ours. All we ask is that she shall not cross our path when we seek to acquire a colony which we can colonize with the overflow of our population. Should she come to an understanding with us on this point, then a solid and lasting friendship might arise which would not be imperiled necessarily by the competition of our growing manufacturing interests. Should we become allies we should rule the world. * * * On the other hand, should England go to war with us, then her position as a world power will be seriously jeopardized.

Concerning Belgium he wrote:

Belgium * * * begins to adopt a thoroughly unfriendly attitude toward us.

Concerning Austria:

Things will so turn out that Austria must use a strong army against the Balkan States, notably Serbia, (this was written before Serajevo!) in which case she will be able to cope with half the Russian Army. Thus Russia will always be able to use more numerous forces against Germany than the entire forces which the latter had available against France in 1870.

From all this it becomes apparent that, whenever the time comes—and it may come very soon—we must be in a position to bear the brunt of the onslaught of the enemy's masses.

In the middle of April there was a meeting of the heads of the Pan-German Society at Stuttgart, which the Gazette reported on April 25. In a preliminary meeting for purposes of welcome Professor Count du Moulin-Eckart of Munich said:

The fateful day draws near. And even if the twilight of the gods be upon us, let it come in furious battle rather than in lingering sickness!

Admiral z. d. Breusing of Berlin said concerning the foreign political situa-

tion, that the strained relations between Germany and England, which had reached their acutest stage in the Summer of 1911, had improved a bit not because the English felt more friendly toward us, and even less because German diplomacy had worked with good fortune and skill, "but only because the German fleet had become so strong that England respected it. The actual power represented by our fleet had accomplished what the inadequacy of diplomacy had failed to achieve. * * * But this does not mean that England is no longer our rival, or that she is no longer ready to participate with other nations in hostile machinations or undertakings against our Fatherland." He said also that Russia had taken England's place in the foremost hostile line against us, and added:

We have long been convinced that the unnatural state of affairs in Europe, the desire of our rivals to push us aside in every zone of the more important fields of world politics, must lead to war—that it is for us no longer a question of bending, but of breaking. We tax those at the helm in our country with leaving the initiative to our rival; we have coined for this the phrase that we have ceased being the subject of world politics and have become the object, simply the object.

We demand that a stop be put to this policy of hesitation and lack of decision. We wish to become the masters of our decisions and not have them forced upon us from abroad. (Then follows more against the policy that makes it possible to German capital, through international agreements, to work in the Portuguese colonies of Africa.) Not a penny of German money for such foreign territory! What we need are colonies of our own!

The remainder of the article points to the fact, no longer unknown, that at that very time certain agreements were made following our colonial policy, and it is particularly against this that Breusing writes as follows:

In its relations to all the basic questions of European and world politics, the understanding of England in Africa, and that of England, Russia, and France in Asiatic Turkey, are unimportant, and must not mislead us. Our fate is to be decided in Europe. That matters are approaching a decision here we know, and we do not allow ourselves to be deceived as to the necessity of this decision by negotiations with us, forced upon those making them, concerning territory outside of Europe.

After Major Gen. Klein had spoken of

the national defense situation and demanded an immediate new armament project, a resolution was adopted which stated:

The full Board of Directors of the Pan-German Society declares that the expected improvement in the political situation of Europe after the Balkan wars has not materialized, but that, on the contrary, this situation has been rendered more acute by the extraordinary preparations of France and Russia, by the anti-German attitude of the most influential circles in both of these neighboring States, and by unfriendly acts of their Governments. Those at the head of the society draw from the foregoing the conclusion that France and Russia are preparing a decisive war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, and that both intend to strike as soon as they find what they deem a favorable opportunity. The heads of the society are convinced, furthermore, that this struggle will settle the fate of the German people for a long time, perhaps forever, and that the fate of the rest of the Germanic peoples in Europe will be most closely wrapped up with it. Feeling assured of this, the Pan-German Society feels in duty bound to warn the German people to go forward toward this fateful hour with caution and determination.

All that was before the Serajevo murder. People also concerned themselves, of course, with the Austrian problems, but confined themselves mostly to critical remarks against the pro-Slavic policy of the Austrian Government. The "premature death" of Francis Ferdinand was called, to be sure, the "most important event since Bismarck's dismissal, perhaps even since the day of Versailles." But this crime was by no means important in the Pan-German agitation, especially as there seemed to be uncertainty as to the course that Austria would pursue. The necessity for a world war was looked upon from the start as a Western European question, having to do with the acquisition of colonies by Germany.

So there were attacks now against the faint-hearted in official posts. At the launching of the steamship *Bismarck*, the Kaiser closed his speech with Bismarck's words: "We Germans fear God and nothing else in the world." On this oc-

casion, the North German Public Gazette criticised statements in a speech by Admiral Breusing at Basle, observing that he appeared to have "evolved strategic theories for a future war between Germany and England." The Pan-German Gazette made the following sharp comment on this:

Semi-official people are a strange lot; apparently they have learned thoroughly how to fear and for that reason they deem it safer to tell foreign countries that the high-sounding closing words of the Kaiser's speech contained nothing to alarm those countries which are our political rivals.

Ever more vehement become the complaints against the Government's foreign policy. On July 11 the Pan-German organ averred that Germany could have achieved all she wished had she not backed down in the Morocco negotiations. It said:

For they knew on the Thames as well as on the Spree that they might wage war against the German Empire alone, with the possibility of annihilating the German fleet, and with it Germany's ambitions as a world power, but that they could not do it in alliance with France. And the French, in spite of all their fiery nature, are still capable of coming to the logical conclusion that they, the vanquished of 1870, may have the same thing happen to them again, and that it would be necessary for Germany to make good the damage done her by England's destruction of her fleet, closing of her ports, and seizure of her colonies, at the expense of France, and to do it in such a way and with such thoroughness that there could be no question of a speedy recovery on the part of France.

On July 4 there was a meeting of the Directors at Berlin, and the following report was made: "It has been acknowledged in all quarters that the situation of our nation has never been so fearfully serious, since the foundation of the empire, as it is just now." On Aug. 1, following the ultimatum to Serbia, the Pan-German Gazette rejoiced because Austria had pulled herself together and surprised the world by political measures "which were as cold-bloodedly and cleverly prepared as they were impressively and determinedly carried out."

The State of the Nation

By Woodrow Wilson

President of the United States

President Wilson's message to the joint houses of Congress was read by him Dec. 8, 1915; it was received with deep interest throughout this country and elicited much attention among all the countries of the world. The keynotes of the address were national defense, Pan-Americanism, loyalty, and a reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine. In the opening phrases referring to the European war he said:

WE have stood apart, studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so. Not only did we have no part or interest in the policies which seem to have brought the conflict on; it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of destructive war and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive, if only to prevent collective economic ruin and the breakdown throughout the world of the industries by which its populations are fed and sustained. It was manifestly the duty of the self-governed nations of this hemisphere to redress, if possible, the balance of economic loss and confusion in the other, if they could do nothing more. In the day of readjustment and recuperation we earnestly hope and believe that they can be of infinite service.

In this neutrality, to which they were bidden not only by their separate life and their habitual detachment from the politics of Europe, but also by a clear perception of international duty, the States of America have become conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bid them stand together.

There was a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence

in Central and South America when the Government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water; felt it its duty to play the part even without invitation from them; and I think that we can claim that the task was undertaken with a true and disinterested enthusiasm for the freedom of the Americas and the unmolested self-government of her independent peoples. But it was always difficult to maintain such a rôle without offense to the pride of the peoples whose freedom of action we sought to protect, and without provoking serious misconceptions of our motives, and every thoughtful man of affairs must welcome the altered circumstances of the new day in whose light we now stand, when there is no claim of guardianship or thought of wards, but instead full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, North and South.

Our concern for the independence and prosperity of the States of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our Government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe. We still mean always to make a common cause of national independence and of political liberty in America. But that purpose is now better understood so far as it concerns ourselves. It is known not to be a selfish purpose. It is known to have in it no thought of taking advantage of any Government in this hemisphere or playing its political fortunes for our own benefit. All the Governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

We have been put to the test in the

case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. Her fortunes are in her own hands. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and Government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a few men's choosing ought ever to be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountains of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which in the great days in which our Government was set up was everywhere among us accepted as the creed of free men.

That doctrine is, "That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community"; that "of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal." We have unhesitatingly applied that heroic principle in the case of Mexico, and now hopefully await the rebirth of the troubled republic, which had so much of which to purge itself and so little sympathy from any outside quarter in the radical but necessary process. We will aid and befriend Mexico, but we will not coerce her, and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.

The moral is, that the States of America are not hostile rivals, but co-operating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a

new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused policies of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is Pan-Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

In discussing the question of national defense he said:

No one who really comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and dominion are not in our reckoning, or agreeable to our principles. But just because we demand unmolested development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practice.

We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than that. We demand it also for others. We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of independence and right. From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side the sea,

and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freemen.

Out of such thoughts grow all our policies. We regard war merely as asserting the rights of a people against aggression. And we are as fiercely jealous of coercive or dictatorial power within our own nation as of aggression from without. We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war; and we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no larger than is actually and continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us. But we do believe in a body of free citizens ready and sufficient to take care of themselves and of the Governments which they have set up to serve them. In our Constitutions themselves we have commanded that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," and our confidence has been that our safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the nation to take care of itself, as the farmers rose at Lexington.

But war has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the Government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The military arm of their Government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve them and make their independence secure—and not their own independence merely, but the rights also of those with whom they have made common cause, should they also be put in jeopardy. They must be fitted to play the great rôle in the world, and particularly in this hemisphere, for which they

are qualified by principle and by chastened ambition to play.

[He then detailed his suggestions respecting the increase in the army and navy, recommending an increase in the army to 7,136 officers and 141,843 men, supplemented by a citizens' reserve force of 400,000 men to be enlisted 133,000 a year, with two months in training camp each year. His recommendation respecting the increase in the navy covers the period to 1921, so that the full program would comprise 27 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 25 second-line battleships, ten armored cruisers, 13 scout cruisers, 5 first-class cruisers, 3 second-class, 10 third-class, 108 destroyers, 18 fleet submarines, 157 coast submarines, 6 monitors, 20 gunboats, 4 supply ships, 15 fuel ships, 4 transports, 3 torpedo tenders, 8 special vessels, and 2 ammunition ships.]

THE SHIPPING BILL

He next discussed the proposed shipping bill, saying:

It is necessary for many weighty reasons of national efficiency and development that we should have a great merchant marine. The great merchant fleet we once used to make us rich, that great body of sturdy sailors who used to carry our flag into every sea, and who were the pride and often the bulwark of the nation, we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect and indifference and by a hopelessly blind and provincial policy of so-called economic protection. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our commercial independence on the seas.

For it is a question of independence. If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other's commerce, our merchants, it seems, are at their mercy, to do with as they please. We must use their ships, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We cannot handle our own commerce on the seas. Our independence is provincial, and is only on land and within our own borders. We are not likely to be permitted to use even the ships of other nations in rivalry of their own trade, and are without means to extend our commerce even where the

doors are wide open and our goods desired. Such a situation is not to be endured. It is of capital importance not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate merchant marine would give it, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-sufficiency, if it is not to be drawn into the tangle of European affairs. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is very seriously clouded and complicated indeed.

Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own—not ships of war, but ships of peace, carrying goods and carrying much more; creating friendships and rendering indispensable services to all interests on this side the water. They must move constantly back and forth between the Americas. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual dependence in which we wish to clothe our policy of America for Americans.

The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for America private capital must ultimately undertake and achieve, as it has undertaken and achieved every other like task among us in the past, with admirable enterprise, intelligence, and vigor; and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much-to-be-desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase, and American registration of ships. But capital cannot accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop.

Something must be done at once; done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the arteries of trade where the currents have not yet learned to run—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly

enough, yet to be created and quickened; and it is evident that only the Government can undertake such beginnings and assume the initial financial risks. When the risk has passed and private capital begins to find its way in sufficient abundance into these new channels, the Government may withdraw. But it cannot omit to begin. It should take the first steps, and should take them at once. Our goods must not lie piled up at our ports and stored upon side tracks in freight cars which are daily needed on the roads; must not be left without means of transport to any foreign quarter. We must not await the permission of foreign ship-owners and foreign Governments to send them where we will.

[He strongly urged the passage of reform measures to give larger measure of independence to the Philippines and Porto Rico and then discussed at length the measures necessary to be taken to meet the proposed increased expenditures for army and navy. He opposes a bond issue and recommends that the present war taxes be continued, a tax on pig iron and fabricated iron, a tax on bank checks, gasoline, and motors.]

LOYALTY AND STALWART AMERICANISM

He explained that in recommending an increase in the military forces he had in mind—

no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other Governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been and may yet turn out to be.

I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags, but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our na-

tional life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks; but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers.

America never witnessed anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free stocks such as supplied some of the best and strongest elements of that little, but how heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations and set up a new standard here—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malign reaction against the Government and people who had welcomed and nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hotbed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate Federal laws to deal with it.

I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that in doing so I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They

have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the Government in order to serve interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectually. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with.

I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of allegiance to the Governments under which they were born, had been guilty of disturbing the self-possession and misrepresenting the temper and principles of the country during these days of terrible war, when it would seem that every man who was truly an American would instinctively make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own. But it cannot. There are some men among us, and many resident abroad who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruptions of the mind and heart; but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these and expressing the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self-possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of them and of the discredit they are daily bringing upon us.

He concludes his message with an appeal for measures to mobilize the industries and resources of the country. He discourages further regulatory railway legislation, but suggested a Commission of Inquiry to ascertain—

whether there is anything else we can do that would supply us with the effective means, in the very process of regulation, for bettering the conditions under which the railroads are operated and for making them more useful servants of the coun-

try as a whole. It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of co-ordination and efficiency in the full light of a fresh assessment of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and se-

curity. We serve a great nation. We should serve it in the spirit of its peculiar genius. It is the genius of common men for self-government, industry, justice, liberty, and peace. We should see to it that it lacks no instrument, no facility or vigor of law, to make it sufficient to play its part with energy, safety, and assured success. In this we are not partisans, but heralds and prophets of a new age.

Criticism of the President's Message

By Theodore Roosevelt

Ex-President of the United States

Former President Roosevelt, on the same day the President's message was published, gave out the following statement to the press:

Oyster Bay, Dec. 7, 1915.

AT the outset President Wilson, speaking of the war, says: "We have stood apart, studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so. Further on he says: "We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than that. We demand it also for others." Later he says: "We regard war as a means of asserting the rights of a people against aggression," and continues: "We are fiercely jealous * * * of aggression from without."

What does Mr. Wilson mean when in one line he says that we have "stood apart, studiously neutral," because "it was our manifest duty to do so," and a couple of paragraphs later says that "we demand security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development for others?" He can take either of the two positions, but he cannot take both. Did or did not Mr. Wilson "demand security" for Belgium to "prosecute its self-chosen lines of national development?" He knows he did not. Then what does he mean by saying that "we demand this security also for others?" Again, he says that he regards war as a means of asserting the rights of a people against aggression,"

and yet he says that it was our duty to remain studiously neutral when Belgium asserted the rights of her people by war against the aggression of Germany.

How does he reconcile these two statements? He cannot do so. He is using words to cover a policy of dishonorable inaction. Again, he says that we are "fiercely jealous of aggression from without." How did he show his "fierce jealousy" as regards the aggressions on the Lusitania and Ancona, which resulted in the loss of several scores and the jeopardy of hundreds of American lives?

How has he shown his "fierce jealousy" as regards the sixty or seventy soldiers wearing the American uniform, not to speak of the women and children and civilians, killed or wounded on American soil by Mexican bullets? One symptom of his "fierce jealousy" to prevent "aggression from without" was the issuing of an order that our men should not fire back when fired upon. Does Mr. Wilson regard that order as "fierce jealousy"? It does not strike any other human being as such.

Three years ago Mr. Wilson said he believed in the policy of "pitiless publicity." We have never had as secretive an Administration. The exact numbers of the soldiers of the United States Army who have been killed or wounded by Mexicans cannot be told, because Mr. Wilson won't permit the figures to be made

public. Neither is it possible to ascertain the exact numbers of the American men, women, and children who have been killed or outraged in person or property in Mexico, because Mr. Wilson for three years has hindered all publicity, pitiless or pitiful, about these outrages in Mexico. Mr. Wilson's elocution and Mr. Wilson's action are in flat contradiction. His elocution is that of a Byzantine logothete—and Byzantine logothetes were not men of action.

President Wilson says that we have been put to the test in the case of Mexico and have "stood the test," and that we have supplied a "heroic principle to the case of Mexico." Of all possible adjectives that could be found in the English language by the most minute search on the part of the most subtle dialectician it would not be possible to find one more inappropriate to the Administration's course in Mexico than the adjective "heroic." Nearly three years ago Mr. Wilson refused to recognize Huerta on the ground that we were never to recognize a Government founded on violence. He then tentatively supported Villa, who represented the embodiment of violence; it being meanwhile asserted on behalf of the Administration that under no circumstances would we deal with Carranza, whose Government likewise was founded on violence.

The President has now eaten his words and recognized Carranza, and through his private secretary he has issued a defense of and apology for the outrages committed by the Carranzistas and by the other bandits of the other factions in Mexico, outrages as infamous as ever were committed by savages anywhere under the sun.

Mr. Wilson refused to employ the power of the United States to protect the lives of American men and the honor of American women or to save those wearing the United States uniform from death or from insult. He took no steps to save Mexican and foreign women, including nuns, married women, and unmarried women, when they were subjected to outrages and infamies which make the white slave traffic seem trivial by comparison. But he now uses the

power of the United States to help one set of the bandits responsible for these infamies against another set. This is Mr. Wilson's definition of "heroic" conduct. It is his conception of "standing the test." Such definitions and conceptions are interesting only from the standpoint of adroit dialectics.

In his present message President Wilson advocates as necessary certain propositions for putting this country in a state of preparedness to defend itself against foreign aggression. In his message one year ago he said such propositions were hysterical and improper. I am glad that he has changed his mind, but I am sorry that he has not taken the trouble to study the subject so as to make his proposals reasonably adequate to the country's need. His proposed enlargement of the regular army is utterly inadequate. With certain of his statements it is almost impossible to deal, simply because it seems incredible that their apparent and obvious meaning can be their real meaning.

For example, he says: "We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are necessary in time of peace as in time of war; and we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no larger than is actually and continually needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us." What this means I have no idea, and I am certain that no one else has any idea, including the President himself. What "necessary use" have our forts and our coast guns "in time of peace"? How is our field artillery "continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us"? I ask these questions seriously. I defy any man to give me a serious answer which shall not show that the statements are absurdities.

The proposed "continental" army cannot produce good results. It is a proposal that a few of the young men of the country shall for two months every year abandon their work and in the interest of the common defense train themselves to defend their successful business rivals who decline to abandon their work in the interest of the common defense. The

average young man of the right type cannot and ought not to put himself at a disadvantage by abandoning his work, or, if an employer, by permitting his employes to abandon their work, when no such burden is imposed upon his less patriotic competitors. This is not a square deal.

It is not in accordance with the democratic ideal. We ought to demand from all alike the same service and not ask people who are high-minded and patriotic to volunteer at their own personal cost and to their own detriment; for such action is to the profit of the less high-minded and less patriotic who won't volunteer. The President's proposal is merely to create an inefficient rival of the National Guard. It will damage the National Guard without achieving any useful purpose whatever.

It is the duty of this nation in time of peace to prepare for war; and it is no less the duty of this Administration now in time of war to prepare for the industrial struggles that will follow upon peace. The Administration has done neither and is doing neither. The proposal to purchase ships by the National Government is a proposal to prevent private business undertaking the permanent revival of the American shipping trade. As regards the tariff, we need a nonpartisan tariff commission of experts, who shall treat the tariff as a business proposition in the interests of the business of the country as a whole and of all our fellow-citizens, so as both to secure and adequately to distribute prosperity.

The message does not make clear what it is—if anything—which the President proposes in the way of industrial legislation or action. He states that the transportation problem lies at the very bottom of our efficiency as a people. This statement could be more appropriately made of the whole business problem, of which the transportation problem is only one side, although a very important side. He seems to stand, and in one sentence clearly does stand, for the regulation of the railways of the country. There is an even greater need of the encouragement, and incidentally

the regulation, of industry. We need efficiency in railroading; but if there are no goods to carry there is no use in having carriers, and therefore the fundamental thing is efficiency in business.

The trouble with our business in this country today is that it must be transacted at loose ends, largely because our business men, whose first desire is to obey the law, have been and are in jeopardy lest some Government official, national or State, may decide that they have disobeyed the laws, these laws themselves being often in hopeless conflict with one another. The honest business man of great capacity, whose great capacity should be at the service of the country, is often unable to find out how his business can be transacted legally on anything that approximates a large scale and that is in keeping with modern economic conditions and requirements.

In short, the President fails to make a single constructive recommendation as regards industry. Our utter lack of preparedness to meet foreign aggression is no greater than our utter lack of preparedness to meet the industrial crisis that will be upon us when this war is over. The two questions should be treated together, and the President treats with utter inadequacy of one and not at all of the other.

The most noteworthy part of the President's message is that in which he says that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety come from citizens of the United States born under other flags who have been disloyal and who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt and to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purpose. In this he is entirely correct. But the remedy lies in action such as Andrew Jackson took about nullification, such as Grover Cleveland took about anarchy in Chicago.

He states that we are without adequate Federal laws to deal with the situation. He says that such laws are necessary in order to "save the honor and self-respect of this nation"; he says

that it is possible to deal with the disloyalty, murderous anarchy, and conspiracies of which he speaks "very effectually"; but he adds that he "need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with."

The duty of a leader is to lead. If President Wilson has not adequate power, he should tell us exactly what he wishes in order to get the adequate power. He should demand that the National Legislature give him the power. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Wilson is himself responsible for most of the conditions of which he complains.

He has met a policy of blood and iron with a policy of milk and water. Indecision, and the treatment of conversation as a substitute for action, and, above all, the making of threats which

are not carried into effect, put a premium upon exactly the form of anarchy and conspiracy of which the President complains. Nine-tenths of wisdom consists in being wise in time.

The President now wails to Congress that he is unable to control anarchy and would like them to supply what is lacking by passing laws the nature of which he does not indicate. There would be no need for this wail if ten months ago, when he wrote his note to Germany, stating that he would hold her to "strict accountability" for outrages against us, he had meant what he said, and had made it evident that he meant what he said. Such action would not provoke war. It would prevent the cumulative outrages which lay the foundation for war.

The Army Surgeon

By SYDNEY DOBELL

Over that breathing waste of friends and foes,
The wounded and the dying, hour by hour—
In will a thousand, yet but one in power—
He labors thro' the red and groaning day.
The fearful moorland where the myriads lay
Moved as a moving field of mangled worms.
And as a raw brood, orphaned in the storms,
Thrust up their heads if the wind bend a spray
Above them, but when the bare branch performs
No sweet parental office, sink away
With hopeless chirp of woe, so as he goes
Around his feet in clamorous agony
They rise and fall; and all the seething plain
Bubbles a caldron vast of many-colored pain.

1855.



Denmark's Preparedness

By Agnes Slott-Moeller

After the Danish Women's Society for Defense had chosen Mrs. Agnes Slott-Moeller as Chairman, the aim of the organization was outlined by Mrs. Moeller in an address which the *Nationaltidende* of Copenhagen publishes, a translation of which appears below.

SINCE you have honored me by electing me President of the Danish Women's Society for Defense I crave your permission to outline what I believe is the task that we are to discharge in common.

It seems to me that the women of Denmark are to be complimented for early realizing that the defense of the country is something that concerns them particularly, and that they have volunteered to agitate the matter both in their homes and at the polls.

Women actually play the most important part in this issue, and it is for them to work for the changed point of view. For thirty years the population in its inner politics has stood confronted by what is one of the chief elements in its economic existence, namely, the relationship between nationality and defense. It was not merely an accident that the consequential controversies of the eighties and the nineties were military questions, for Danish nationalism was at stake. The political storm shook the very foundation of Denmark so that the people hardly knew how to find their way home.

But now the time has come for getting home once more, and our voluntary corps will aid them striking the right path to their own home, the home that for so long has been without proper care taking and where the door has stood wide open so that thief and highwayman could come and go unhindered.

And you must not only assume charge of the premises once more, but do it with a new conscience and in anticipation that we will aid you. An entirely new mental viewpoint must chase away the old ghost that used to stand ready with its

"what's the use?" That is the nightmare that takes the guise of all manner of apprehensions as regards the impossibility of any kind of preparedness. This idea has weighed heavily on the mind of the Danish people, decade after decade.

We must renew our thoughts so that we can again feel the power of doing. All depends upon the source at the fountain head, and where this source is pure and sparkling the effect becomes what the world terms wonderful.

I shall tell you of words that once upon a time in the history of the world, through the mind of woman, raised the spirit of an entire people. The words are said to be of the time of the Middle Ages in France, supposedly of the period of Charles VII. When we look at the portrait of this King we are not so sure that it originated with him. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the words were those of the Maid of Orléans when she brought him assistance. "A vaillans coeurs riens impossible!" ("To brave hearts nothing is impossible!")

Those words I have had engraved on this bracelet, for when I am reminded of this I get courage to do what is difficult.

I believe there is use for those words at this moment and in many places, and I hope you will also make it your watchword when you go out to do the work that is woman's portion in that great task which is to raise the standard that means not only the will to prepare and defend, but an entirely new spirit among our people.

"To brave hearts nothing is impossible!"

Winston Spencer Churchill

A Character Sketch

"Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre; ne sais quand reviendra!"

SUPPOSING Kermit should go into politics, and then, after three years, should not only slide from the antlered monarch of the waste (or the elephant) to the back of the donkey, but should further slide toward the donkey's socialistic tail and begin to whoop—we should have a very fair parallel to the political send-off of Winston Spencer Churchill. For, above all things, he is the son of his father. That father was Lord Randolph Churchill, son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough; a little man with a huge, curling moustache, that used to bristle across the floor of the House of Commons with the fiery vivacity of the antennae of a cockroach, to borrow from Sienkewicz the description of his fire-eating hero, who in so many things resembled "Randy"—as the Commons used to call Lord Randolph.

But to outline the parallel with Kermit's parent: Lord Randolph rose, by virtue of a genius for demagogic politics, aided by a vitriolic tongue—here the parallel weakens—to the leadership of the great Conservative Party. He created a new party, the "Tory Democracy," which was to borrow all the social reform of the Liberals, while keeping a fine nucleus of working Torydom, and, having done these things, he "dished" himself politically by trying to rip his former political friends—beginning with the more than portly Salisbury—up the back. Having dished himself, he traveled in Africa, shot big game, and wrote a book. Surely the likeness is close enough. Finally, he was gathered to his fathers—seven generations of Dukes—leaving to his son, Winston, a highly explosive temperament, a gift for mob oratory, and a fine journalistic touch in foreign correspondence.

Winston Churchill's Christian name goes back at least to that fine country

gentleman, Sir Winston Churchill, father of the irresistible Arabella, who was one of the few women in history to be the mother of three Dukes; father also of the adroit, pugnacious, greatly gifted, not greatly scrupulous John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, and victor at Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, in five years' fighting, much of which was on Belgian soil. There was also a brother who was an Admiral; so that Winston of today naturally oscillates between the army and the navy.

Winston Churchill is still incredibly young in spirit, though he was born forty-one years ago. In one sense, he was "the boy who never grew up." From the great public school at Harrow-on-the-Hill he went to Sandhurst, where they hatch young officers for the line regiments, got his commission in the Fourth Hussars, when he was twenty-one, and shortly thereafter went to Cuba to observe the workings of the Spanish Army. Then he did a turn in India, in the Thirty-first Punjab Infantry and served in the Malakand field force. Like his esteemed parent, he ran to newspaper correspondence; and, while he was in the Boer war, it was as a journalist rather than a soldier. In South Africa he was captured by the Boers, on Nov. 15, 1899, escaping twenty-seven days later from the Boer detention camp. Of course that meant another book.

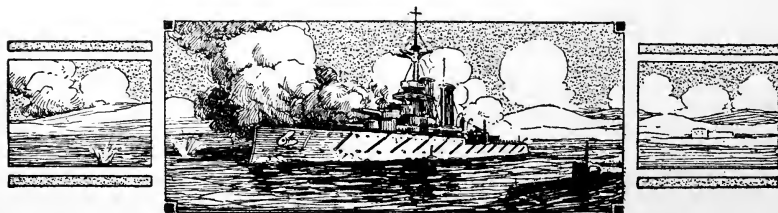
After the war, our Winston came home and went into politics, beginning, as has been foreshadowed, on the Conservative side, as M. P. for Oldham, to which seat he was elected in October, 1900. Three years later, Chamberlain sprung his great tariff reform scheme upon the country, thereby wrecking the Conservative Party, as, in older days, he had wrecked the Liberal Party of Gladstone and the Irish Party of Parnell. Winston Churchill, somewhat like the Vicar of Bray in the ballad, discovered that he

did not like to be on the unpopular side, and crossed the floor of the House of Commons from the Conservative to the Liberals benches—the same journey that Gladstone had made, long before he was the Grand Old Man, when he was still the “rising hope of the Tories.” Perhaps Winston Churchill, inspired by Gladstone’s example, looked forward hopefully to a day when he, too, would be Prime Minister of England.

He made splendid running at the start. With all his parent’s eloquence, and with far less of “Randy’s” vitriol, he charged the enemy, in the person of Joseph Chamberlain, with such good effect that, returned as a Liberal by Manchester in the general election of 1906, he was speedily made Under Secretary for the Colonies. At once he became conspicuous as a Parliamentary orator of the first water; and, shortly after, promoted to Cabinet rank, as President of the Board of Trade, he might well begin to look for the ultimate honor. Whatever he did was picturesque. And what he did was, chiefly, to sing second to Lloyd George’s socialistic schemes, which were carried forward amid much vituperation of Dukes, by this descendant of seven of them. It would not be unfair to say that, to these two men, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, was due the tinge of

French Revolution feeling which coursed through the veins of working-class England, and which has had some rather unpleasant recrudescences since the war began. It is only just that Lloyd George should be called on, having sown the wind, to meet the consequent gale. As Home Secretary in 1910, and as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1913, Churchill was still in line for the Premiership. Then, a few months later, came the war; then the unhappy fate of Antwerp and the Dardanelles adventure, bringing the quarrel with Lord Fisher, the real brains of the navy. Mr. Asquith was forced to rebuild his Cabinet, and did this, giving Winston Churchill a thinking part in that magnificent sinecure, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancashire. Mr. Balfour, the Conservative ex-Premier, got Winston Churchill’s former job at the Admiralty, while Winston’s great rival for future Liberal honors won golden opinions as the new Minister of Munitions. Churchill stood it—for a few weeks. Then he resigned, went back to his earliest trade of soldiering, and gallantly started for the front, being abundantly endowed with that fine personal courage which all the Churchills possess. There, close to his greatest ancestor’s battlefields of Ramilies and Oudenarde, he has yet one more chance to cover himself with glory.

[On the next page begins the speech delivered by Mr. Churchill before Parliament on Nov. 15, 1915, in which he defends his conduct of the naval war.]



Britain's Sea War

By Winston Spencer Churchill

Late First Lord of the British Admiralty

Winston Spencer Churchill, who has been the most severely criticised member of the Government and has been held personally responsible for the loss of Rear Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock's fleet in the Pacific, the destruction by submarines of the British cruisers Cressy, Hoguet, and Aboukir; the sending of the naval brigade to Antwerp and the beginning of the naval attack on the Dardanelles without military support, made a speech in his own defense in the House of Commons on Nov. 15, 1915, following his resignation of his post in the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in order that he might go to the front. The text of Mr. Churchill's speech appears below.

MR. SPEAKER: My letter to the Prime Minister gives fully and truthfully the reasons which have led me to ask for release from his Majesty's Government, and I do not need to add anything, as far as I am concerned, to it this afternoon. But I think it important to point out that these reasons do not apply to any other member of the Cabinet. No other Minister who does not hold a laborious office and is not on the War Council has been so closely connected as I have with the conduct of the war in its first ten months. Secondly, I alone have open to me an alternative form of service to which no exception can be taken, and with which I am perfectly content. Neither does the fact that I do not take my place on the front Opposition bench imply any criticism of those who do. In truth, I earnestly hope that the right honorable and learned member for Dublin University may find it possible to be constantly in attendance in the House. It is in the high public interest that some one with complete secret information of the whole position as it is today, and some one sincerely devoted to the public cause and altogether independent of the Government, should be available. That bench (the front Opposition bench) is the right honorable gentleman's war station, and I hope he will continue to occupy it for the good of the House, for the good of the country, and for the good of the Government. I have had great doubts as to whether I should trouble the House at all this afternoon, but I felt that I ought not to leave this country without dealing

to some extent, and as far as the public interests will permit, with certain episodes and incidents in Admiralty war direction which occurred during my tenure of office. These have been the subject of much comment in the country, and I have lain under serious reproach in regard to them. The incidents are, first, the destruction of Admiral von Spee's squadron in the series of operations which included the actions of Coronel and the Falkland Islands; secondly, the loss of the three Bacchante cruisers; thirdly, the attempt to relieve Antwerp, and, fourthly, the initiation of the naval attack on the Dardanelles.

With the first two points I can deal very shortly. It is for the First Lord of the Admiralty to decide when the story of Coronel and the Falkland Islands should be told. I see no reason why it should not be told now. More than a year has passed. The seas have been swept clear of the enemy's flag for more than six months; the entire naval situation has altered, and I cannot conceive of any military or naval reason which should prevent the story being told. If it were thought undesirable to lay papers containing paraphrases of the authentic telegrams I would suggest to my right honorable friend, (Mr. Balfour,) that a full account should be prepared from the authentic documents by some good naval writer—such as Julian Corbett, or some one like that—with the Admiralty's authority. It would then be shown that the political head of the Admiralty was in full agreement with his expert advisers—then Prince Louis of Battenberg and

Admiral Sturdee—it would be shown that the Admiralty dispositions were sound, and probably the best that could have been made in all the circumstances, and I think this could be proved without detracting from the gallant devotion of Admiral Cradock. It would also tell a fine story of blue-water operations of which owing to our preparedness and strength we have had only too few in the course of the present war.

All my directions and comments have been made in writing, and all my business at the Admiralty was conducted in writing, and my right honorable friend has my full authority to publish or quote any minute of mine on this subject which may be considered relevant or of interest. More than that I cannot say. It would be impossible to give any idea of these operations without maps and charts and an intrusion on the time of the House which I certainly could not think of making. I leave the matter entirely in the hands of my right honorable friend.

With regard to the three *Bacchante* cruisers I must be more definite. The charge has been made publicly and repeatedly that I overruled the naval authorities in keeping these cruisers out against their advice and that the disaster was due personally to me. That charge is not true. I take general responsibility for everything that was done or not done; but it is not that invidious responsibility which falls upon a Minister who incompetently overrules his professional advisers. It is for the First Lord to determine what should or should not be published.

So far as I am concerned, I make no objection to everything being published, but I do not press for it, as the papers might do injury to officers who are serving and to others. I do not see that I can do more than that. Let it be fairly understood that I am not the cause of any withholding of papers from publication. It is not in my interest that they are withheld, though on the other hand I do not in the least wish to press for any publication which the naval authorities consider—I will not say against the public interest—but not convenient to the

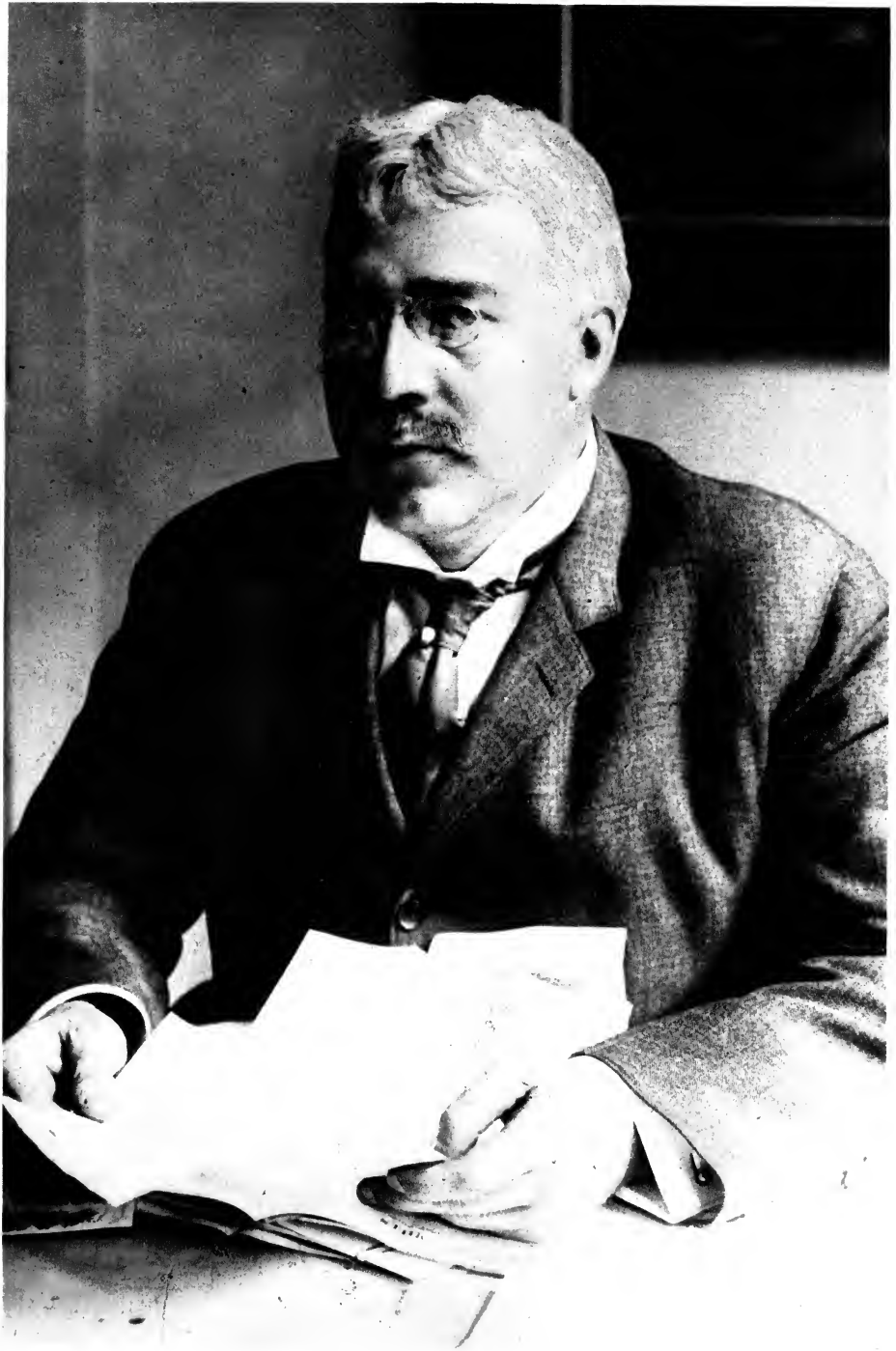
smooth and orderly working of Admiralty administration.

I come now to Antwerp. Here, again, I hope to be brief. The project of sending a relieving army to the aid of Antwerp did not originate with me. It originated with Lord Kitchener and the French Government. I was not concerned or consulted in the arrangements until they had advance a long way; and until large bodies of troops were actually moving or under orders to move.

On the night of Oct. 2 at midnight I was summoned to a conference at Lord Kitchener's house, where my right honorable friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the First Sea Lord, and others were present. I then learned, what to some extent I knew from the telegrams—first, that plans for sending a relieving army to the aid of Antwerp were already far advanced and were being concerted between Lord Kitchener and the French Government, that they had not yet reached a point where definite offers and promises could be made to the Belgian Government, and that, meanwhile, that afternoon the Belgian Government had telegraphed its decision to evacuate the city with the field army and to withdraw from the fort and practically to abandon the defense.

We were all extremely distressed at this; it seemed that at the moment when aid was available everything was going to be thrown away for the sake of three or four days' continued resistance. In these circumstances I offered—and I do not regret it a bit—to proceed to Antwerp at once, to tell the Belgian Government what was being done, to ascertain the situation on the spot, and to see in what way the defense could be prolonged until a relieving force could be established. My colleagues accepted this offer on my part, and I crossed the Channel at once.

The next day, having consulted with the Belgian Government and with the British Staff officers who were at Antwerp watching the progress of the operation, I made a telegraphic proposal. I had to be extremely careful not to say anything on behalf of the British Government which would encourage the Bel-



FRANK A. VANDERLIP

President of the National City Bank of New York, Who Will Head
a New Corporation for Foreign Trade

(Photo © by Underwood & Underwood.)



BARON EIICHI SHIBUSAWA

Japan's Foremost Banker, Who Has Visited the United States to Promote Friendly Relations with Japan

(Photo © by Moffett Studio.)

gians to resistance in the hopes of getting help we could not afterward make good. The proposal which I made may be briefly stated. It is all set out in the telegrams, and some day will be made public. It is as follows: The Belgians were to continue the resistance to the utmost limit of their power. The British and French Governments were to say within three days definitely whether they could send a relieving force or not, and what the dimensions of that force would be. In the event of their not being able to send a relieving force the British Government were to send in any case to Ghent and other points on the line of retreat British troops sufficient to insure the safe retirement of the Belgian field army, so that the Belgian field army would not be compromised through continuing the resistance on the Antwerp fortress line. Incidentally, we were to aid and encourage the defense of Antwerp by the sending of naval guns, naval brigades, and any other minor measures likely to enable the defenders to hold out the necessary number of days. This proposal I made subject to confirmation on both sides. Nothing was settled until both Governments accepted. The proposal was accepted by both Governments. I was informed by telegraph that a relieving army would be sent, its dimensions and composition were sent to me for communication to the Belgians, and I was told to do everything possible to maintain the defense meanwhile. This I did without regard to consequences in any direction.

I am not going to describe the military events which are well known; but I think it is a great mistake to regard Lord Kitchener's effort to relieve Antwerp—in which I played a subsidiary though important part—as an event which led only to misfortune.

I believe that military history will hold that the consequences conduced extremely to the advantage of the Allies in the west. The great battle which began on the Aisne was spreading day by day more and more toward the sea. Sir John French's army was coming into line and beginning the operations of the battle of Armentières, which developed into the

great battle of Ypres, and everything was in flux.

The prolongation of the resistance of Antwerp, even by only two or three days, detained great German forces in the vicinity of the fortress. The sudden and audacious arrival of a fresh British division and a British cavalry division at Ghent and elsewhere baffled the cautious German staff and led it to apprehend that a large army was arriving from the sea. At any rate, their advance proceeded in a halting manner, although opposed by weak forces, and I believe it will be demonstrated in history—certainly it is the opinion of many highly competent military officers at the present time—that the whole of this enterprise, the moving of those British troops and the French troops who were in association with them, though it did not save Antwerp, had the effect of causing the great battle to be fought on the line of the Yser instead of twenty or thirty miles further south. If that is so, the losses which were incurred by our naval division, luckily not very heavy in life, will certainly have been well expended in the general interest.

Of course, it is true that these operations were begun too late; but that is not my fault. On Sept. 6, nearly a month before, I drew the attention of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for War, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the dangerous situation which was developing at Antwerp and to the grave consequences to Admiralty interests which would be entailed in the loss of that fortress. I suggested that a territorial division should be sent to stimulate the defense, and made proposals of which I will say that the difficulty of adopting them was certainly not less than the need to adopt them. No action was taken upon that, and the situation of Oct. 2 supervened as I have described.

That is all I wish to say on this point except in regard to the naval brigades. The decision to send the naval brigades was actually taken over here by the Government at my desire. I had no authority from Antwerp, where I was. But the quality of these brigades was known only to me. If there is any blame for putting

troops of that character into a business of that kind that blame falls on me, and on me alone. Let us see whether there was any blame. The situation was desperate, the need bitter. I knew Lord Kitchener would not send a territorial division. I knew it would be wrong to lock up a regular division in mere fortress lines. Those were the only men who were available. They were the nearest. They were at Deal, and had only a few hours' march into Dover, where transports were lying. They were the only men who could get there in time.

It is quite true that the naval division was only made up of what the navy could spare and leave behind after the mobilization took place. They had good non-commissioned officers and a sprinkling of trained professional officers, and they had rifles and plenty of ammunition. They had been together for a couple of months or six weeks. They had acquitted themselves elsewhere on terms which would do no discredit to the finest troops of the regular army. They were undoubtedly unfit to manoeuvre in the field, but that was not what they were for. They were to go into the trenches alongside exhausted Belgian troops and town-folk who had received far less training than they had, and who were far less well equipped. They were in exactly the same position as the division of fusiliers marins who were sent by the French at the same time and fought in a most gallant manner in all those operations. Therefore I say, there being nothing else in view, I was justified in proposing to the Government to use those troops in spite of their want of training. Of course all these matters can only be judged fairly in relation to the great emergency in which we stood.

I now come to the Dardanelles. What am I going to prove or try to prove? I am not going to try to prove that we have forced the Dardanelles; no amount of argument, however excellent, will do that. Nor am I going to try to prove that the plan we adopted was the best plan that could be adopted. Least of all am I going to try to prove that my responsibility in the matter is not a great one. I am concerned to make it clear to the House,

and not only to the House but to the navy, that this enterprise was profoundly, methodically, and elaborately considered, that there was a great volume of expert opinion behind it, that it was framed entirely by expert and technical minds; and that in no circumstances could it be regarded as having been undertaken with carelessness or levity. That I am concerned to prove. It is important for me to do so, and it is also important in the Government interest.

In the month of December last the political situation in the southeast of Europe was stagnant and torpid, and the immense currents of opinion which were then favorable to the allied cause flowed sluggishly or even ebbed. In Italy our negotiations made little progress. At the same time the Russian Government asked the Foreign Office whether some action against Turkey in the Mediterranean was not possible to relieve the pressure on them in the Caucasus. In consequence of those communications from the Foreign Office and the War Office, I began to direct the attention of the First Sea Lord and other naval advisers to the possibilities of action in Turkish waters. The Dardanelles stood out as incomparably the most decisive operation that was open. Of course, from the beginning we all recognized that a joint naval and military operation by surprise was the best way of attacking the Dardanelles. As early as Nov. 3 we obtained from the War Office their appreciation of the number of troops necessary to seize the Gallipoli Peninsula by a joint amphibious *coupe de main*.

On Nov. 30 I sent a minute to my noble friend Lord Kitchener offering to congregate transports for 40,000 men, that is to say the first *échelon* of an army for the purpose, in Egypt, on the chance of their being wanted, as I could see that the situation was developing in the direction of an attack in the eastern Mediterranean on the Turkish Empire. We were informed that no army was available, and further, in the early discussions which took place among us and also at the War Council, it was clearly the prevailing opinion that even were forces available, they should not be used for at-

tacking the Gallipoli Peninsula. On the other hand, the need of action in the eastern Mediterranean was constantly pressed upon us in many quarters.

As the result of all those representations and discussions I telegraphed on Jan. 3 to Admiral Carden, who was our Admiral blockading the Dardanelles and had been there since the Turkish declaration of war, and put to him this specific question—these are not the actual words, but a paraphrase—Do you consider the forcing of the Dardanelles by ships alone a practicable operation? The Admiral replied to the effect that the Dardanelles could not be rushed, but could be reduced by a regular and sustained naval bombardment. I put the same question simultaneously to Sir Henry Jackson, the present First Sea Lord, and received from him an almost similar answer.

The coincidence of opinion between these two officers, both of the highest attainments and so differently circumstanced, one on the spot, the other the expert at the Admiralty who was studying the eastern theatre with the War Staff—the coincidence of opinion between those two made a profound impression on my mind.

I am very well accustomed to weigh expert evidence, and most of the important decisions which have been taken in the last three or four years at the Admiralty have been taken by me on a divergence of expert evidence. I have had different recommendations made on great matters like the 15-inch guns, the oil ships, the size of the Arethusa cruisers, and the decision has really had to fall on the political chief. I have no doubt sometimes my right honorable friend who has succeeded me at the Admiralty has had a similar experience. This coincidence of opinion struck me as very remarkable. Admiral Carden was then asked to formulate his plan and state his requirements. He did so in full detail in his telegram of Jan. 11. We were in a position to meet these requirements. The victory at the Falkland Islands had cleared the German flag from the seas and liberated a large reserve of naval force. The strength, actual and relative, of the fleets in home waters was under-

going that steady increase which has been in progress ever since the beginning of the war; and the action at the Dogger Bank on Jan. 24—Admiral Beatty's action—had shown that ship for ship and man for man and gun for gun we had a clear advantage. That being so, we were in a position to meet the very large requirements Admiral Carden put forward. His plan was then examined by the Admiralty War Staff, and Sir Henry Jackson expressed his full concurrence in it and advised in writing the attack on the outer forts being made as early as possible.

Lord Fisher, of course, knew everything that was passing. He never expressed any opinion against this specific operation, nor, indeed, against the operation at all, at this stage. He was very much impressed with the proposal of the Admiralty War Staff to add the Queen Elizabeth to the bombarding fleet. We had seen—it was fresh in everybody's mind—great fortresses, reputed to be the strongest in Europe, collapsing fort by fort under five or ten shells from 15-inch howitzers. Here was the Queen Elizabeth with eight 15-inch guns on the broadside. Lord Fisher was also strongly in favor of action in Turkish waters, and wrote to me repeatedly on the subject—especially a joint operation of the fleet and the army at the Dardanelles.

His schemes involved the co-operation of powers which were neutral and of an army which was not available; but they all led up to the central point of the forcing of the Dardanelles with the old battleships of the Majestic and Canopus class. Sir Arthur Wilson was in favor of attacking the outer forts, but he felt that future progress must depend on the amount of Turkish resistance.

I state all those points not in order to shield myself from responsibility, but to show the House that the business of the Admiralty has been properly conducted. After these preliminary discussions I brought Admiral Carden's plan before the War Council on Jan. 13. This meeting was attended by the principal members of the Cabinet, by various high military advisers, by the First Sea Lord, and by Sir Arthur Wilson. The War

Council was immensely impressed with the political advantages of the plan if it could be carried out, and they pressed the Admiralty to find a way to carry it out. No one spoke against the method proposed; no expert adviser indicated any dissent. The War Office have always assumed in their staff papers that the decision to make a purely naval attack upon the Dardanelles dated from the meeting of the War Council of Jan. 13. I did not so interpret it. I considered that the decision was that the Admiralty should go on perfecting these plans and making these preparations without being finally committed to action. And this is what we did. The whole plan of Admiral Carden was searchingly re-examined by the Admiralty War Staff and various gunnery experts whom we had at our disposal—the highest and best in the world. The general consensus of opinion was in its favor.

On Jan. 25 Lord Fisher sent me a memorandum on naval policy. This memorandum did not question the advisability of the particular operation that was being studied, but deprecated reducing our margin in home waters or using fighting ships for bombarding purposes except in conjunction with military operations. It was a memorandum directed not only against the Dardanelles operation, but against others which were being very strongly pressed on us at the time. I sent the memorandum to the Prime Minister, with an analysis, which I drew up myself, of the naval margins available at the time. I think that on that point I may claim that my view has been vindicated by events, because, not only did the Board of Admiralty send all the ships which were then under consideration to the Eastern Mediterranean, but a great many more, and so far from any misadventure occurring in home waters, it is well known that our position has become increasingly safe.

I attach importance to the fact that at no time did I receive from Lord Fisher any criticism of the definite method of attack proposed. In principle he had doubts and objections; but on the special technical and professional points involved I received from him at no time any ex-

pression of adverse criticism. Early in the morning of Jan. 28 I had an interview with Lord Fisher in the presence of the Prime Minister, and we discussed the whole situation. The impression I derived was that Lord Fisher agreed and consented to a purely naval attack on the Dardanelles being made. The whole matter then came up for final decision at the War Council, which was held later in the day. The meeting was again fully attended. Lord Fisher and Sir Arthur Wilson were both present. As the result of prolonged discussion, in which again no adverse opinions were expressed, and in which Lord Fisher contented himself with saying that he had expressed his opinion to the Prime Minister, the operation was definitely sanctioned, and we were directed to execute it.

Meanwhile the War Staff had completed their work on Admiral Carden's plan and had drawn up the necessary war orders. The project was laid also before the French Minister of Marine. M. Augagneur came over to London, and the principles and methods were fully discussed. The project was examined in detail by the French General Staff. They were very favorably impressed by the plan, and they announced their agreement and said it was a plan conceived in a spirit which was prudent et prevoyant. They pointed out that it enabled us to withdraw at any stage should the gunnery results not be such as we anticipated. What happened? They sent their ships, and ever since have supported the enterprise with a loyalty and valor beyond description.

The action meanwhile proceeded. Ships in number many more than Admiral Carden had asked for were rapidly concentrated from all over the world. On Feb. 18 the attack on the outer forts began. The first phase of the operation was successful beyond our hopes. The outer forts were destroyed; the fleet was able to enter the strait and attack the forts in the Narrows.

Up to the time that this happened we had always kept in view the possibility that if this operation, which necessarily depended for its success upon a number of incalculable factors, did not develop

as we hoped, and if the obstacles were found to be much greater than had been foreseen, we could convert it into a demonstration and turn our attention to some other part of the Mediterranean. We had kept in view and had prepared an amphibious operation which would serve as an alternative in case we should wish to withdraw so as to safeguard our prestige. But the success which we had achieved at the outer forts produced an electrical effect throughout the Balkans. Its repercussion was evident from the first moment in Italy. We had touched the great strategic nerve centre of the world war of 1915, of this year's campaign. Within a week the Greek Prime Minister, M. Venizelos, had taken the decision which led to his first retirement from office. Within a fortnight the Turks were forced to move back to Adrianople and to develop their defenses against Bulgaria. The movement in Italy was also most marked. A panic was created in Constantinople. Every one supposed that the enterprise was going to succeed. Day by day I held staff meetings at the Admiralty at which I received the appreciation of the greatest authorities, who were unanimous that the movement was progressing in the most favorable manner, more favorable even than we had expected, though we quite recognized that the greatest difficulties were to come. It now was not desired by any one to go back, or to ride off on any alternative operation. The eyes of the whole world were riveted on the Dardanelles. Every interest, military, naval, political, and economic, urged its completion. Meanwhile, however, in the early days of March, the progress of naval operations became slower. I should like to say—as people have said that these operations in their early stages were unduly boomed—that nothing was published about them but what was sent by the Admiral on the spot and was approved as a fair appreciation of the position by the experts at the Admiralty.

But across the prospect of the operations a shadow began to pass at the end of the first week in March. The difficulties of sweeping up the mine fields increased, and although great success was

obtained by the ships in silencing the forts, they were not able at that stage to inflict decisive and permanent damage. The mobile armament of the enemy began to develop and to become increasingly annoying. It was therefore decided that the gradual advance must be replaced by more vigorous measures. Admiral Carden was invited to press hard for a decision, and not to be deterred by the inevitable loss. These Admiralty telegrams gave to the officer on the spot, and were intended to give to him, the feeling that whatever he felt inclined to do he could do, with the certainty of being supported, in the direction of vigorous measures.

These Admiralty telegrams were the result of close consultations between the First Sea Lord and myself, and, like every other order of importance which has emanated from the Admiralty during my tenure of office, in peace or war, bear the written authority of the First Sea Lord. I wish to make that point quite clear. I may extend it, and say there is no important act of policy, no scheme of fleet distribution, or of movements of ships, or of plans of war, which has been acted on during my tenure at the Admiralty, in which the First Sea Lord has not concurred in writing.

The Admiral on the spot, Admiral Carden, expressed himself in entire agreement with the spirit of the Admiralty telegrams, and announced his intention to press forward in his attack on lines which had been agreed upon, and with which he said he was in exact accord. The date of the attack was fixed for March 17, weather permitting. On the 16th Admiral Carden was stricken down with illness, and was invalidated by medical authority. On the advice of the First Sea Lord, who fully concurred, I appointed Admiral de Robeck, second in command, who had been very active in the operations, to succeed him. I thought it indispensable to find out, on the eve of this difficult attack, whether the new Admiral shared the opinion of his predecessor, and I therefore sent him a telegram, of which the following is a paraphrase:

Personal and secret.—From the First Lord. In intrusting you, with great con-

fidence, with the command of the Mediterranean detached fleet, I presume you are in full accordance with the Admiralty telegrams 101 and 109, and Vice Admiral Carden's answer thereto, and that you consider, after separate and independent judgment, that the immediate operations proposed are wise and practicable. If not, do not hesitate to say so. If so, execute them without delay and without further reference, at the first favorable opportunity.

Admiral de Robeck replied that he was in full agreement with the Admiralty telegrams, which expressed his views exactly. He would attack on the 18th. The House is fully acquainted with what followed.

I should like to point out that the total British casualties in this formidable adventure scarcely exceeded 100. The French, it is true, had the misfortune to be unable to save the crew of the *Bouvet*. We lost two old vessels, of a class of which we had about thirty, and which, if they had not been employed at the Dardanelles, would have been rusting uselessly in our southern ports. Therefore, I do not think that in making this attack, on which so much depended, and the results of which, if successful, would have been so far reaching, we risked or lost any vital stake. Meanwhile time had been passing. The army, which earlier in the year we had been told would not be available, was gradually assembling, and Sir Ian Hamilton had arrived with the leading divisions of his force. The Admiral, after the attack on the 18th, determined to renew it at the first opportunity, and telegraphed accordingly.

But after consultation with the General it was decided to substitute for the purely naval operation a joint naval and military attack. I regretted this at the time, and I endeavored to persuade the First Sea Lord to send a telegram ordering a resumption of the naval attack. But we could not reach an agreement, and, in view of the consensus of opinion of the naval and military authorities on the spot, I submitted to the alternative, but I submitted with great anxiety. Every day the danger of German submarines arriving, a danger which we greatly exaggerated in our minds, seemed to become more imminent. Every day

the possibility of a renewed German attack on Serbia seemed to draw nearer. Every day I knew the Turks were digging; every day I knew they were drawing reinforcements from all parts of their empire; and I can assure the House that the month which apparently had to be consumed between the cessation of the naval attack on March 18 and the commencement of the military attack on April 25 was one of the least pleasing which I have experienced in my life.

I have gone through this story in detail in order to convince the House that the naval attack on the Dardanelles was a naval plan, made by naval authorities on the spot, approved by naval experts in the Admiralty, assented to by the First Sea Lord, executed on the spot by Admirals who at every stage believed in the operation.

I am bound, not only in justice to myself but in justice to the fleet, who requires to know that the orders sent to them from the Admiralty always carry the highest professional authority, to make that clear. I will not have it said that this was a civilian plan foisted by a political amateur upon reluctant officers and experts.

No, Sir; I am not going to embark on any reproaches this afternoon, but I must say I did not receive from the First Sea Lord either the clear guidance before the event or the firm support afterward which I was entitled to expect. If he did not approve of the operations, he should have spoken out at the War Council. War is a hard and brutal job, and there is no place in it for misgivings and reserves. Nobody ever launched an attack without having misgivings beforehand—you ought to have misgivings beforehand—but when the moment of action is come the hour of misgivings is passed. It is often not possible to go backward from a course which has been adopted in war. A man must answer aye or no to the great questions which are put; by that decision he must be bound. If the First Sea Lord did not approve the operations, if he believed they were unlikely to take the course expected of them, if he thought they would lead to undue losses, it was his duty to refuse consent. No

one could have prevailed against such a refusal; the operation would never have been begun. Then was the time for resignation. He did not take that course; he hoped, as I did, as the French Admiralty did, as the War Council did, that a speedy success would have resulted. Had it resulted, I think he would have had some of the credit.

On the other hand, I wish to say that I do not at all regret having insisted on Lord Fisher's return, in the face of great opposition, to the Admiralty in November, 1914. No man has ever been able to put war purpose into the design of a ship like Lord Fisher. At the beginning of this war megalomania was the only form of sanity. Prince Louis and I had ordered large war programs on the outbreak of the war, and perhaps from some points of view they may have been considered sufficient at the moment; but Lord Fisher came along with a new wave of impulse and enthusiasm. He was able to produce vast schemes of ship construction of every kind, with new designs and improvements on the old designs. Hardly a day passed without his bringing new projects to me which I was delighted to encourage, and which, through the absence of Treasury control, I was happily able to finance, and if my right honorable friend of the First Lord of the Admiralty today finds himself, as he does, week by week, upborne upon an ever-swelling tide of deliveries of crafts of all kinds and of a kind best suited to the purposes of this war, that is the consequence of Lord Fisher's return to the Admiralty in November, 1914. I am quite prepared to console myself with that for any difficulties which arose at a later stage.

For the naval operations, subject to what I have said, I take the fullest personal responsibility. I do not make any complaint. Not a line, not a word, not a syllable that was produced by naval and expert brains have I combated, there was not the slightest non-expert interference, but I approved the plan, I backed the plan, I was satisfied that in all the circumstances that were known to me, military, economic, and diplomatic, it was a plan that ought to be tried, and tried then.

After weighing and sifting all the expert evidence with the personal knowledge I had of all the officers concerned, I recommended it to the Prime Minister and the War Council in the presence of my principal naval advisers, believing, as did every one there, that I carried them with me, and I pressed it with all the resources at my disposal. I recommended it to the War Council, I recommended it to the French Government—not as a certainty, but as a legitimate war gamble, with stakes which we could afford to lose, for a prize of inestimable value, a prize which, in the opinion of the highest experts, there was a fair and reasonable chance of our winning, a prize which at that time could be won by no other means. On that basis, clearly understood, it was accepted by all concerned. On that basis I accept the fullest responsibility.

I require no shield. I do not desire to reduce or divide my burden in the slightest degree. For the military operations at the time they were embarked upon, for the methods by which they were executed, for the numbers of troops estimated to be necessary, their quality and commanders, I take no responsibility except what is implied by my having remained a member of the Government. That general ministerial responsibility of course I accept, but I accept it only subject to my written and recorded opinions expressed in every case before and not after the event. Luckily, there is no dispute about this.

In the early days of March, when it became clear that military operations might be required, and that military support would be forthcoming, I sought, in view of my experience at Antwerp, an interview with the Prime Minister, at which I asked Lord Kitchener directly whether it was understood he assumed the responsibility for the military operations, by which I meant, and said I meant, the measure of the forces required to achieve success, and after he had replied in the affirmative, I transferred the Naval Division on March 12 to military command. My right honorable friend told me the other day he recollected this interview vividly, and therefore it is not

necessary for me at this time to enter upon an analysis of the military movements. I am glad that is so.

But I must examine this question. Did the fact that the naval operations had been begun necessarily and inevitably compel the beginning of, and persistence in, the military operations? I have shown how at the beginning of the naval attack we kept open an alternative operation of an amphibious character on which we could at any time ride off. But would it have been possible after the naval attack of March 18 had been broken off to sail away and cut the loss? A careful survey of the facts as we know them today shows that undoubtedly it would have been. The naval attack finished on the evening of March 18, the military attack did not begin until April 25. If in that period we had known what we now know of the course of the military operations, I cannot conceive that any one would have hesitated to face the loss of prestige in breaking off the attack on the Dardanelles.

I do not consider the naval operations, begun as they were, necessarily involved the military operations, begun as they were. That was a separate decision which did not rest with me or the Admiralty, either in principle or in method; but I wish to make it quite clear that I was very glad the War Office authorities were willing to prosecute the enterprise by military means, and I certainly did my best to induce them to do so, and to support them in doing so.

There are, however, two observations which I wish to make of a general character upon the military operations. First, the essence of an attack upon the Gallipoli Peninsula was speed and vigor. We could reinforce from the sea more quickly than the Turks could reinforce by land, and we could therefore afford to renew our attack until a decision was obtained. To go slow, on the other hand, to leave long intervals between attacks so as to enable the Turks to draw reinforcements from their whole empire, and to refresh and replace their troops again and again, was a great danger. Secondly, on the Gallipoli Peninsula our army has stood all the Summer within a few

miles of a decisive victory. There was no other point on any of the war fronts extending for hundreds of miles where an equal advance would have produced an equal or even a comparable strategic result. It has been proved in this war that good troops properly supported by artillery can make a direct advance two or three miles in the face of any defense. The advance, for instance, which took Neuve Chapelle, or Loos, or Souchez, if made on the Gallipoli Peninsula, would have settled the fate of the Turkish Army on the promontory, would probably have decided the whole operations, might have determined the attitude of the Balkans, might have cut off Germany from the east, and might have saved Serbia.

All through this year I have offered the same counsel to the Government, to undertake no operation in the west which is more costly to you than to the enemy, but in the east to take Constantinople, to take it by ships if you can, to take it by soldiers if you must, to take it by whatever plan, military or naval, commends itself to your military experts, but take it, and take it soon, and take it while time remains. The situation is now entirely changed, and I am not called upon to offer any advice upon these new aspects. But it seems to me that if there were any operations in the history of the world which, having been begun, it was worth while to carry through with the utmost vigor and fury, with a consistent flow of reinforcements, and an utter disregard of life, it was the operation so daringly and brilliantly begun by Sir Ian Hamilton in the immortal landing of April 25. That is all I have to say about the Dardanelles.

I do not intend to be drawn into any further controversy on this subject, whatever is said by way of reply to my speech. I leave all the papers and the documentary evidence which justify everything I have said with my right honorable and learned and gallant friend the Attorney General. I do not leave them to him in his capacity as a Cabinet Minister, nor in his capacity as Attorney General, but as an old friend, to look after my interests in the matter, and I am quite sure that his tact will be found

fully equal to the task of adjusting these different obligations. I do not propose to occupy the House by discussing such matters as the resignation of Lord Fisher, which occurred on May 14, or the circumstances immediately preceding the formation of the Coalition Government. These will no doubt form a fine field for the Crokers and Creveys of our time, but they have no bearing on the military question on which I have ventured to address the House and with which alone I am concerned. When Lord Fisher's resignation occurred I told the Prime Minister to consider my office at his disposal if his convenience required it. On the next day, being acquainted with all the facts, he told me he wished me to continue. Sir Arthur Wilson undertook to be the First Sea Lord, and the other members of the board remained at their posts.

On the next day, Monday, great political events of consequence supervened, arising principally out of matters connected with the War Office and the attitude of important Ministers, and the old Liberal Government passed away. The fact that I knew I had retained the confidence of the Prime Minister and that his decision had been, on the merits, that I should remain at the Admiralty, enabled me to comply with his request to join the new Government in the office which I resigned today.

That is all I have to say to the House by way of personal explanation, and I am extremely grateful to the honorable members for the patience and indulgence which they have shown me. But before I sit down if I may by the special indulgence of the House—I have not addressed them for a long time, and I do not expect to address them again for a long time—I think it is necessary and right that I should say a word on the general situation.

There is no reason to be discouraged about the progress of the war. We are passing through a bad time now, and it will probably be worse before it is better, but that it will be better, if we only endure and persevere, I have no doubt whatever. The old wars were decided by their episodes rather than by their tend-

encies. In this war the tendencies are far more important than the episodes. Without winning any sensational victories we may win this war. We may win it even during a continuance of extremely disappointing and vexatious events. It is not necessary for us to win the war to push the German lines back over all the territory they have absorbed, or to pierce them. While the German lines extend far beyond their frontier, and while their flag flies over conquered capitals and subjugated provinces, while all the appearances of military success attend her arms, Germany may be defeated more fatally in the second or third year of the war than if the allied armies had entered Berlin in the first.

Our well-established command of the seas, and the rapid and enormous destruction of German military manhood, are factors upon which we may confidently rely. At the outset of the war the number of males capable of bearing arms in Germany as compared with England was three to two, but today our numbers are, if anything, superior to theirs, and at the end of the second year the original proportion will probably be reversed. We are becoming, therefore, a vastly stronger power, actually and relatively, so far as military manhood is concerned. We owe this fact, which is one of profound significance, to the valiant sacrifices made by the French and Russian peoples, who have so far borne the brunt of the struggle. We are the reserve of the allied cause, and the time has come when that reserve must be thrown fully into the scale. The campaign of 1915 has been governed mainly by a shortage of munitions. The campaign of 1916 ought to be settled against Germany by a shortage of men. It is, therefore, vital to us as a matter of honor and sacred duty to increase and maintain the numbers of our armies in the field, and in order to render this possible the best economic organization and the most unsparing thrift must be applied at home.

It is, no doubt, disconcerting for us to observe that the Government of a State-like Bulgaria are convinced on an impartial survey of the chances that victory will rest with the central powers. All

the small States are hypnotized by German military pomp and precision. They see the glitter, the episode, but they do not see or realize the capacity of the ancient and mighty nations against whom Germany is warring to endure adversity, to put up with disappointments and mismanagement, to recreate and renew their strength, and to pass on with boundless obstinacy, through boundless sufferings to the achievement of the greatest cause for which men have ever fought.

MR. ASQUITH'S EULOGY

Prime Minister Asquith—There is no question before the House, and it would be entirely out of order for me to deal with any of the topics which have been so ably and eloquently dealt with in the very moving speech to which we have just listened from my right honorable friend. The House is always accustomed and properly accustomed to give great latitude, and even to expect great latitude, of explanations from a Minister of the Crown who has resigned his office, and my right honorable friend has taken advantage of that privilege in a manner

which I think will be generally appreciated and admired.

I only wish to say two things. I think my right honorable friend has dealt with a very delicate situation not only with ability and eloquence, but also with loyalty and discretion. He has said one or two things, I tell him frankly, I had rather he had not said, but, on the other hand, he has necessarily and naturally left unsaid some things which, when the complete estimate of all these transactions has to be taken, will have to be said. But that does not affect his personal position at all, and I desire to say to him, and of him, that, having been associated with him now for ten years in close and daily intimacy, in positions of great responsibilities, and in situations varied and of extreme difficulty and delicacy, I have always found him a wise counselor, a brilliant colleague, and a faithful friend. I am certain that to the new duties which he is going to assume, having with great insistency abdicated those he has hitherto discharged, he takes with him the universal good-will, hopes, and confident expectations of this House and of his countrymen.

The Guns at Neuve Chapelle

By CAPTAIN BLACKALL
(From "Songs in the Trenches.")

"Granny" she started the chorus,
The "four-point-sevens" chipped in,
The "six-inch howitzers" did their best
To augment the din.
The "thirteen and eighteen pounders"
Contributed their bit,
And the "armored train" got a swollen brain
When it registered a hit.
The "rifle" rattled a ragtime
Like a syncopated coon,
The "anti-aircraft's" object seemed
To spifficate the moon.
The "mortars" did their damndest,
Or, rather, did their worst,
And the "drain-pipe gun" played hell with the Hun,
Till it ultimately burst.
The "Maxim" muttered the music,
The "pom-pom" marked the time,
And the whimper and whir of the shell o'erhead
Out-voiced a ruthless rhyme.
Oh, the guns all clamored the chorus,
Both large and small as well,
From "Grandmamma" to the "armored car,"
That morning at Neuve Chapelle.

Classic Spots in Serbia's War Theatre

By Ph. Loewe

By special arrangement of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE with the Oesterreichische Rundschau, Vienna.

THE Austro-Hungarian and German armies press irresistibly forward across the boundary rivers toward the south and southeast of the land of the Serbs. Hardly had the news come of the fall of Semendria, the Smederevo on the Danube so often praised in South Slavic folk songs, before it was learned that the same fate had overtaken Pozarevac, on its vine-clad hills. The soldier with arms in his hand only occasionally finds time to examine closely the places which he has won from the enemy after more or less hard fighting. We who anxiously await at the rear news of the victorious marches of our armies in all the theatres of war have time enough to make ourselves acquainted, even though from afar, with the regions where battles, unfortunately bloody, are taking place.

Just behind Semendria, partly, in fact, in the town of the despot Gjuragj Brancovic, one begins to find remains of the days of the Roman Empire. And the further one goes southward and south-eastward, along the beautiful blue Danube, the more numerous become such discoveries. In streets and squares, in courts and chambers, before walls still standing and before crumbling ruins, in lonely villages, the eyes of the wanderer become fixed on things which, either by their form or workmanship, recall examples of ancient art.

Sometimes one is lost in wonder at the number of these objects, even oftener at the strange uses to which they have been put after so many centuries. The noble object of adorning temples and palaces is no longer attained; on the contrary, we but too frequently see the finest fragments doing service where usually one sees old wood or common stones.

But this does not detract in the slightest from the value of these antiques. From such a humble fate some of the

rarest specimens in the best collections on both sides of the ocean were rescued. Unfortunately, connoisseurs have usually arrived too late for the treasures-trove. Many valuable articles were used by the inhabitants of the Danube region either for building houses or other purposes, partly from ignorance, partly from necessity; at times they were simply destroyed. Whatever could be saved was taken, though, had greater care been exercised, it might have helped the study of ancient Roman culture. What is lost is lost; let us confine ourselves to what remains.

The finds begin at Semendria, but the classic ground of the present theatre of war is really only in that parallelogram bounded on the north by the Danube from Semendria to Gradiste, on the south by a line from Pozarevac to Rabrovo, on the west by the railway through Lipje, on the east by a line from Rabrovo down to the Danube. It lies especially in the triangle where the Morava and the Mlava fall into the Danube. This is a beautiful region; below are the green fields stretching along both banks of the river, beginning by the ill-famed Snake Island; above are the outpost hills of Serbia's mountain land, fertile and dotted with prosperous villages.

This region has had a remarkably eventful past. How many peoples have acted their part there in the last fifteen hundred years! Huns, Goths, Sarmatians, Gepidae, Turks, and Slavs have lived here, but only the Romans have left their ineffaceable impress on the neighborhood.

First it was the Romans of the Western Empire, whose Danube boundary wall stretched from where the Save flows into the Danube to near Silistria; then came the Romans of the Eastern Empire. According to Byzantine chroniclers, the great builder Justinian either erected or rebuilt eighty castles there; and their

statements are apparently true, because South Slavic folk songs speak of the "seventy-seven Latin castles" which dominated the region.

These castles began at Sigindunum (Belgrade) and Taurunum, (Semlin,) and continued at intervals on the right bank of the Danube, being destined especially for the protection of Upper Moesia. The Roman highway went through Viminacium, Lederata, and Taleata to Dacia, thence through Naissus to Constantinople and Saloniki, while another led through Taurunum, Syrmia, and Siscia to the interior of Pannonia.

Besides Sigindunum, the Belgrade of today, the most important military post was Viminacium, the capital of Upper Moesia. From there Trajan began his great campaign against the Dacians. Sigindunum was the headquarters of the Fourth Legion, Viminacium of the Seventh. The latter must have been an enormous city, judging from the antiques, accidentally preserved from total destruction, which have been discovered. All the achievements of the mother city in Italy were shared by this provincial city, as was proved recently by the excavations systematically conducted by the Government. From the Kostolac of today as far as the chain of hills to the south ruins are found. The "civitas Viminacium," situated on both banks of the Mlava, had, from southeast to northeast alone, on the right bank, an area of 1,600 meters by 400-600 meters. It consisted undoubtedly of two parts; the eastward one was surrounded by a wall and stretched toward the Lipovac hill. How splendid the city was is shown by the fact that, twenty years before the scientific excavation began, architraves, fragments of friezes, columns and pedestals lay about in vast quantities on this entire tract of land.

And how must it have been originally before each and every one could carry away whatever and as much as he pleased! Some idea of this may be obtained at Pozarevac. Any one wandering, even a short time ago, through this town, recently captured by our allies, would have seen large fragments of marble or other material imbedded in many a wall.

In many courtyards he might have seen sarcophagi degraded into troughs for horses and cows. On humble buildings scarcely serviceable for human beings the moss-covered roofs are supported by entire pillars or fragments of pillars. Beside small fragments of friezes, which were scattered about among bricks, often faultlessly executed, leaned more or less damaged statues, and, near by, a broken tablet, often bearing an extremely interesting inscription.

All that was at Viminacium. With an unprecedented vandalism, the bricks found here in the thousands, most of them inscribed "Leg. VII. Cl.," were used to plaster up courtyards and passageways, and afterward sold in Belgrade by the wagonload together with the earth clinging to them. In one year alone about 800 wagonloads of bricks and earth were sold at an average price of 2 to 3 dinars, (40-60 cents.) Earth from Kostolac was a marketable article; a Roman brick sold in Belgrade for a few cents.

Let it be remembered, besides, that there was in Pozarevac and Kostolac a lively trade in antiques dating from ancient times. It assumed such proportions that the graveyards of Viminacium, which stretch far beyond Drmno, were ransacked five or six times in order to lay bare "treasures." Those who came late found little. Earlier searchers had better luck, and many a valuable article fell into their hands. A few years ago a gigantic tomb made of a porphyry-like granite was brought to light; the sarcophagus, on which there was no inscription, was sold in Mijailovac—to be a fountain! A great part of the finds went to the houses of the local priests, who naturally profited by them, and it is these people who must be thanked for supplying to searchers and connoisseurs so many beautiful things despite the surrounding barbarism. Mommsen published a whole series of stately inscriptions from Viminacium, contributing valuable data to the history of the Roman domination and the campaigns in these lands. Similar contributions were made by Domaszewski.

The reliefs found in the house of one of the priests are among the most inter-

esting specimens in this branch of art. One represents the patroness of the "Municipium Aelium Viminacium," a female figure, her right hand blessing a steer, her left a lion. It is identical with the figure found on coins hereabout. The second is a beautiful relief of Victory.

A great ruined city like Viminacium has naturally also yielded up an enormous number of tear flasks, pins, lamps, &c. Especially interesting is the sarcophagus of Drmno, which is of rare beauty. Its allegorical adornments were unquestionably designed to perpetuate a warrior of high military qualities, but unfortunately it bears no inscription. Jason, Perseus, Hercules, and Victory are shown, surrounded with magnificent decorations. The figures are full of nobility and grace, of energy in expression and consummate beauty of form. This and many other articles, in the museums of Belgrade and Panchevo, or in private possession, are the result of the excavations, or, rather, of the accidental discoveries made at Viminacium. For many years it was the headquarters of the "Legio VII., Claudia Pia Fidelis," whose coat-of-arms was a steer and a lion. The

harbor was Viminacium's protection against attacks by water; the citadel guarded it against assaults from the Pek and Morava side.

Many battles have these classical spots witnessed. As early as the reign of Gallienus, Viminacium was devastated by the barbarians. After a short period for recuperation it suffered the same fate at the hands of the Huns as did all the Danube cities in the fifth century A. D.; but under Justinian it rose to the splendor portrayed by Procopius and Theophylactes. But even in later days the city on the left bank of the Danube was often damaged. Priscus crossed the river at Viminacium in 598 A. D. to punish the Avars, and followed them far upstream to the region of the Theiss.

And then came troops from the north, to mete out further punishment, but this time it was not the Avars whom they followed.

The crimes committed by the present inhabitants of these classical spots in the Danube theatre of war against the rest of Europe can be made good only with heavy penalties.

Wars of Napoleon and Wilhelm II.

The analogy which is frequently drawn between the present war and the struggle with Napoleon is dealt with by Count Reventlow in an article in the Deutsche Tageszeitung. He denies that any similarity exists between the two cases, and particularly opposes the view generally taken of the part played by Great Britain in the great contest a hundred years ago. He says:

What took place a hundred years ago was not a concentric attack upon a country and a nation strictly confined within their limits, but a struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Europe from a foreign yoke, and for the destruction of the domination of Europe—in itself impossible from the point of view of permanency—by France, whose strength, moreover, had been exhausted by long wars of conquest. In addition, the France of those days was not defeated through the silent and irresistible pressure of Great Britain's Navy, but by the combined Continental Powers, led by Prussia, who were fighting for their liberation. The English, with their traditional, psychologically quite consistent self-advertisement, have exaggerated beyond all measure the importance of their navy's contribution toward the downfall of Napoleon. As a matter of fact, that navy would have been unable to do anything without the Continental Powers, since, economically, France was perfectly independent of oversea supplies.

Baron Shibusawa's Mission

By Chugo Ohira

Baron Eiichi Shibusawa, Japan's foremost banker, visited the United States during the latter part of November and December to promote friendly relations between his nation and the American people. The subjoined account of Baron Shibusawa's mission appeared originally in *The Evening Post* of New York.

IF the United States were to send John D. Rockefeller to Japan with a message of good-will from the people of this country to the Mikado's subjects, the event would arouse hardly more interest here than is being felt at this moment in Japan in the visit to this country of Baron Eiichi Shibusawa, foremost banker, captain of industry, and philanthropist of Tokio, and, above all, lifelong champion of friendship between his country and America. It is not that Baron Shibusawa is the "Rockefeller of Japan"—though he has been called its Morgan—but because a man of his wealth, standing, and power at home should undertake such a mission at his age of life. For, however else they may differ, the Baron and Mr. Rockefeller have this in common, they are both 76 years old.

The Baron, after visiting New York, is going to Washington and will confer there with President Wilson. He intends to tour the country, visiting nearly all of the larger cities. But Baron Shibusawa has been here twice before, the last time in 1902, and the object of his visit is neither to "take in" the San Francisco fair nor to "see" America. Such things, as he told the people of Tokio on the occasion of his leavetaking, do not make it "worth while for an old man to bother taking a voyage of from three to four thousand miles."

"I am leaving for America," he said, "with the belief that a practical display of sincerity will dispel all the so-called Japanese-American problems. I expect to exchange opinions with influential Americans, and investigate the financial conditions of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast."

"Who's Whos" seldom make interesting reading, but the following translation

from "Who's Who" in Japan gives, perhaps, the best idea of the Japanese estimate of the man who has come bearing the best wishes of his country to the people of the United States:

Shibusawa, Eiichi, Baron, (creation 1900,) millionaire, President of the First Bank, the Tokio Savings Bank, and of the Imperial Theatre Company; Chairman of the Tokio Bankers' Association, Director of the Tokio Almshouse, Vice President of the Productive Investigation Society; born February, 1840, at Saitama; first son of Ichizaemon Shibusawa; married Kane, first daughter of Hachibei Ito of Tokio. Education private. He early went to Kyoto, taking service under the Tokugawa Shogunate in its declining days; visited Europe 1867-68, as companion to one of the Tokugawa Princes; appointed a high official in the Treasury on the establishment of the Imperial Government, 1769; but left it with the then Vice Minister of the Treasury, (now Marquis Inouye,) in consequence of a difference of opinion with the Minister on the fixing of the expenditure of the Government departments, 1873; from that time until now he has consistently kept aloof from Government service, though frequently the Portfolio of Finance has been offered to him; founded the First Bank, the first national bank to be established, 1873; as he felt keenly the need of commercial education for the people, he established a commercial training institution, which was the forerunner of the present Tokio Higher Commercial School; consulting with Count Okuma and the late Prince Ito, then the Minister of the Treasury and Home Affairs, respectively, he inaugurated the Tokio Chamber of Commerce, 1878, and was its Chairman till the Spring of 1905, when he resigned on account of ill-health; through his instrumentality an almshouse was established by the Tokio Municipal Council, and shortly afterward, when the Municipal Assembly decided to close it, he continued it as a private undertaking for several years; but in 1889 it again came under the care of the municipality, and he was appointed its Director; before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war he became seriously ill, and severed his

connection with a large number of business establishments; these connections were restored again on the reviving of business after the war; later he again resigned most of these posts. He traveled through Europe and America in 1902; visited the United States of America as the head of the Japanese business men who were invited by the United States Chambers of Commerce, 1900. His elevation to the Peerage was in consideration of the immense services he has rendered to the cause of public well-being. He is supreme in our business circles. Decoration: Second Order of Merit.

The cordial feelings which Baron Shibusawa entertains toward this country are of long standing. He is one of the few in Japan whose memories go back to the day when Commodore Perry, with four United States warships and 500 soldiers, steamed into Uraga. Shibusawa was then 14 years old.

"The great question at the time," he said, speaking of Perry's visit, just before he started on his present trip, "was whether or not we should receive the credentials which he brought with him from the President of the United States. Deciding in the affirmative, a special reception pavilion was immediately erected at Kurihama, and officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate, including the Governor of Uraga, received the Commodore. Having once received him, we could not reasonably refuse to harken to his proposition concerning the 'open door.' By the time Commodore Perry returned during the following year, the Shogunate had concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce consisting of twelve clauses. In the third year of Ansei (1857) Consul General Townsend Harris came to Shimoda, asking to see the Shogun, and in October of the fourth year of Ansei the Shogun gave him an audience at Yedo. After discussion the treaty was amended, extending it from twelve to fourteen clauses. Giving it the name of Trade Regulation, the Shogunate asked the Emperor's consent to it. Being refused by the Emperor in the fifth year of Ansei, Lord Eei, holding a position equivalent to that of Prime Minister today, concluded a treaty with America without waiting for the ratification of the Emperor. Because of this act he was beheaded by the masterless samurai—the

one-time retainers of the Lord of Mito, the head of one of the three branches of the Shogunate and the most persistent opponent of Lord Eei.

"Ever since this time the relations between America and Japan have been most friendly. At every turn America has shown her friendship for Japan, and has often taken the lead in manifesting her good-will. When the combined fleet of America, England, and France, while passing through the Strait of Shimonoseki, was fired on by the local Daimio, and Japan agreed to pay indemnities for the losses sustained by the three countries, America showed her great sympathy by refunding the indemnity. The United States also led the other countries in banishing an extraterritoriality in Japan."

In Baron Shibusawa's opinion California's attitude toward the Japanese immigrant and President Roosevelt's calling of the Portsmouth Conference, which brought an end to the Russo-Japanese war, are the things chiefly responsible for whatever feeling of unfriendliness exists in Japan toward this country. The Portsmouth Treaty, he says, was unpopular in Japan, and aroused feeling there, which in turn offended the American people. The interchange of visits by statesmen, educators, and leaders of thought in both countries has since gone a long way toward overcoming these prejudices, he believes.

"Should the existing cordial relations ever be severed," he continued, "it will be, without doubt, disastrous to both countries. It was because of the apprehension among the intelligent public that Drs. Gulick and Mathews were sent on a special mission. While they promised that upon their return home they would use every endeavor, lecturing among their countrymen, to point out the absurdity of discriminating against Japanese and making distinctions between races from a religious standpoint, they earnestly recommend that we Japanese should send religionists to America to educate our countrymen there to use every means of assimilating American customs, manners, and sentiment, and endeavor not to merit different treat-

ment from other foreigners. This is the reason why the Rev. Ebina was sent to the United States and is now earnestly lecturing among the Japanese, visiting every place where there are Japanese residents.

"In California, on the other hand, the anti-alien land law has not seen a solution, and it still remains an impending question between the two countries. Through the California Legislature, the year before last, the right of Japanese to lease land in the State was limited to three years, and there was also a tendency to propose a bill depriving Japanese of even this right of leasing land for three years. Since then the Japanese Government has been negotiating with the Government of the United States with the view of acquiring for Japanese the same right to own or lease land as is accorded any other foreigner. The procedure of these negotiations has been changed by the Okuma Cabinet.

"There is, however, no indication of America extending to the Japanese the same right of naturalization as she gives to Europeans. The acquisition of the naturalization right for Japanese, thus enabling them to own or lease land everywhere in the United States, must be attained only by peaceful means. Were this right ever to be rejected by the United States, the national honor of Japan would be impugned. And this is causing the intelligent public on both sides grave concern. Perhaps it is due to the increasing influence of the intelligent public and the gradual understanding by Americans of the true attitude of Japan toward them that the bill to prohibit Japanese leasing land was not introduced in the California Legislature. By keeping persistently at it we sincerely hope for the settlement of the naturalization question and the land question in a manner that will be harmful neither to the United States nor to the national honor of Japan."

The "A. E. G." of Germany

The following summary appeared in The Daily Telegraph of London on Nov. 20, 1915:

The famous "A. E. G."—i. e., Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, or General Electricity Company—has published its annual report, which is summarized by the Berliner Tageblatt and various other papers. The outbreak of the war interfered to a great extent with the operations of the company, which has interests of various kinds in nearly every part of the world. For the last financial year (1913-14) a dividend of 10 per cent. was declared, as compared with 14 per cent. for 1912-13. For the year 1914-15, however, a dividend of 11 per cent. was declared, the Directors feeling that the results of the year's working justified their distributing 17,050,000 marks in this way—i. e., about £852,500.

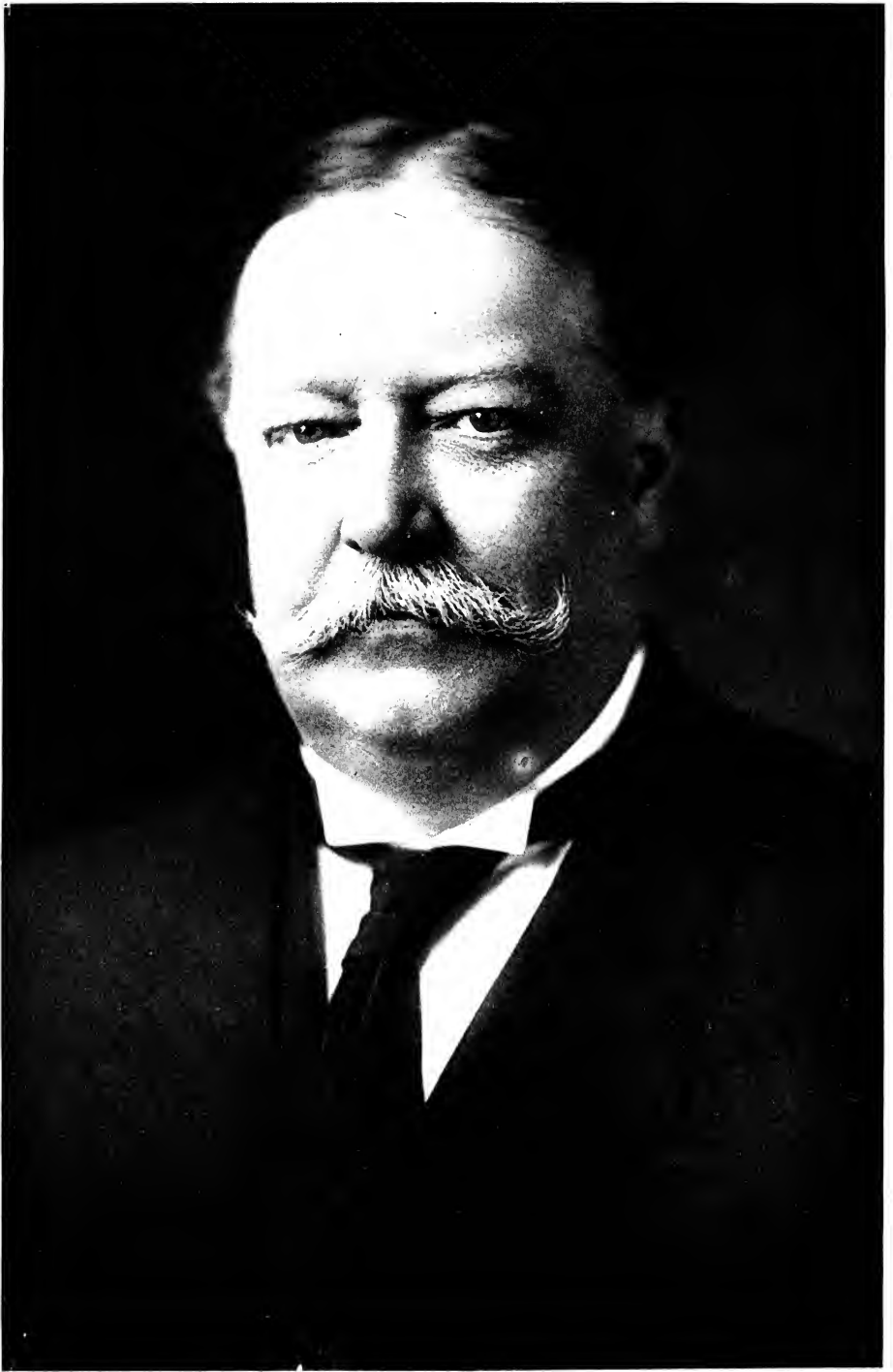
Some conception of the firm's operations may be gained from the statement that no fewer than 23,908 of its employees were summoned to the colors during the year, and the sums set aside out of the profits for the maintenance of their families amount now to 4,612,414 marks, (about £230,000.) The net profits for the year amounted to 21,298,115 marks, as compared with 18,892,641 marks in the previous financial year.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

He Has Attacked the Wilson Administration for Its Conduct in Foreign Affairs

(Photo © by Alex. L. Pach.)



WILLIAM H. TAFT

President of the League to Enforce Peace, American Branch
(Photo © by Moffett Studio.)

General M. V. Alexeieff

The New Russian Chief of Staff

By Charles Johnston

THE portrait of General Michael Vassilivitch Alexeieff, the new Chief of Staff and effectual Commander in Chief, under the Emperor, of the Russian Army, curiously reminds one of General Joffre, but Joffre with a difference; Joffre with a Slavonic veil over his face; Joffre not quite so good-looking as he in reality is. But if one meets the two men there is a striking difference: Alexeieff has a slim and slender figure, a waist-line for which the French Generalissimo has long sighed, and sighed in vain.

The marked likeness in their faces, the piercing eyes, the forward thrust of the chin, the strong serenity of expression quite truly indicates a very close likeness of character and genius; it goes even further, revealing a very similar origin, a close likeness of history and experience. Both came of quite simple families, Joffre being the son of a wine-grower and cooper of Rivesaltes under the eastern Pyrenees; Alexeieff coming of a hard-working family, slimly endowed with wealth, in the city of Tver, some hundred miles to the northwest of Moscow, on the main railroad from Moscow to Petrograd. Both made their way wholly without "pull," by the far more vital force of "push." Both served, in their early twenties, in a great national war; Joffre fighting against the Prussians in the siege of Paris in 1870; Alexeieff, who is four or five years the younger of the two, seeing hard service in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, when the Russians and Rumanians spilled their blood on Turkish battlefields to free ingrate Bulgaria; and, in the years that followed, both saw extensive service in the Far East. But at the outbreak of the present war Joffre, by the unanimous vote of the Generals in the Supreme Council of War and the decision of the French War Minister, had been for two years in supreme command of the French armies;

while Alexeieff, as we saw, four or five years younger, held a comparatively subordinate position. Only now has he fought his way to the top.

When young Michael Alexeieff had completed his studies at the Classical Gymnasium—about equivalent to the high school—at Tver, he entered the Moscow Military Academy, from which he was gazetted to the Sixty-fourth Kazan regiment, receiving his commission as ensign on Dec. 1, 1876, at about the time that Joffre was working on the new fortifications of Paris under the Military President of the French Republic, Marshal MacMahon, whose son, Patrick MacMahon—a name so distinctively French—has just been mentioned for distinguished service in the Champagne region. In December, 1876, the fires of war were already burning brightly in the Balkans, and hundreds of Russians were volunteering for service with the Serbians. The cry "come over to Macedonia and help us!" rang out from tortured Bulgaria, and in the Spring of 1877 the Emperor Alexander II. declared war against Turkey, Rumania going in with him as an effective ally. In those days Balkan railroads were few; the Czar's troops marched laboriously through Wallachia and Moldavia during some eight weeks, reaching the Danube and crossing the great river on June 15, General Skobelev, with magnificent daring, first swimming his horse across the river, closely followed by his Chief of Staff, Kuropatkin. In that campaign Michael Alexeieff played gallantly such a rôle as is open to a subaltern, for it was only in 1885 that he reached the rank of Captain and received command of a company. Then he took a very important decision; he set himself to work hard to enter the Academy of the General Staff, which he entered about his thirtieth birthday.

After his eleven years of service in a regiment of infantry of the line Cap-

tain Alexeieff had won a reputation as an excellent officer, recognized by his fellow-officers as a man of enormous energy and power of work, strong-willed and always carrying out the tasks allotted to him, no matter what might be the obstacles. Simple of heart and character, he had also learned to know and admire the Russian soldier, after the French, perhaps, the finest soldier in the world, understanding the riches of his spiritual nature and the fire of devotion which makes him so willing to die in battle. At the same time Captain Alexeieff had been keenly conscious of the many shortcomings in the Russian military organization, which bore so hardly on officer and soldier alike.

Completing his studies at the Academy of the General Staff in 1890, in the first class, Alexeieff worked for eight years in the general administrative work of the army; then, in 1898, he became, like General Joffre a few years earlier, like General Foch, also, a Professor of military science, a position which he held, at the General Staff Academy, until 1904, just before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, when his ill-starred

namesake, the half-Armenian Admiral Alexeieff, was sowing sorrow for his country in Manchuria.

In the Russo-Japanese war, Alexeieff was Quartermaster General of the Third Manchurian Army. Thereafter, from 1908 to 1912, he was Chief of Staff of the Military District of Kieff. At the outbreak of the present war he was corps commander of the Thirteenth Army Corps, stationed at Smolensk; this post he exchanged for that of Chief of Staff of the sector commanded by General N. Ivanoff. Soon he was appointed Commander in Chief of the army of the northwestern front, where he distinguished himself as a very vigorous, resourceful, and unconquerable fighter, responsible for much of the success with which the Russian Army moved to its new strategic position during the months of last Summer. Then, when, under the stress of bodily weakness, the Grand Duke Nicholas laid down his high command, which was taken up by the Emperor in person, Czar Nicholas II. chose General Alexeieff to be, under him, the effective head of the Russian armies in the field.

German Foreign Mission

At the General Synod of the Prussian Lutheran Church, held in Berlin, a remarkable resolution referring to foreign missions was accepted which deserves the attention of Church circles in this country. The resolution was as follows:

In the difficult situation in which German missionary enterprise in the colonies and in foreign countries finds itself, the General Synod expresses its pain and regret that at a time when the co-operation of all Protestant missions throughout the world seemed assured, and the highest point of their development had been reached, there should have arisen danger and destruction to these missions and their stations in a shape hitherto deemed impossible. This has been the work of European Kultur-States which in this respect have given a fatal example to the heathen.

The General Synod associates itself with the German missionary societies and with all friends of missions throughout the Fatherland in praying that God the Lord may speedily heal these wounds, may give to German missions new prosperity, and with the extended position in the world which the German Nation is assuming, may grant German Christianity a new and a great task and renewed missionary power. It is the wish of the General Synod that in the national interests, and also in the interests of the Kingdom of Heaven, the nation may be stirred to new effort.

On the Russian Battle Front

By Constantine Shumski

Translation by Charles Johnston

This article is translated from the Russian *Neva* (The Field) of Petrograd.

BY the middle of October, all along the eastern front, there set in a complete "strategic calm."

The enemy was evidently getting ready for a prolonged stay in Winter quarters, in the positions which he had occupied, in order to make preparations for a new active major movement at the beginning of Spring—for a movement which, in the opinion of the Germans, will bring the war to a victorious conclusion in their favor.

Only the northern sector of the front, namely, the sector occupied by General Bülow, moved restlessly about directing alternate attacks now against Riga and now against Dvinsk. We have already had occasion to note that Bülow's army, operating on a very extensive front, from Riga to Dvinsk, was relatively weak for the accomplishment of such a grandiose operation as the conquest of the wide Western Dwina and the strongly fortified points of support of the Dwina-Riga and Dvinsk. The total of this army, which has been constantly reinforced, has evidently never exceeded five or six army corps and a few cavalry divisions, amounting, therefore, in a rough approximation to some 250,000 or 260,000 men.

At the same time the rest of the eastern front, even in the middle of October, (that is, after the diversion of a part of the German armies to the French and Serbian fronts,) was occupied by much more considerable Austro-German armies. Thus, between Dvinsk and the Pinsk marshes, that is, in the centre of the whole eastern front, were stationed, as before, the Second Army of Eichhorn, the Eighth Army, which had been commanded by Gallwitz, the Tenth Army of Scholz, the Ninth Army of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, the Eleventh German Army, formerly commanded by Mackensen, and the mixed Austro-Ger-

man Army of Linsingen, in all, on a moderate estimate, more than a million men.

Finally, on the south, that is, from the Pinsk marshes to Rumania were stationed the armies of Bothmer, Pflanzer, and different considerable Austrian sections, in all, more than a half million men.

Consequently, of the three divisions of the eastern front, the northern, the central, the southern—the northern section was much the least strongly occupied, because only Bülow's army was there, of from 250,000 to 260,000 men; that is, in all 15 per cent. of all the enemy forces on the Russian front. The enemy's movements against Dvinsk were marked by special obstinacy. Here the First Reserve Corps under the German General, Morgen, was active, this corps not consisting of two divisions, as is usual in the German Army, but of three divisions—that is, the corps was stiffened up to a total of 60,000 bayonets and sabres. Besides this this corps was exceedingly liberally supplied with both heavy and field artillery.

"For more than three weeks," wrote Morgen in his orders, "this corps has been directing an uninterrupted attack against Dvinsk. Thanks to a cruel fire, we succeeded in wresting from our obstinate enemy a series of fortified positions. Eight times we attacked the intrenched enemy with the bayonet and drove him back to the river. These successes, which showed remarkable determination and high excellence, are in complete conformity with the brilliant actions of the First Reserve Corps in the first year of the war. I feel a desire to express my gratitude to all my soldiers, the First, the Thirty-sixth, and the Seventy-eighth Reserve Divisions. At the present time it is imperative to reach a decisive result: to throw the already

weakening enemy from his last strongholds, across the Dwina."

However, this high and mighty order evidently had, as its main object, to raise the spirits of his soldiers, which had fallen after three weeks of unsuccessful attacks on Dvinsk. This order in no way indicated a real intention of the German enemy "to take Dvinsk at any cost," since from the strength already counted, and amounting to only three divisions, it is evident that this force was inadequate. Further, the capture of Dvinsk would necessarily mean also the crossing of the Dwina by the enemy, whereas Morgen only asked his soldiers to "throw the enemy across the Dwina," and said nothing about taking possession of the opposite (right) bank of the Dwina.

In general, it is impossible not to see that the position under Dvinsk is entirely secure, and that the enemy is being compelled to carry on a hopeless attack against this position. Toward the middle of October, the situation under Riga was developing in the same way, as indeed along the whole of the western Dwina. In addition to General Morgen's three divisions, Bülow's army consisted of six or seven divisions with cavalry: that is, 150,000 to 180,000 men, who occupied the front along all the rest of the Dwina, including Jacobstadt, Friedrichstadt, and Riga.

II.

It is, therefore, evident that there were other reasons which compelled Bülow to make a continuous attack against both Dvinsk and Riga, seeing that he could not take either of these important points. To discern these reasons is not difficult, if we study the disposition of Bülow's army, and see what points on the Dwina this army occupies.

As is well known, portions of Bülow's army occupy Friedrichstadt; consequently, the centre of Bülow's army is stationed on the Dwina itself, at Friedrichstadt. But the wings of Bülow's army are quite unable to reach the Dwina and have been driven back; the left wing from Riga and the Dwina to a distance of eighteen to twenty versts, and the right wing from Dvinsk and the

River Dwina to a distance of twenty to twenty-two versts.

In this way the centre of Bülow's army reached forward to the Dwina at Friedrichstadt, but its wings were bent back at Riga and Dvinsk and enveloped. It was this extremely awkward position that compelled Bülow unwillingly to attack Riga and Dvinsk, to straighten out his position if that were possible. Here is the whole motive of his attack, and we need see no dagner either to Riga and Dvinsk in the present situation of affairs.

From all that has been said above, it is possible to see that there is no doubt whatever that the Germans have decided to "go into Winter quarters" in the positions they have occupied, and, in consequence of this, will undertake nothing of serious import on our front for a long time to come. The proposition set forth previously, that the enemy is preparing for not less than two years of war, is fully confirmed at the present time.

As a result of this, the present reveals itself as the beginning of a prolonged period of preparation, during which will be made ready all the means for the future development of extensive offensive operations, which, according to the calculations of the enemy, are to give him the power to fulfill the "program" of the second year of the war.

This work of preparations exhibits itself in the enemy, first, in the strengthening of the positions occupied and in the detailed organization of the rear of the occupied territory as a basis for future operations against our front, and, in the second place, in the subsidiary operations which the enemy is undertaking in the Balkans.

The first—the construction of bases in the rear—consists in the construction of connecting roads in the rear, in the administrative organization of the rear, and in a system of fortifications.

The network of railroads in the rear, according to information which has appeared in the press, has been to a large extent rebuilt, and in part military railroads have been built, the materials for which were stored up by the enemy even

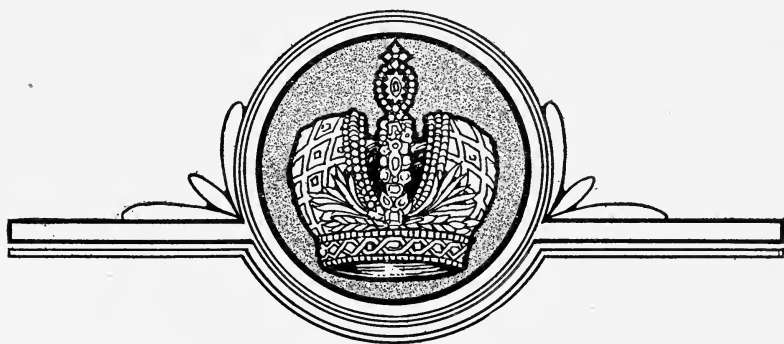
before the war. Furthermore, the enemy is trying to keep up a connection by sea from Memel to Libava, a distance covered by steamships in ten hours. By the present route are being brought munitions, horses, and men. Owing to danger from our submarines, the enemy sends small steamships, with small sections of troops, for example, a battalion at a time, calculating, evidently, that in case of attack by a submarine no large body of troops would be lost, but only a small number.

And in addition to this the military administrative organization of the rear consists chiefly in the establishment of a system of stations, with stores, hospitals, concentration points, and so on.

Finally, the system of fortification carried out by the enemy evidently consists of several lines of defense along the front occupied by him, from the Baltic Sea, through Wilna, Lida, Baranovitch, the Pinsk marshes, Volhynia, Galicia, to Bukowina and Rumania. In the rear of these fortifications according to information received, which has been printed, he has strengthened the temporary

fortresses at Wilna and Bialystok, has rebuilt the fortifications of Kovno, Grodno, and Ossovetz, establishing a chain of forts, which means that the enemy is trying to create real chains of fortifications.

The second part—subsidiary operations in the Balkans—is being carried out by the enemy with more considerable forces than we should previously have supposed likely. By reliable printed information we calculate that against Serbia are operating the Austrian army of the Hungarian General Kevesh, numbering about three army corps, and the German army of Gallwitz, numbering about five army corps, which gives a total of not less than 320,000 Austro-Germans. Besides these, according to certain printed information, which is entirely trustworthy, there is a Landsturm division of not less than 20,000 and various units of cavalry. Thus there are up to 340,000 Austro-Germans, and, counting not less than seven divisions of Bulgarians—that is, up to 210,000 men—we have a total opposed to Serbia's army numbering 300,000, of about 550,000 enemies.



No Peace Now for France

By Émile Boutroux, French Academician; Stephen Pichon, Late Minister of Foreign Affairs; Alfred Capus, French Academician; Gabriel Hanotaux, Academician and Late Foreign Minister; Mme. Daniel Lesueur; Gustave Rivet, French Senator; Adolphe Carnot; Professor Charles Richet; Joseph Reinach; Paul Adam; M. David-Mennet; Abbé Wetterle; Victor Bérard; Admiral Blenaine, and Rear Admiral Degouty

Of thirty or more prominent persons interviewed by the *Revue Hebdomadaire* of Paris, in its November issue, not one was found to be in favor of peace at this time. Statesmen, professors, writers, representatives of the army and the navy uttered the same thought: "We must endure to the end." Below appear some of these representative utterances of France.

A LONG WAR

By EMILE BOUTROUX

Academician, member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, director of the Thiers Foundation, philosopher, and historian.

THE wise thing to hope for is a long war. However marvelous may be the task already accomplished, however certain we may be that our progress will continue, we cannot deduce from that that we are approaching the end of our efforts. We must persevere to the end; the patience of the nation must be unlimited. To my mind peace means that France shall resume her place among the nations. It must be confessed that she had not quite recovered the prestige lost in 1870. Even now in certain circles we are considered as playing an accessory part in the war. People refer to the Russo-German conflict, to the Anglo-German war, forgetting that we are bearing the major part of the burden. Germany tried by the Treaty of Frankfort to annihilate us as a great power. Peace can come only when we are able to re-establish the European equilibrium.

PATIENCE

By STEPHEN PICHON

Late Minister of Foreign Affairs, Director of Le Petit Journal.

I have never believed that the war would be a short war; I have always said that it would be long; I do not believe now that it will end soon. Peace

will be acceptable only when it can guarantee to France the strength, prestige, and prosperity of the victor, liberty and independence, a durable tranquillity, the end of the menace of armaments and the possibility of general disarmament. That is worth the patience that we are preaching.

NO "LAME" PEACE

By ALFRED CAPUS

Academician, Editor in Chief of Le Figaro.

By the beginning of 1916 we can be certain that Germany will have lost 4,000,000 of her children. That is a terrific total, such as has never before been seen in history. When it is said that a people will fight to the last man we know it is a fiction; the bigger an army the more men must die before the last is reached. Germany will not wait until she is annihilated before asking for peace; she will do so when she feels her inevitable inferiority. That will be the time to talk peace.

To my mind, moreover, there can be no question of anything but a definite peace. I cannot see the possibility of a "lame" peace. The German character is opposed to it; the Germans will obtain what they want or they will have to accept our terms. A "lame" peace would leave them the chance of victory by a new effort. They are too well disciplined, too stubborn to treat for peace before making that new effort; they will give in only when they have reached the end.

WAR OF ATTRITION

By GABRIEL HANOTAUX

Academician and former Foreign Minister.

In principle this is a war of attrition. Let us prepare for that. Let us remain true to our compact with our allies. As a matter of fact the real end of this war is, according to the German military doctrine, the destruction of the enemy. We have already killed two or three million Germans and Austrians; since it seems that that is not enough we shall keep it up until the survivors see reason.

The Allies have superiority in numbers, solidity, resources; let us not expose this superiority to the chance of a fault or an imprudence. The fate of the world depends on the wisdom of all, as well as on the valor of our army.

This war is not merely a clash between peoples, it is a conflict between Kultur and civilization. The future course of the history of the world depends on this prodigious conflict. The stake is worth the venture. The work of the diplomatists can be useful only as the crown of the efforts of the army.

WOMEN OF FRANCE

By MME. DANIEL LESUEUR

Distinguished French Writer

One of the reasons which have impelled the women of France to view undismayed the prospect of a war to the end is their solicitude for the future of the children. "We do not want our children to go through such a hell" is their cry. They but echo the words of their husbands. In how many letters from the front have we not read those words! They have gone to the heart of the young mothers, they remain fixed there and now they all exclaim: "We will accept any suffering that may be necessary, but we will win for these innocent children a future in which such a horror will be impossible."

They are not acting in ignorance of what their decision means. A peace which would bring Europe back to the instability of the days before the war cannot be considered. We do not even desire a peace which would be simply honorable for us. No; they might offer us Alsace-Lorraine—which we are not yet

in a position to demand—and we would refuse, for our task would not be yet accomplished. Dear to us as is that part of the national territory torn from our motherland it is not that which concerns us most now. France is fighting to defend Europe against the tyranny of German militarism. She is fighting, and will continue to fight, for the vital interest, the supreme interest of the nation and of the civilized world.

"The sublime heroism of our soldiers has won more than territory. It has won pure glory, the esteem of the world, the magnificent hope of a France again at the head of civilization. The road is hard, but we distinguish clearly the end. Who among us could give up the fight now? Not one, not a single Frenchwoman. Let our unconquerable heroes know this: Their women are with them.

BEAST OF MILITARISM

By GUSTAVE RIVET

Senator, President of the Franco-Italian League

Who dares talk of peace at this time? Peace can not, must not, come until German militarism is definitely broken. The German dream of universal dominion is a menace to our very existence. Whoever does not wish to be a slave must fight on to the end. We must struggle to the last man.

The Allies know the danger that hangs over their heads and we are confident that the combined effort of the Quadruple Entente will bring about the downfall of the central empires and the end of this intolerable German pride. Nobody would have the courage to accept at this moment a peace which could mean nothing more than a momentary suspension of hostilities. Before Europe lays down arms the ferocious beast must be placed in such a condition that it can menace us no more. We must be able to give to the world peace—not a peace, but peace.

VICTORY AHEAD

By ADOLPHE CARNOT

President of the Republican-Democratic Alliance, Grandson of the "Organizer of Victory" of the French Revolution

There are several reasons for believing

that the war may come to an end soon, but it is impossible to give even an approximate date for the peace preliminaries. Everything now points to victory for us. The co-ordination of the allied forces gives us an assurance of final triumph and we shall then be in a position to dictate peace. It is not for us to talk about peace until then.

FRANCE THE REBUILDER

By PROFESSOR CHARLES RICHET
Member of the Academy of Sciences

The advantages of even a victorious peace seem to me mediocre in comparison with the blood which has been shed and the sacrifices made. I would have given up all the treaties in the world to have kept France and Europe peaceful.

Nevertheless, the direction of affairs in the new Europe, even if it be a ruined Europe, must not be left in the hands of Germany. The question is for me as follows: On which nation will the task of rebuilding Europe rest? What nation will be able to place Europe again on the path toward progress? What nation will guide a lost civilization and a worn-out world toward the rebirth? For the well being of all that nation must be France. That is the decisive reason for fighting to the end so as to prepare for the resurrection, probably a long way off, of human intelligence.

As for the real advantages of peace it will be very long before the world can enjoy them. War is a millstone on the neck of intellectual development. The nations which are vanquished will think only of revenge. No nation will want to be exposed again to the danger of attack, and preparation for the new war will be the universal preoccupation.

I do not doubt for a single instant that humanity will in the long run reawaken and take up again its march toward the light. But even the great-grandchildren of our children will not see that day. It is, however, to hasten that day that France must fight energetically and spare no effort to gain a complete victory. The triumph of her arms will be the prelude to the triumph of her generous ideas. If she, like other nations, has

to feel the countershock of this terrific conflict, it must be expected of her that she will prepare civilization for prosperous morrows. The liberty of peoples and individuals will enable us to reach this result. Perhaps, also, we shall be aided in this task by a German revolution—perhaps.

RESERVE FORCE

By JOSEPH REINACH
Former Deputy and one of the editors of Le Figaro

We have entered into the period of the war where the decisive factor is patience, tenacity, obstinacy. "Victory," says a Japanese proverb, "belongs to the nation which has a quarter of an hour more of patience." We are now in that "quarter of an hour." I have seen a letter from a German intellectual in which he says the world of letters, law, medicine in Germany is suffering from a feeling of pessimism. "But," he adds, "we shall be saved by the nervous exhaustion of France." He is counting on the idea that the reserve force of moral courage, patience, and tenacity of France is inferior to that of Germany.

There is an example of the lack of judgment of the Germans. The civilian population of France will hold out to the end, all the more since they are warned that it is on their "nervous exhaustion" that Germany is basing hopes of victory.

GERMANY IN STRAITS

By PAUL ADAM
Novelist and writer

Calculations based on indisputable facts indicate that the economic situation of the central empires will begin to be very serious during or at the end of the present Winter. It must not, however, be deduced from this that peace will then be in sight. Even though our enemies may be in sore straits financially they can continue to fight, facing as best they may the constant diminution of their moral and physical resistance.

We must win a definite victory which will reduce Germany to impotence for an unlimited time, which will permit us to make her industries work for us to

give us the fifty or sixty milliards of francs due as indemnity for the war and its consequences. For the achievement of this aim we must never allow a weakening of the courage, the patience, the moral strength necessary to victory. Logically we can think of peace only as a distant dream. We must first drive the Germans out of France and then pursue them into their own territory, where it may be expected that they will struggle on with grim determination to guard their independence. Each of these operations will take at least a year.

If the course of events induce us to accept a "lame" peace I believe that Europe would have to face a new series of wars. The years to come would see nothing but the preparations for new conflicts until one of the opposing sides was entirely vanquished. I see no sign that such a thing will come to pass.

AN OGRISH PROSPECT

By M. DAVID-MENNET

President of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris

Men are constantly returning on leave from the front who before the war were employed by commercial firms in Paris. When they are asked about the hard life in the trenches, about the prospects of a long campaign, they reply: "If we yield to the Germans we'll be eaten up." These familiar words express a profound economic truth. If we were weak enough to accept a hasty peace before we have won a decisive victory we would place ourselves in a position of commercial vassaldom which would lead rapidly to the ruin of individuals and the bankruptcy of the nation. We would be "eaten up."

Recalling the immense labor which was necessary to pay off the indemnity of "cinq milliards" which France was forced to pay after the war of 1870-71, M. David-Mennet said:

Today the indemnity will not be five billions, but ten times that amount. Of that enormous sum the greater part will fall on the nation which first lays down arms. In 1871 and the succeeding years it needed all the skill of M. Thiers and his eminent collaborators to save the en-

tire money market of France from disorganization.

It would be impossible to meet the indemnity which a victorious Germany would demand today without utterly ruining our commerce and industry. That is what would happen if we concluded peace now, in view of the fact that a large part of our territory is in the hands of the invaders and we are, in that respect, in the position of a vanquished nation. Such a peace is not to be thought of. We must continue the struggle until new armies are sent into the field. We shall thus march on to victory, to the economic freedom and prosperity of our country. We don't want to be "eaten up."

GERMAN FINANCES

By ABBE WETTERLE

Formerly Deputy from Alsace-Lorraine in the Reichstag

The financial situation of the German Empire will soon be desperate. Big commercial failures are frequent, the war loans are covered only by fictitious Treasury operations, and the gold reserve is insufficient. The Frankfurter Zeitung has admitted that if an enormous indemnity is not assured to re-establish the finances of Germany the country will be ruined.

It is certain that the Germans, who are still crying victory, will go to smash suddenly. Pessimists here in France do not take sufficiently into consideration the moral element of this struggle. The German is boastful during success, but he sinks under adversity.

Cost what it may, we must go on to the end. War until the complete destruction of Germany is accomplished is an absolute necessity.

PEACE CRIMINAL

By VICTOR BERARD

Professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes

I say that it is criminal to talk of peace now. Would Germany consent to give us back Alsace-Lorraine? At what price? On condition that we recognized her annexation of Belgium! Can such a thing be imagined! Can you think of such a bargain without indignation? There is another condition of Franco-

German peace—the economic alliance of the two countries. For the German an economic alliance has always meant an offensive league.

The Germans have never formed a league among themselves or with their neighbors except against somebody. Against whom would we be expected to ally ourselves with Germany? Against England. That is a monstrosity, a madness, that cannot be conceived without dishonor. Thus, peace is impossible; we must continue the war, we must continue it to the end, whether that end may be tomorrow or several months or years hence.

END WORTH THE PRICE

By ADMIRAL BLENAIME

Late Chief of the Naval Staff

It was not, in the words of President Poincaré, "to win a precarious peace, a truce filled with anxiety, between one war and a more terrible war, that France rose up in mighty grandeur to the accents of the 'Marseillaise.'" It was to have an end once for all of the menace which the German fury of dominion caused to weigh so heavily on us and on the rights of small nations to develop themselves according to the principles of justice and liberty on which the future of civilization depends.

The end is worth the price. They know that at the front. It justifies all our

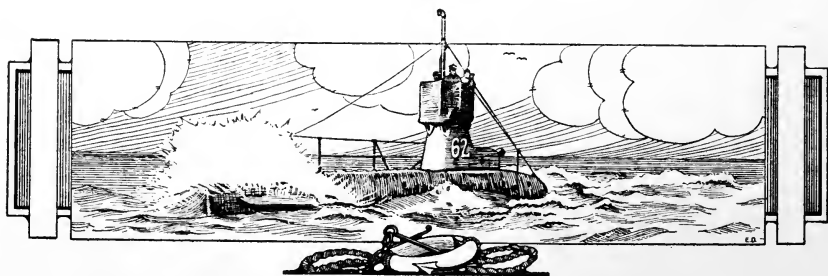
patience. We are ready for even more sacrifices to assure that "organized and powerful effort which alone can give us victory," referred to in the letter of a German intellectual recently found in the pocket of one of his army friends who fell into our hands.

FRANCE'S TURN NOW

By REAR ADMIRAL DEGOUY

We must not examine the possibility of a "paix batarde" on the basis of the statu quo ante bellum, which would leave Germany sufficiently strong so that fifteen or twenty years hence she would be in a position to resume her old dream and throw herself against us again. No; too much blood has already been spilled, too much ruin has been piled up to permit us to entertain any thought except that we must so act as to enable us to hand down to the next generation an edifice worthy of our immense sacrifices and one which will give them an opportunity to live in peace and tranquillity.

To do this we must have a victorious peace, completely victorious, a peace signed only after the annihilation of the enemy when he is crying for mercy. I know the intense pride of the German. He will yield only when he recognizes that he is fighting a superior foe. To the victor belong the spoils. Our enemies had that experience in 1871. It must be our turn now.



History's Greatest Massacre

By A. Williams, M. P.; T. P. O'Connor, M. P., and Lord Robert Cecil

I.

The Armenian Woe

By A. Williams, M. P.

The speeches on the Turkish massacres of the Armenians, presented below, are abridged from the report of proceedings in the House of Commons on Nov. 16, 1915.

ON the 6th of October of this year there was a discussion in the House of Lords which, it is no exaggeration to say, sent a wave of horror not only over this country, but over all civilized countries. The great majority of reading and thinking people realized then for the first time that the greatest massacres in history had been taking place during the last five months. In that discussion, initiated by Lord Cromer, and in which Lord Bryce, Lord Crewe, and others took a notable part, there were laid bare the facts of a horror such as the world has never seen. There have been great conquerors who have slaughtered many thousands and perhaps up to a million men, but those occurrences have been spread over a great number of years. The Turkish authorities within the little time of five months proceeded systematically to exterminate a whole race out of their dominions. They did so not in thousands or tens of thousands, but in hundreds of thousands. One estimate states that five hundred thousand persons were killed within the five months, while according to another estimate the number was as many as eight hundred thousand killed. There have been massacres of the Armenians before this last one. Ten years ago thirty thousand were massacred, and ten years before that a hundred thousand. But those massacres, which made the world shudder at the time, shrink into insignificance beside these massacres which we have been unconsciously living through in the last six or seven months.

Since that debate took place later details have come in from many sources, from German and Swiss missionaries, from escaped refugees, from Europeans in Asiatic Turkey, and from sources of all kinds, and all supporting one another in the most astonishing way, so that the facts all hang together and so that, while perhaps it is impossible to be certain of this or that detail, there is no doubt whatever of the broad lines of the occurrences. They are not general statements, but are statements from different quarters, describing what happened at particular places at particular times, with the names of the people who suffered and with the names of the people who inflicted those horrors.

Therefore it is quite certain that the broad facts of the case are established and the broad facts are these, that in the month of May or thereabout orders were sent through the executive authority—that is, the “gang,” as Lord Bryce called them: the gang of ruffians who call themselves the Government of Turkey at the present time—systematically to nearly all the centres in Turkey where there was any considerable Armenian population. I believe I am right in saying that these orders can be traced as having been sent to some fifty places, and a uniform procedure was adopted. The Armenians of the particular centre concerned were collected together at short notice, sometimes within a few hours. In some instances where a time had been fixed the gendarmes arrived before the time, and the Armenians were hustled

out of their beds. Sometimes a little longer, up to ten or twelve days, but I believe never more than a fortnight, was given. It was not men of military age that were taken to be interned. Not at all. The Armenians of military age were already serving Turkey as soldiers in the ranks, except those who were exempted under the laws of Turkey. At this time the men from 15 to 70 who had not been taken as soldiers were collected together, and for the most part shot. The older men, the women and the children were ordered to prepare to go away to a great distance. This did not take place simply in one town, but in practically every town where there was an Armenian population of any importance. It did not occur owing to the fanaticism of one particular magistrate or one particular population. It is what took place in obedience to the orders sent around from the central authorities.

These people were marched away, under the control of gendarmes to some extent, but to a large extent under the control of jail birds—criminals who had been taken out of the jails for the express purpose of being put in charge of these parties of Armenians. The people were allowed to take very little money with them, and very little food was given them on the journey. In some cases they were allowed to hire carts, in which either to ride themselves or to take their few belongings. In many cases these carts were turned back after a few hours or a few days of the journey had been accomplished, and the people were obliged to go on on foot. Sometimes, when they had gone a few days' journey, they were abandoned by their guards and told that they might go on by themselves. Then, when they had gone on a few miles, Kurds or other brigands fell upon them, robbed and murdered them, violated the women, took the children, and committed every kind of outrage and horror upon them. Sometimes they were not abandoned, but the gendarmes and criminal guards worked their will upon them in every form of brutality and lust. When they came to towns they sold women and girls to the harems, sold the children to Turkish families who wanted boys or

girls to work on their farms and to be brought up as Mohammedans, and even sold the children to brothels. So they went on, driving them along, the people dropping by the way from hunger, women going absolutely naked in many cases, having been robbed of their clothes; babies were born by the roadside, and the mothers were told to get up and go on, until they died. At night women were violated by thieves and ruffians who came to the encampment; and finally, when they reached the River Euphrates, the women in many cases threw themselves into the river in order that they might escape by death from man's inhumanity.

Thus perhaps one-third, or less than one-third, of those who set out came to their destinations. What were those destinations? They were humorously called by the Turkish authorities agricultural colonies. They were, as a matter of fact, places in horrible swamps, or in some cases desert places where there was no water and no possibility of cultivation, where even the miserable Arabs, who had existed there from time immemorial, often perished from hunger. There they arrived in a perishing condition, and there those who are not yet dead are probably dying rapidly. This was the fate of the Armenians in the scattered towns. I am not talking of the Armenians in Armenia. There is a very great difference. The Armenians in the scattered towns are, for the most part, artisans, merchants, shopkeepers, or professional men. They are very largely educated people, brought up in a degree of refinement, extraordinarily in advance of the Mohammedan population of the country. They felt all the more the sufferings inflicted upon them, having been accustomed to a refined, educated, and, from a material point of view, comfortable life. The Armenians in Armenia were in a different position. They were in their own country, to a very large extent they were agriculturists, and those who remain are agriculturists still, cultivating their fields and living on the produce.

The Armenians who have been subject to deportation, hardships, and the gradual wastage of death, as I have described,

still to some extent exist as refugees in different parts of the Turkish Empire. I have to suggest that our Government should use its very best endeavors, either by the army, the navy, or its other resources, to rescue these people wherever it is possible. For instance, a ship of the French fleet saw a great red cross, and on investigation discovered that there were 4,000 Armenians who had taken refuge in the mountains between Antioch and the sea. There, with a few old guns, they were fighting a much superior force which was attacking them with a view to extermination. That French ship was able to take off those 4,000 people and land them in Egypt, where the whole, or the great majority, of them will be saved from the fate that threatened them. Without describing in detail similar positions of other bodies of Armenians, I should like to appeal to his Majesty's Government to give us some assurance that they will, to the very best of their power, both by our ships going up and down the coast of Asiatic Turkey and by our troops, which are now approaching the scenes of these terrible disasters—when they are getting to Bagdad—will do everything in their power to deliver such bodies of these men as are still maintaining themselves heroically against their oppressors.

I desire to call attention to other classes of Armenians who survive at the present time and that are outside the Turkish Empire. Inside the Turkish Empire there are practically no Armenians left. That is not literally true, of course, but there are few, very few. There were probably 1,200,000 or 1,500,000 at the beginning of this war. If it is true that 500,000 or 800,000 have been killed, then the refugees that have found their way into Russia, Egypt, Bulgaria, and elsewhere probably account for nearly the whole of the remainder of the Armenian population of Turkey. Only a comparatively few thousands are left in Turkey itself. Many of these are fighting for their lives. The refugees are mainly in the Russian Caucasus. Within Armenia proper the Turkish authorities did not

pursue this policy of deportation. They pursued the much simpler policy of straightforward massacre. They sent their troops and gendarmes to attack the people in their villages and farms. Where these people in their mountains or in groups of villages protect themselves they sent their artillery against them and destroyed them wholesale. A large number of them were able to get away under the shelter of the Russian troops. In the ebb and flow of this war Russia has advanced and retreated, and advanced again in Armenia. In the course of these movements a large number of Armenians, escaping these wholesale massacres, have got behind the Russian troops and found their way into the Caucasus. In the Russian Caucasus at the present time there are said to be 180,000 of these refugees. Thirty thousand have died in exile since last August, and 70,000 have probably returned through the Caucasus again to those parts of Armenia which are now in Russian occupation, or have gone into those parts of Persia where there is some sort of protection by the Russians.

It is not only Christians. Apparently this process of exterminating all the progressive elements of the country—what is called Ottomanizing the country—extends far beyond the range of the Christians. The Zionist Jews, for some reason, have been suspected of being an enlightening force, and they, too, have been in terror. My last news from over there was that the greatest religious teacher of our time, not Christian, not Jew, but a man who represents a kind of reformed Mohammedanism, or a wider religion embracing Mohammedanism and other religions, Abd-ul-Baha Abbas, a man that many of us had the honor of listening to in London a few years ago, an old man who has spent his life in doing good, has been violently taken from his home on Mount Carmel to Nazareth. What has happened to him is utterly unknown, but it is extremely likely that the worst has befallen him. This is a war against all the more intelligent reforming elements within the Ottoman Empire.

II.

A Policy of Murder

By T. P. O'Connor, M. P.

I DO not think I could honestly ask the Noble Lord to make any appeal to Germany. There is one thing very German in this whole transaction. There is one great analogy between the Germans in Belgium and the Turks in Armenia, and that is the system and policy which underlie what might be regarded by superficial observers as mere sporadic or individual blood lust. As the Noble Lord knows far better than I do, for he has had access to documents that I have not seen, this movement was simultaneous in fifty centres, and, therefore, evidently was obeying a central impetus, a central command from the heart of the Turkish Empire.

Everybody knows that throughout all this district for at least a generation, or perhaps two generations, there was not a great centre of population, there was not one of the Armenian settlements which was not the subject of active, energetic, persistent propaganda by the German Consuls. Every one of these centres of slaughter was occupied by a German Consul, knowing the country, probably knowing the language, certainly knowing the Turkish authorities, certainly on good terms with them. If one of these Consuls had only lifted his finger he could have put an end to the slaughter. Nor do I ask the Noble Lord to make any appeal to German opinion. If I were freer in the somewhat necessary limits of this debate, I could quote from the German press what they have said about it. Perhaps the Noble Lord will allow me some indulgence in order to read just one extract from a writer in regard to whom, if ever there is a hideous atrocity, you can rely upon his pen not to excuse or extenuate it, but to glorify it, and the name of that gentleman is Reventlow. He wrote:

If the Porte considers it necessary that Armenian insurrection can either go on or should be crushed so as to exclude all

possibility of their repetition, then there is no murder and no atrocity, but simply measures of a justifiable and a necessary kind.

I was asked last night to define German militarism, and there is the definition in the devilish spirit of such a judgment and excuse for the cowardly massacre of 800,000 human beings, not all men, but thousands of women and children.

So much has been written about the Armenians that many people are disposed to think of them as a subject race, like the Kurds that inhabit Asia Minor and other regions. Anybody who reads history knows that the Armenians are one of the most ancient and cultured, and one of the proudest in the history of civilization and Christianity. In spite of all this massacre and persecution they have been the great rock of Christianity and the breakwater against the attacks of the Kurds. You have heard the story of these women who have been sold into the harems of the Turks. A couple of young girls were sold to a Turk for 3s. 6d., and some of them sold into prostitution. Who are these women? There is not a man in this House, however high his position, who has in his family girls of greater culture, of greater sweetness, of nobler purity, or more civilized and cultured life than these women.

I am quoting from the President of an American college in Armenia, and this President, speaking about the massacres, gives a list of the students and of the professors of this college. The Noble Lord has the pamphlet before him, and it is on Page 100. Will the House listen to this:

Constituency: Approximately two-thirds of the girl pupils and six-sevenths of the boys have been taken away to death, exile, or Moslem homes. Professors: Four gone, three left, as fellows.

I want just to say a word about one or two of these professors. Professor B.,

who served the college thirty-three years, studied at Ann Arbor, which I may inform the House is one of the greatest educational institutes of the United States. He was a professor of mathematics. I find that another professor studied at Princeton, another university of the United States. Another professor studied at Edinburgh. He was a professor of mental and moral science. He was tortured. He had three finger nails pulled out by the roots, and he was killed

in one of the massacres. I take the case of Professor G. He served the college about fifteen years. He studied at Cornell and Yale, two great educational institutes of the United States, and he was professor of biology. The professors of this college, of which the President was a citizen of the United States, received their learning in the great universities of the world, and especially in the universities of the United States, and they were massacred, tortured, or persecuted.

III.

A Premeditated Crime

By Lord Robert Cecil

British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

THE House has listened with rapt attention to two speeches of a very high order in describing the terrible events which have recently taken place in Armenia. The story is a terrible one. The House will recollect that before this war broke out, in February of last year, the powers had induced the Turks to accept a measure of reform which might, I think, have produced some real amelioration and some real security for these unhappy people.

This is a premeditative crime determined on long ago. It is part of the deliberate policy of those whom Lord Bryce so rightly called "a gang of murderous ruffians that rule Constantinople at the present time." One of them has undoubtedly, on more than one occasion—I was told only this minute—boasted to a mutual friend in Constantinople that he and his friends in six months have done more than Abdul Hamid did in thirty years. It was a long-considered, deliberate policy to destroy and wipe out of existence the Armenians in Turkey. It was systematically carried out. It was ordered from above, and when, as happened on one or two occasions, the local Governors were anxious to spare some of the children, or mitigate in some degree the horrors of the operation, they were sternly ordered to go on with the work,

and I believe in one or perhaps two cases they were removed from their offices for not carrying it out with sufficient vigor.

There is one other circumstance I am bound to remind the House of. Not only was this premeditated—there was no provocation whatever. It has been suggested by that apologist for all that is wicked—Count Reventlow—that this was merely a rough suppression of insurrection and riot. There is no truth whatever in it. There was no insurrection, no riot; nothing of the kind. It has been suggested in America that agents of this country intrigued with Armenians to stir them up to rebellion against their lawful sovereign and that this country is responsible for the horrors that resulted. I am quite sure the House will believe me when I assure it that no kind of truth exists for any such allegation. There have been no intrigues by this country with the Armenians to stir them up to rebellion. There have been no attempts to raise them against their masters, though the House will easily see that if any such attempt had occurred it would be far from an excuse for, or even a palliation of, the crimes committed. But even this miserably poor excuse is absolutely without foundation. The crime was a deliberate one, not to punish insurrection but to destroy the Armenian

race. That was the sole object, the sole reason for it.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor—I made an omission that I should like to repair, and that is that you should back up some representations which I made to the Pope, who has already intervened in the matter.

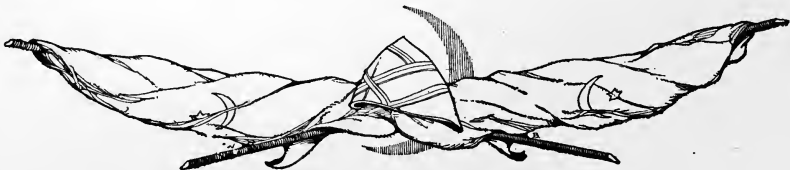
Lord Robert Cecil—I am glad of that interruption. It enables me to say—indeed, I should have said it in any case—that humanity is grateful to his Holiness the Pope for the steps he has already taken to try and secure the safety of the Armenians. He made the strongest possible representations, as my honorable friend knows, and if they are without result it is because it is difficult to get blood out of a stone. But as to the suggestion that we should make representations to the Governments of the United States and of the Swiss Republic, I need not say that if either of those Governments should think it right to make representations to Germany no one would be more rejoiced at or would welcome more heartily any steps of that kind than would the Government of this country. After all, it is not for us to dictate, or even to suggest, to the Governments of independent neutral countries what their duty is in such a case as this. It is for each Government to settle exactly what it ought to do with reference to foreign Governments, except so far as representations may be made on behalf of the subject to any other Government. Although I am quite ready to join with my honorable friend in expressing the aspiration that these Governments may see their way to do something, if anything can be done, for the Armenians, I do not think it would be right that this Government should go further than that.

My honorable friend said, and said truly, that it was not for us to make any representations to the Germans. It

would be quite useless, and we certainly should not do so. But, after all, they, and they only, are the people who can stop these massacres and can save the Armenians if they choose. I read in that very interesting and able pamphlet a statement that no sufficient proof of direct complicity can be brought against German officials, but indirectly the complicity of Germany is proved beyond doubt. Not only are they defended by Count Reventlow, but, as I read in one of the German papers, beyond a communication from a German living in Switzerland, with that exception no protest of any sort or kind has appeared in any German paper. Not only so, it may sound a hard thing, but it is true that the creed of German militarism leads logically to crimes of this description. Do not let us forget for a moment what a horrible thing, although it may be stated quite attractively, in reality German militarism is. It means that anything which is thought to be in the interests of the State is justified. The State is put in the place which is occupied in other nations by religion and morality. Once you grant that, once you grant that the so-called bastard patriotism is an excuse for any crime, there is no limit to the degradation of a nation that adopts such a belief as that. We in this country, I hope, will never accept such a doctrine. We agree, at least I do with all my heart, with the words that Edith Cavell uttered just before her death:

Patriotism is not enough.

It is a thing which only a great patriot dare say, and she was one. It was said by a great patriot, and it is a profound truth that patriotism is not enough, and it is because the Germans have not realized but have denied that truth that they are accomplices even in this crime, and unless they abandon their idolatry they will sink even lower than they have sunk at present.





GENERAL ALEXEIEFF
Chief of Staff of the Russian Armies
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



M. KHVOSTOFF

Russian Minister of the Interior. He is the First Cabinet Minister to be Appointed from the Russian Duma
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

The American Note to England

By Dr. Bernhard Dernburg

The subjoined article, written by the late Ambassador of the German propaganda in the United States, is translated from the Berliner Tageblatt of Nov. 12, 1915.

THE Imperial Chancellor championed the freedom of the seas in his latest great speech on Germany's program. Sir Edward Grey has made the statement that the discussion thereof after peace is full of possibilities. Both statesmen more or less avoided giving an exact definition of the phrase. In his various notes and speeches President Wilson has also proclaimed the freedom of the seas, declaring it to be an inalienable right of the United States, and he has said what he understands the term to mean: the maintenance of maritime international law as set forth in the Declaration of London.

This declaration, to be sure, was not signed by all the nations interested, but it also has not been disputed. Its purpose was, as shown by its title, to lay down, in the form of a declaration and with the co-operation of all nations, the law at the present time on the high seas. President Wilson says that this declaration is binding on the United States, that any alteration in it on the part of a belligerent is not binding on that country unless it has the assent of the United States and other neutrals.

The United States has come into conflict with two belligerent nations as to the application of this international law. Disputes arose as early as last Autumn with England, which introduced many one-sided applications of the law by royal decree, and in other ways concerned herself little with the rules of international law, and with Germany, in the Lusitania case and the question of submarine warfare. President Wilson refused to deal simultaneously with the questions at issue with England and Germany, since he wished it understood that both were matters concerning the rights of Americans which had to be considered separately. He refused to entertain a suggestion that Germany might yield on submarine war-

fare if England, at America's behest, observed international law. It was stated that the question of submarine warfare had to be settled first, since this was not a case like England's commercial warfare against Germany, involving merchandise that might be replaced and financial losses, but one that involved endangering the lives of American citizens. Therefore, the English question was postponed until the way was opened for its settlement by Germany's wisely conciliatory attitude in the Arabic incident. Germany was conciliatory not only because she shared America's humanitarian beliefs, but because, apparently, she thought that whoever wishes the freedom of the seas must not help destroy those principles of law to the maintenance of which she herself has contributed, even though only partially. Germany also saw that she could not expect the United States to demand that England observe international law without adopting a similar course toward Germany. Submarine warfare, defended on the ground that it was a new weapon, was not to be reconciled with the application of the Declaration of London.

After Germany had met the American point of view the President addressed a note to England and announced two more. This article will not go into details regarding the note. Let it suffice to repeat that the United States declares the blockade of Germany and Austria non-existent and not legally effective; that it rejects as illegal the English practice of confiscating goods bound for neutral lands on the mere suspicion that they may reach the enemy; that it declares illegal England's demand that such goods be consigned to a certain consignee—in other words, to the over-seas trade controlled by England; that it will no longer tolerate the taking of American or neutral ships into English ports; and that, finally, it rejects the

decisions of the English prize courts, since they are based not on the rules of general international law but on English Government decrees.

Those are the main points in the note. Announcement is made of a note rejecting the latest English decisions, to the effect that the nationality of a ship is to be determined not by its registry and flag, but by the nationality of its owners or of one of its owners, (*Hocking case*), and, finally—perhaps the most important of all—of another note declaring England's arbitrary changes in the list of absolute and conditional contraband not binding on the United States.

This destroys the whole structure which England has been artfully setting up for fifteen months for the purpose of starving Germany and of restricting American trade. The Declaration of London had put cotton on the free list under all circumstances, and grain and food-stuffs were declared to be contraband (limited contraband at that) only when destined for the use of troops in the field or for the provisioning of fortified harbors. The declaration places the burden of proof regarding such articles on the nation seizing them.

The President says he is upholding the rights of all neutrals, and it may be safely assumed that he makes this statement after due consultation with them. The question arises, in the comments of the German press, whether and to what degree the United States intends or would attempt to enforce the demands set forth. Judging from the diplomatic history of the United States—wherein the *Lusitania* case is a page—one may rest assured that the United States would do this under all conditions. Sometimes it has taken a long time, (the *Alabama* case, in which England was condemned to pay a fine of \$15,000,000 for violation and for permitting piracy, lasted about fifteen years.) But today it is a question of interests which admit of no delay, and no matter how unwilling the President may be to create difficulties with England, (and, for that matter, with Germany,) he nevertheless characteristically described himself recently as a man with a "single-track" mind, who can neither turn out

nor go back. This will be all the more true in view of the fact that the Presidential election will come next year, and he must give an accounting to the nation as to how he has conducted its affairs. Moreover, Congress, which meets on Dec. 4 of this year, will lay a stronger stress on the President's demands.

The United States could bring little pressure to bear on Germany in the submarine warfare dispute on account of the complete paralyzation of trade relations, but against the Allies, especially England, the means of exerting pressure are most powerful: refusal of credit, prohibiting national banks from discounting bills of exchange of the Allies, embargo on articles needed by the Allies, and, finally, prohibition of the exportation of arms, a course authorized by Congress once already in the case of Mexico. It is true that pecuniary interests exert a greater interest on the decisions of men in the United States than in other nations, and that the American pocketbook will be a fellow-sufferer if any of the above methods are adopted, but one must not underestimate the self-respect and pride of the American Nation as soon as it arrives at the conviction that its rights are being purposely and heedlessly trampled upon.

England has a sort of presentiment of this, and, knowing that she must back down, is characteristically seeking to cover herself. The recent prohibition to English ships to ply to and between neutral ports is due to this, also the attempt to buy up neutral vessels and tie up American vessels by long contracts. If one has no ships, naturally one cannot use the seas. But it is to be assumed that this procedure will be a most certain means of causing bad blood in the United States, for we have to do not only with a limitation of American trade and a tremendous rise in the price of American wares on account of the elimination of the entire German merchant fleet to which fell formerly a great part of this trade, but also with points which today are of special importance. The best navy is not in a position to fight unless it possesses a large number of convoys for coal, provisions, and troop trans-

port, numerous patrol boats and coast steamers for guarding the coasts, and a number of merchant ships available as auxiliary cruisers. America is considering a big naval program which has the general support of the people. The European war has heightened the responsibility of the Government to the same extent as it has embittered the attacks of the Government's Pan-American opponents. If the English attempt to restrict American trade is pressed, one may expect Secretary of the Navy Daniels, who pointed out the necessity of a merchant marine for war purposes in a speech on Oct. 20, to adopt counter-measures immediately. Last year, when the President wished to create an American merchant marine with Government money, and proposed the acquisition

for that purpose of neutral vessels or vessels in course of construction in America, Congress refused to make the requisite appropriation. At that time there was no talk of increase of the navy and of preparedness. But now it is quite a different matter, and it may very well be that England, by her latest move on the international chess board, may bring about consequences of which she has not the remotest inkling.

Hence, the American note not only paves the way for the demand for the freedom of the seas, but ushers in an era of conflict with England, unquestionably destined to end advantageously for those upholding the law. We in Germany cannot but help along this conflict if we conduct ourselves during its course with calm, justice, and dignity.

"The Chant of the German Sword"

In a dispatch dated Oct. 7, 1915, the Berne correspondent of The Pall Mall Gazette declared that Germany's "Hymn of Hate" has been supplanted by "The Chant of the German Sword," a composition brought out in Leipsic within the fortnight, which had already run into half a dozen editions. This is what its anonymous author makes the "German sword" say:

It is no duty of mine to be either just or compassionate; it suffices that I am sanctified by my exalted mission, and that I blind the eyes of my enemies with such streams of tears as shall make the proudest of them cringe in terror under the vault of heaven.

I have slaughtered the old and the sorrowing; I have struck off the breasts of women; and I have run through the bodies of children who gazed at me with the eyes of the wounded lion.

Day after day I ride aloft on the shadowy horse in the valley of Cypresses, and as I ride I draw forth the life blood from every enemy's son that dares dispute my path.

It is meet and right that I should cry aloud my pride, for am I not the flaming messenger of the Lord Almighty?

Germany is so far above and beyond all the other nations that all the rest of earth, be they who they may, should feel themselves well done by when they are allowed to fight with the dogs for the crumbs that fall from her table.

When Germany the divine is happy, then the rest of the world basks in smiles; but when Germany suffers, God in person is rent with anguish, and, wrathful and avenging, He turns all the waters into rivers of blood.

A Holy Legacy of the Fallen Heroes

By Professor Ferdinand Jakob Schmidt

Of the University of Berlin.

This article appeared originally in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of Nov. 18, 1915.

WHO among us Germans was not a friend of peace, deceiving himself in the belief that we were strong enough always to down the demons of war? So far as we were concerned, there was no need for peace associations and peace congresses in order to convince the world that nothing was further from the thoughts of the German Nation than the desire to crush the liberty of other nations. What we wanted was to make a determined effort to reach the position due us among nations, by means of the economic and spiritual progress of our national powers, thus fulfilling our historical destiny in the service of mankind.

Yet a remarkable thing came to pass: it was peace that brought upon us the most fearful of wars! Not the strength of our arms but the superiority of our peaceful labor brought on this war of nations.

So the blind powers of destruction were let loose and we experienced their gigantic might more terribly than ever before, as the war of nations raged around us. All was menaced; our life, our freedom, our honor. But the power of our enemies did not overcome us and the iron scales of world destiny inclined to our side. Not

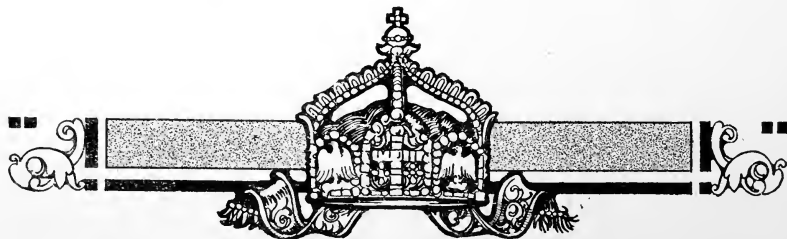
for us, but for our hate-filled opponents, were those annihilating "mene tekell" words—"weighed and found wanting"—written in letters of flame on the walls.

Their men have fallen. But we have achieved this victory only at the cost of a huge sacrifice demanded from us by cruel fate. Whose heart is not torn in his bosom at the thought of all the splendid men who have died for the Fatherland?

These men have left to us a splendid legacy for which they gave up their lives. What is our inheritance from these fallen heroes? None other but the duty to devote ourselves to the great cause of crowning our national German unity.

No matter what else this war may bring to us, its loftiest and greatest result is that from it must come the spiritual unity of the nation. For that there must arise a new type of man, a man who must be three men in one: a man of new faith, a new citizen, a new creator of freedom. And the unifying power for this has come to us from the midst of our terrible struggles. A new life spirit has been born from the sacrifice of the lives of our heroes.

That, then, is the holy legacy of our fallen heroes.



Why Not on the High Seas?

By Count E. Reventlow

The article presented below appeared first in *Die Hamburger Nachrichten* Nov. 14. 1915.

THE principal points of the American note to the British Government were touched upon in these columns a few days ago. Despite its great detail, the note fails strangely enough to devote a word to an important and interesting chain of cause and effect. I allude to the complaint of the American Government that American merchant vessels are forcibly conducted by English warships into English harbors in order that their cargoes may be examined, although, according to the general practice hitherto sanctioned by international law, such a search should be conducted on the high seas and should be confined entirely to inspection of the ship's papers and placing of the Captain and crew under oath. The note protests against this unjustified British high-handedness, but says nothing about the cause and earlier history of the British mode of procedure. This is certainly interesting and dates back about one year.

Let us recall how, in the early and late Autumn of 1914, Great Britain made her war zone declaration regarding the North Sea; and let me remark, by the way, that we Germans unfortunately forget at times that not the Germans but the English were the pioneers in setting apart certain portions of the seas as war zones. At that time Great Britain declared portions of the North Sea a "military area" which merchant vessels might use only at their peril. At the same time, the Admiralty announced that it had laid a mine field, about 4,000 square kilometers in extent, at the southern egress from the North Sea—in other words, in the northern part of the English Channel. This mine field completely barred the entire width of the English Channel. The Admiralty also announced that, in order to protect the merchant marine to some extent against the treacherous German methods of warfare, all vessels wishing to enter or leave the North Sea must

navigate close to the British coasts. All this served as a hint to every merchant Captain who might desire to shape his own course.

The British Admiralty based its procedure on the unprecedentedly wicked German method of conducting warfare with mines and submarines, which bound Great Britain to take especially energetic countersteps in order to give navigation of the North Sea even a fair measure of security. It was stated that there had even been cases of German minelayers doing their nefarious work under neutral flags; that, as it was necessary to destroy such craft without delay, it was not advisable that genuinely neutral vessels should enter those waters. For these reasons the declaration and creation of a war zone barred to all merchant vessels became a necessity.

But, in reality, the situation was as follows: The success of the German submarines against the British Navy has filled England with alarm. English cruisers searching passing merchant vessels and guarding the North Sea war zone had again and again been destroyed by submarines and it was foreseen that such losses would constantly take on more serious proportions. The final decision as to what to do was doubtless made by Great Britain after that fateful morning when *Weddigen* sent to the bottom near the Dutch coast the three cruisers of the *Aboukir* class. It was realized then that the only way to bar commerce from the North Sea entrances and at the same time keep up the search of merchant vessels on the high seas by vessels on the high seas lay in mechanically closing the North Sea exits by war zones and mine-fields. Only thus could the stream of neutral ships be forced to navigate close to the English coast, under the pretext of concern for their own safety, and British cruisers be saved from exposing themselves to Ger-

man submarines. In reality, though, the danger from German submarines existed solely for English warships, not for neutral merchant craft.

The British Admiralty was guilty of a similar perversion of the facts in the matter of mine warfare. It maintained that the Germans had jeopardized peaceful merchantmen most seriously by laying numerous mines and entire mine-fields in the North Sea—in the open sea, in fact—for which reason Great Britain, desiring to protect these peaceful craft, was constrained not only to search them in British harbors, but to require that they navigate close to the coast as far north as the Faroe Islands, on the British east coast.

In reality, the situation was quite the opposite. The Germans had not and, since then, never have laid such mines in the open portions of the North Sea; it was reserved for the English to initiate such a practice by laying the big mine-field mentioned above. At various times the German Government has publicly declared that German mines had been and would be laid only on hostile coasts; proof to the contrary has never been adduced despite most zealous efforts. Therefore, when neutral merchant vessels were obliged by the British Admiralty to navigate close to the English coasts, where the German Government had acknowledged laying mines, such a course meant not the protection but the serious jeopardizing of these neutrals. The British Government was not concerned in the slightest with the protection of the neutral merchant marine from submarines or mines, but solely with safeguarding its own warships. It did not wish to expose the latter to the German submarines, and, by requiring foreign merchantmen to run along the British coasts, where there were German mines, it made of these neutral vessels excellent mine-seekers for Great Britain entirely free of cost. As a result, neutral vessels, for many months, were sunk in great numbers by mines, while steering a course along the British coasts, which were alleged to be safe.

But the main thing was that the British Admiralty had achieved its object

and needed no longer to expose its warships to German submarines at the exits from the North Sea. Instead, by means of the above lies, it had obliged the entire neutral merchant marine to forego its rights. Neutral merchant vessels have been obliged for an entire year to waive their historical rights, and, by the mere casting upon them of the baseless suspicion that they were carrying contraband, have been taken into English harbors for the purpose of being overhauled, thus losing an amount of time out of all proportion to the necessities of the case and being forced to make all sorts of disbursements during this illegal period of seizure.

The American note rightly protests against all this. But why does it not touch upon the earlier history of the matter, sketched out above, which is rich in lessons? This history shows most conclusively the complete arbitrariness of the British Admiralty, and shows, moreover, that it dates back some time. It shows that the high-handed British restriction and overpowering of neutral trade had, and has, nothing whatever to do with merchant vessels as such, but is based solely on the desire to protect English warships from German submarines and to relieve these warships of the dangers incident to stopping and searching merchant vessels on the high seas. The English press has been wise enough so far not to dilate on this delicate question. The Times said recently, in a general review of the American note, that Washington must be well aware that, owing to the complicated nature of present-day naval warfare, search of vessels on the high seas was not as feasible as before, and that the English method had been adopted solely for safeguarding neutral navigation. One may well be curious as to what the British Government will say in its reply to this note. To the trained observer, the British mode of procedure is typical in its unscrupulousness toward neutrals and its crafty perversion of facts and motives. The result has been so far entirely successful. The British Admiralty has protected the ships of the British Navy from German submarines.

On the Road to India

By Dr. Paul Rohrbach

This article appeared originally in Die Woche Nov. 13, 1915.

BY getting control of Egypt, England, on the one hand, greatly strengthened her position as a world power, but, on the other hand, she made herself vulnerable on land. It was supposed before that England's weak spot, her tendon of Achilles, was India. But after she proved during the Boer war that she could transport an army of hundreds of thousands of men over great distances by sea, and keep them supplied, the probability waned of a Russian attack on India. Russia could hardly transport over the difficult mountain roads of the Pamirs and Afghanistan the number of men required for overrunning India, even if she had at the outset the sympathies of a part of the natives.

But it is otherwise with Egypt. From the earliest days to which we can go back in history, the rulers of Egypt, from the first of the Pharaohs, have, on account of the geographical peculiarities of the frontier between Asia and Africa, always tried to strengthen their hold on their dominions by getting control of the territories lying on the other side of the Isthmus of Suez—Palestine and Syria. And strong Asiatic empires, for their part, who numbered Syria among their provinces, have coveted Egypt. As soon as England acquired Egypt it was incumbent upon her to guard against any menace from Asia.

Such a danger apparently arose when Turkey, weakened by her last war with Russia and by difficult conditions at home, began to turn to Germany for support.

And now war has come and England is reaping the crops which she has sown. England, not we, desired this war. She knows this, despite all her hypocritical talk, and she fears that, as soon as connection is established along the Berlin-Vienna - Budapest - Sofia - Constantinople line, the fate of Egypt may be decided. Through the Suez Canal goes the route to all the lands surrounding the Indian Ocean, and, by way of Singapore, to the western shores of the Pacific. These two worlds together have about 900,000,000 inhabitants, more than half the population of the universe, and India lies in a controlling position in their midst. Should England lose the Suez Canal, she will be obliged, unlike the powers in control of that waterway, to use the long route around the Cape of Good Hope and depend on the good-will of the South African Boers. The majority among the latter have not the same views as Botha.

However, it is too early to prophesy, and it is not according to German ideas to imitate our opponents by singing premature paeans of victory. But, anyhow, we are well aware why, after we took Belgrade, anxious England already sees us on "the road to India."



The American Need of Defense

By Hilary A. Herbert and Mary Roberts Rinehart

Hilary A. Herbert takes a position on preparedness for war in an article appearing originally in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 21, 1915, which is diametrically opposed to the attitude of William J. Bryan. President Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy reviews history in maintenance of his belief that readiness for defense is a preventive of war rather than a provocative element. Mr. Herbert's remarks are herewith presented in part.

IN the Revolutionary War our chief cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah, were, by comparison, mere villages. The British took them all, but no matter; we had no railroads, not even the good highways Mr. Bryan advocates now, along which had they then existed British armies might have marched, and so we prolonged the fight for eight years, and finally, with the help of our allies, won the victory. In that war when and where warring fleets were to find each other depended as much on weather conditions as on seamanship. Now swift armored fleets can go straight to whatever port they may select. With modern artillery, aided by aerial squadrons, they may bombard any of our cities that are on or near the sea.

In Savannah, Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, the capture of all of which signified but little in our war for independence, there are now altogether millions of inhabitants and billions of dollars of wealth. Germany, soon after she had prostrated neutral Belgium, imposed on its capital city, Brussels, a fine of many millions of dollars. German Generals levy fines on or shoot selected noncombatants in every Belgian town that is in their power any of whose inhabitants violate orders issued by their commanders, and even on towns whose German garrisons have been fired on by passing aeroplanes of the Allies. That is modern war. So now an enemy, dominating any one of our seacoast cities, could levy tribute at will. From New York City alone he could collect in five days more money than the President proposes to expend for defense within the five years to come. And yet Mr. Bryan wonders why people in the East should

clamor for preparedness, and talks about the "atmosphere of the Manhattan Club" and the "Mammon worshipping" people that meet there!

Mr. Bryan himself lives in Nebraska, fully fifteen hundred miles from the Atlantic or the Pacific, or the Gulf of Mexico.

Better far, Mr. Bryan thinks, to spend \$500,000,000 in five years on good roads, some of which would be in Nebraska, than to expend it quieting the fears of Mammon worshippers, many of whom dwell in cities by the sea.

Mr. Bryan has no fear for the people or their property. Our people should by no means go to war. It is a "challenge to the spirit of Christianity." So thought Mr. Bryan's predecessors, the Quakers of long ago. They refused to help our ancestors win their independence, and had the Americans of that day and since all been Quakers we should be now under the British flag.

But history has taught Mr. Bryan that our people are not all Quakers, and it is precisely for this reason he fears to trust them with the army and navy President Wilson thinks they need for defensive purposes. Preparedness will tempt our people as it has recently tempted Europe to go to war.

Years ago the Czar of Russia suggested disarmament. The trend of thought among nations was all in that direction. Most of the powers signified their assent, but they did not dare themselves to disarm while their rivals were arming. Germany by her refusal halted the movement, and Germany, better prepared, as she well knew, than the Allies, opened the present war while negotiations for peace were pending. Had Great Britain, France, and Russia, with their superior

resources, been as well prepared as was Germany, the probabilities are that, instead of a world war, we should now see already negotiated treaties looking to the peace of the world. It was lack of preparedness that brought on the present war in Europe.

Another lesson we have before us from another continent. China, before the war broke out between her and Japan, twenty years ago, was the most perfect specimen the world has ever seen of what Mr. Bryan would have the United States to be, an example to the world of a peace-loving people, spurning all preparations for war. For centuries, ever since the days of her philosopher Confucius, who long antedated all our American pacifists, she had cherished the romantic idea of perpetual peace. Public sentiment in all that wonderful country put the soldier down on the very lowest social grade. But, isolated as she and her 400,000,000 of people had long been, steam and electricity had at length brought her into close contact with the world. She had already had troubles with the English and the French. Her little neighbor, Japan, was becoming warlike. China waked up out of her dream. She tired of having foreigners regulate trade within her borders, and in 1894 had prepared for herself a modern but small navy. To defend herself against invasion by land she relied chiefly on the power of numbers, but even for these she had no proper supply of arms or ammunition. When war with Japan came in 1894 two defeats of her navy, one off of Azan and the other at Yalu, ended the power of China on the water. The issue on land was practically decided on Sept. 16 and 17 at Ping Yang, where 22,000 Chinese, though they fought bravely, were utterly defeated by 60,000 Japanese.

The flower of her army was gone, and, though many thousands volunteered, armed as they were only with improvised implements of war, China could never afterward withstand anywhere the thoroughly equipped and well-trained Japanese armies. Peace was made on Japan's own terms.

Since that war China has been helpless, completely at the mercy of even any

second-rate power that might choose to make a demand.

Coming back now to our own history. The one lesson taught there at every step is that our people are not all Quakers, as Mr. Bryan would have them to be, and when wronged they fight, whether prepared or not, and no matter whether they get their Scripture from the Old or the New Testament they make up their minds when war becomes necessary to take the consequences, and these have sometimes been uncomfortable.

The first hostile encounter of the United States with a foreign foe was with our old ally, France, 1798-1799. France was angry because we did not come to her aid in her war against Great Britain. French ships repeatedly attacked ours, and at last Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, demanded, while we were negotiating with him for peace, a bribe of \$220,000. Thereupon Charles Cotesworth Pinckney spoke the words that have ever since been the watchword of the American people, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." An army was ordered to be created, with Washington as Lieutenant General, and the President was authorized to appoint a Secretary of the Navy and to build twelve new ships of war. One or two naval battles occurred, and thus was ended our "quasi-war" with France. Actual war was prevented by preparedness. France yielded.

Our next foreign war was when Thomas Jefferson, often referred to by Mr. Bryan as the apostle of peace, was President. One of his first acts as President was to begin war against Tripoli because he was unwilling that we should continue paying, as we and European nations were then doing, tribute to the piratical Barbary powers for the privilege of doing commerce in the Mediterranean. This war, because we were ill-prepared for it, lasted four years, but Jefferson brought the Barbary powers to terms. We have never since paid tribute to any nation, and this greatly enhanced Jefferson's popularity.

Mr. Bryan's exact words are that nations should "influence others by example rather than by exciting fear." That

they should "win respect as an individual does, not by carrying arms, but by an upright, honorable course that invites confidence and insures good-will."

We tried that on Great Britain for years prior to 1812. We turned one cheek when the other was smitten; we actually laid embargoes on our own commerce. But our submissive, "upright" course, instead of winning the respect brought us the contempt of Great Britain. The wrongs she heaped upon us became intolerable and, knowing well that we were unprepared, we declared war. Except in the duels on the ocean fought by the ships we had prepared many years before, and the battle of New Orleans, we of course won little credit in the War of 1812. Our Capitol was burned, and the right of search, the chief question involved, remained unsettled when the war closed. But by fighting we did win back the self-respect we had forfeited by submission. Again. In 1860-61 eleven of our States seceded from the Union. The States remaining in the Union fought for four years to bring them back. Nobody was prepared. Nearly twelve months' drilling and preparing were required before either side was ready for real war. If the General Government had been ready with an army comparable to that of other nations the eleven States might possibly not have seceded at all, and if they had, unprepared as they were, they probably could not have held out for a year. As it was, 3,500,000 were enlisted on the two sides, and the sacrifices on both sides were immense.

Never, except in our own war between ourselves, has the President of our country been in a more trying position or more needed, in order that he might safely guide the nation in a crisis, the undivided support of all Americans, than has President Wilson since the 2d day of August, 1914. Within these fifteen months he has been beset with difficulties growing out of circumstances essentially like those that beset the Administrations of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison from the beginning of the French Revolution down to its end at Waterloo in 1814.

When England, with her sea power and her allies on the one hand, and on the other powerful forces and leaders of the French Revolution were at war, the mighty blows they aimed at each other again and again fell upon neutrals. The United States, with its ships often searched and delayed, and its commerce harried by one device or another, sought earnestly during all that long period to be neutral, while preserving its rights, but it was in vain. We were driven, as we have seen, in 1798-9 into a quasi-war with France, and in 1812 into an actual war with Great Britain.

The situation now is the same as then, the attitudes of nations considered; but the task of President Wilson is far greater, and the problems confronting him are vastly more difficult than were those of his predecessors. The present European war is more terrible; new engines of destruction have made it more horrible than were the wars of the French Revolution. Now the retaliatory measures of belligerents involve not only the property but the lives of neutrals.

The war is still flagrant. Horrors accumulate. No one can tell what outrage against the rights of neutrals, what crime against the laws of humanity, tomorrow may reveal.

Our President has preserved, with honor, peace with all belligerents, in spite of dissension in his Cabinet. If he was able to accomplish this in a crucial case only because it became clear that his people were at his back, where is the Congressman of his own party or of any party who will become responsible for divisions that will weaken our President's arm, as he tries to hold the rudder true in the storm that is still raging? Where is one who can really believe that, because the Captain of our ship, while a hurricane is raging, has spoken encouraging words to his passengers and crew, "there is really no danger ahead"? Who could expect President Wilson, though he might visualize a possible future conflict with some particular belligerent, to offend that power by specifying the conditions pointing to such a contingency?

Wars come that none can foresee. There were for years beforehand mutter-

ings of a coming storm, but only a few, until it was close upon us, believed possible our dreadful war between the States. No one foresaw the blowing up of the Maine in Havana Harbor, and the storm of indignation that swept the peace-loving President McKinley into the war with Spain. And it was the Congress immediately preceding that war which refused the demand of our Secretary of the Navy for an increased supply of ammunition. The consequence was that when the war came our agents were scouring the markets of the world, not only for more ships, but for munitions of war, some of which, at least, would have been on hand but for those Congressmen who "did not see the necessity."

Outside of this hemisphere we own the Philippines. Many of us regret that we do, but no self-respecting American should be willing to see a foreign nation take those islands from us, as Japan took Kiao-Chau from Germany—because Germany had no fleet at hand that could protect it.

On this hemisphere we own Alaska, the Panama Canal, and Porto Rico, none of which can be defended without a formidable navy, and beyond these is the Monroe Doctrine, the outcome of a proclamation by President Monroe sanctioned by his adviser, Jefferson. The Monroe Doctrine was intended to secure peace in this democratic hemisphere against the incursion of kingly prerogative as idealized by the Holy Alliance. England was already too democratic to join that alliance, and the British Premier, influenced somewhat, no doubt, by the desire of protecting British trade with Central and South America, suggested the measure. The British Navy might then have helped us to defend it. But no European nation, not even England, now fully acknowledges the Monroe Doctrine as international law, and if its authority is to be upheld it must be by the navy of the United States.

What that doctrine is and the profound attachment of the American people to it will be made clear by a study of the Venezuela controversy with Great Britain, 1895-6. For forty years a boundary dispute had been pending between British Guiana and Venezuela, and,

though often requested by the United States, the Mistress of the Seas had continued to refuse the request of the little South American republic. In June, 1895, Secretary Olney, by direction of President Cleveland and with the unanimous approval of the Cabinet, in a letter to the British Premier, after an able and exhaustive discussion of the Monroe Doctrine, demanded arbitration.

The reply of the British Government came about the 10th of December. It denied our contention and refused arbitration. On the 17th of December Mr. Cleveland sent in, accompanied by Mr. Olney's dispatch and Lord Salisbury's reply, a message that will ever remain as a landmark in our political history. Its reception by Congress marked a high tide of patriotism. It has often been said that it was President McKinley who first brought the South and the North together, after our fratricidal war, by his recognition of Southerners in the Spanish-American war. But it was President Cleveland who, by appointing alike to high office, during both his first and his second Administrations, Union and Confederate soldiers, and who, by this ringing appeal to the Americanism of all his countrymen, gave them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world that we were all again one people.

In his own trenchant words, the President reiterated the contentions of Mr. Olney, and concluded by asking from Congress authority to appoint a commission of our own, that we might, as Great Britain had rejected arbitration, investigate for ourselves the merits of the Venezuela boundary question. For the first time in the history of our country since 1861 Southerners and Northerners, Democrats and Republicans, now stood together on a great national question. Within four days the President approved a bill giving authority he asked for, and eleven days later, Jan. 1, 1896, he appointed the members of a commission that was to "investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana."

Great excitement and serious financial derangements, both in this country and

Great Britain, followed this action, but the British Government finally yielded, first by consenting to furnish evidence to be used by our commission, and finally by signing a treaty with Venezuela, Feb. 2, 1897, under which eventually the arbitrators in their findings sustained the larger part of Venezuela's claims.

If those who are to pass upon the

President's program in the next Congress wish to understand the Monroe Doctrine and to know what place it holds in American politics, they will study Mr. Olney's letter, President Cleveland's message, and a little volume issued by the Princeton University Press in 1913, lectures by Mr. Cleveland, entitled "The Venezuela Controversy."

Enforce the Monroe Doctrine

By Mary Roberts Rinehart

Mary Roberts Rinehart, the novelist, spent weeks in the trenches on the western battle front. She was the first person to visit the British lines, the first civilian to enter the ruined City of Ypres, and she was one of the four executive officers of the Belgian Red Cross Society, privileged as such not only to go to the front, but to stay there. Coming back to America, her talk is not of war-time tragedy and devastated villages, of courage or of suffering, but all of national defense. Her statement is taken from an interview appearing originally in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* of Nov. 21, 1915.

THE one greatest thing that I have brought back from Europe is my sense of our own need—our need to defend ourselves.

The effect of the war will be to place the United States in a position of commercial supremacy over all the rest of the world. We shall hold the economic balance, and be able to swing it. It is the most natural thing in the world that this should make us the object of jealousy.

No matter which side wins or which side is defeated, we stand to lose, by the very force of our "advantages." Not racially, or because of any fault of our own, but through chance, we shan't have a friend in the world when peace is declared! It isn't because we are a greedy nation—I don't think that we are that—but simply because the conditions of the world's affairs at present are such as to force us into this position of commercial supremacy, that the other nations will be jealous of us. That is one thing we must remember.

In the second place, this is a commercial war. All wars are commercial. That is one of the things I have come to see. Rivalries in commerce and in economic ambition are what drive nations to fight. That will be the basis for "the next war," and it is the basis for the menace of war.

And no matter how this war turns out, the new alignment when peace is declared must bring up the question of colonies. The European nations are turning covetous eyes on South America already. We, above all others, ought to keep this in mind.

For we have the Monroe Doctrine, and we have got to do something about it. We must either be able to defend the Monroe Doctrine, or be willing to abrogate it. I am myself a firm believer in Pan-Americanism. I think it is our duty to live up to the Monroe Doctrine, to prepare to defend it and all it means, including the fullest possible protection for the South and Central American States. And what does it say?*

We ought to be ready to live up to the assertion "as a principle in which rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents are not henceforth to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

I want to make it perfectly plain, in the first place, that I am very strongly pro-ally, and, in the second place, that I have the very greatest possible sympathy with

*A sentence from that famous President's message of Dec. 2, 1823.

Great Britain. I believe that Great Britain and the United States are basically friends. But I do not for an instant believe that even our close relationship with Great Britain can protect us from her jealousy. I think that we have overestimated "the power of a common tongue." I don't think it would mean much in a matter of commercial rivalry or jealousy. In fact, President Wilson has pointed out somewhere that a com-

mon language may be not a tie but a barrier—each nation knows too well what the other is thinking and saying. With nations that do not speak the same language the show of the clenched fist is necessary to make an impression! But, at any rate, I am convinced that the time has come when we must really do something about the Monroe Doctrine—be ready to enforce it, or else give it up; one or the other we have got to do.

National Guard Day

By ELLA A. FANNING

Mimic? Perhaps! But it's more than a
show,
These men, prepared for a possible foe.
Earnest of purpose, to sacrifice fired,
Each by the noblest of motives inspired.
Citizen-soldiers! Their equal pray
find—
Shoulder to shoulder, and all of one
mind!

They're no hired legions, at any one's
call—
Braggarts, a-thirst for a foray or brawl!
'Tis not excitement that leads them to
band,
Calm are all pulses and steady each
hand.
Volunteers, serious, solidly lined—
Shoulder to shoulder, and all of one
mind!

Not for the love of adventure they're
here—
They're not mere soldiers of fortune,
that's clear.
'Tis for the homes and the land they've
at stake,
These stalwart Guardsmen their discipline take.
Holy the ties which these brave comrades bind—
Shoulder to shoulder, and all of one
mind!

Will there be croakers, to question their
aims?
Doubtless! that thought every patriot
heart shames!
Nevertheless, as they mobilize here,
There'll be some thousands to sympathize, cheer,
Watch their advance, though fond
tears eyes may blind—
Shoulder to shoulder, and all of one
mind!

(Sept. 25, 1915.)

The Duties of Patriotism

By Professor Sieper

Of the University of Munich

The following article appeared originally in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of Oct. 30, 1915:

THERE is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," we are told in "Hamlet." One might limit this saying as follows: "Nothing is virtuous in itself; it depends on how it is handled." Just as there is something of good in evil, a virtue may lose its worth through one-sidedness, exaggeration, and wrong construction. Virtues have their duties. The holy virtue of patriotism is no exception.

As I intend to deal with these duties, may I be permitted to recount a personal experience? Once I spoke before members of the Association of German Teachers on the tendency of literature. I endeavored to ascertain to what extent the tendency in literature, especially in the literature of school books, could be sanctioned. In the ensuing discussion a well-known pedagogue declared that, in the years after 1870, a large amount of mediocre literature devoid of good taste had crept into school readers under the guise of patriotism. "Many books," he said, "were thrown open too willingly to scholars simply because they were patriotic in tone." This is a case of pure patriotism being disfigured by lack of critical judgment and good taste. Greedy authors and publishers did not try to make a virtue of necessity, but a profit from virtue.

It is likewise true that much written since the beginning of the present war by poets and prose writers should be rejected simply because it is lacking in taste and literarily worthless. What can be said for verses such as these by the Karlsruhe poet, Vierordt:

O Germany, hate with icy blood,
Slaughter millions of the devil's brood,
Even if smoking flesh and human bones
Are piled high up to the clouds.

In foreign lands also lack of taste combined with greed for profit have disfigured patriotism. A well-known Eng-

lishman once said: "The worst effect of our patriotic newspapers of the stripe of The Daily Mail is the demoralization of English taste which has become so alarmingly apparent of late years."

Shakespeare once wrote the famous words: "There is no darkness but ignorance." One might apply this to universal truth by saying: "There is no virtue without truth." I think that every patriotic activity must, above all else, be imbued with truth, reality, and justice. Unfortunately, when the waves of patriotic enthusiasm run high, it becomes especially difficult to be moderate, and to be just to foe as well as friend.

In the first months of the war many a pertinent and inspiring word was said by earnest, thinking men concerning the thoughts and feelings which overwhelmed us at the outbreak of the tremendous conflict. And who would dare deny the greatness of those hours, when our own affairs seemed so small and insignificant, when hundreds of thousands of young, strong, hopeful men marched forth willingly to danger and death?

But, on the other hand, the devastating spiritual influences of the world war later became more and more apparent. Not all of the war literature of our day will seem creditable to future researchers.

This is especially true of the defamatory stuff, void alike of critical worth and good taste, which has been written about England. A common method is to place England in an unfavorable light by showing what her own leaders and reformers have written—by collecting the utterances of those men who have undertaken to fight deceit, baseness, and hypocrisy in order to make their fellow-countrymen nobler, wiser, and better. Even before the war this far-too-cheap method was attempted. Others, especial-

ly authors with an eye to pecuniary gain, seek to flatter national pride by emphasizing contrasts. "Merchants and Heroes," "Shopkeepers and Warriors," "Cowards and Men"—with such antitheses applause is sought and found. Fortunately, prominent Germans have protested against this sort of warfare. In still other works the attempt is made to trace England's national development, her rise to world power, and her position in the world war, by ascribing to the character of the country and its inhabitants, combined, of course, with other important factors. These works are to be judged primarily from the point of view of whether the picture given by them of the country and its inhabitants is correct. A conscientious test of such works does not always bring satisfactory results. As a case in point, the much-spoken-of book on England by Eduard Meyer, the well-known Professor of Ancient History at the University of Berlin, is little likely to increase respect for German knowledge, because of its false generalizations, bias, and exaggeration.

Our political writers who honestly love their Fatherland should make it a duty to be not only strictly accurate but also cautiously reserved and moderate. The widespread lack of culture in matters of world politics is apparent in many speakers and writers who are too little concerned with the effect necessarily made by their statements on other parties and nations. It has been said that you can tell a political writer by what he conceals. Sympathy for opposite views, clarity of vision which seeks to appreciate far-away effects as well as those near to hand, calm deliberation, sense of proportion—all these cannot be neglected with impunity by a political writer who wishes to be truly useful to his country.

The thoughtless utterances of certain persons and the "unrestrained talk of power by superpatriots" have contributed for years toward awakening fear and distrust even in those nations not hostile to us. When the war broke out foolishly exaggerated statements of opinion, well-meant but one-sided and short-

sighted announcements by German savants and learned bodies, useless denunciatory articles in daily papers and magazines, played into the hands of the war party in foreign lands. This intemperate conduct also hurt and misled those whose honest sympathy for Germany was unable to stem the tide of national passion. It was this sort of thing that transformed the cabinet war of political intriguers into a war between whole nations. All who experienced this are convinced in their hearts that he who counsels moderation and prudence and demands that justice be extended to include the enemy is a better patriot.

Naturally, a real patriot will apply that same justice which he demands toward the enemy to his own fellow-countrymen. Respect must be extended also to those holding opposite views. Only thus will the unity and determination of national consciousness and of our national will be preserved without diminution. It is proper to expect of every worthy man that he serve his fatherland to the best of his knowledge and with full satisfaction to his conscience. Of course the roads traveled by individuals in the service of their country must vary, according to their natures. It is easy to cast suspicion on those who differ with one in politics and accuse them of falling short in love of their country. But ever since the Kaiser said: "I know no more parties," ever since our Social Democrats showed their willingness to sacrifice property and life for the great Cause, it must be admitted that the careless voices which branded whole classes and groups as hostile to the Fatherland have been stilled. Nevertheless, certain people take pleasure in throwing the suspicion of lack of patriotism over men who are unwilling to bow to the yoke of other people's opinions. We have been forced to witness the spectacle of men who had successfully worked throughout their lives for their fatherland in responsible positions being branded by certain newspapers as traitors to the State. Yet in a time of great excitement men who keep their equilibrium and independent judgment are doubly welcome.

I consider Giolitti a better patriot than

Sonnino or d'Annunzio; and certainly the warnings of a MacDonald, Bertrand Russell, and Keir Hardie are better for the real interests of England than the vainglorious words of Lord Curzon and Churchill.

Living energy is impossible without consciousness of self and self-criticism; without these virtues power and influence cannot be lastingly maintained. This is true not only of individuals, but of nations. When our German Fatherland shook off the yoke of serfdom to

the Franks in the wars of liberation, Max von Schenkendorf exhorted it in these words:

"Yet once again must ye struggle in bitter spiritual conflict and crush down the last of the enemies who threaten ye from within. Hatred and distrust must ye curb, and arrogance and envy and wickedness. Then, only then, canst thou find peace, O Germany!"

May our generation, too, have such counselors when we have at last won the decisive victory on the battlefield!

Turkish Speech From the Throne

The new German Ambassador to Turkey, Count Wolff-Metternich, made a state entry into Constantinople, and on Nov. 13 Parliament was opened with a speech from the Throne. The main passages of the speech run:

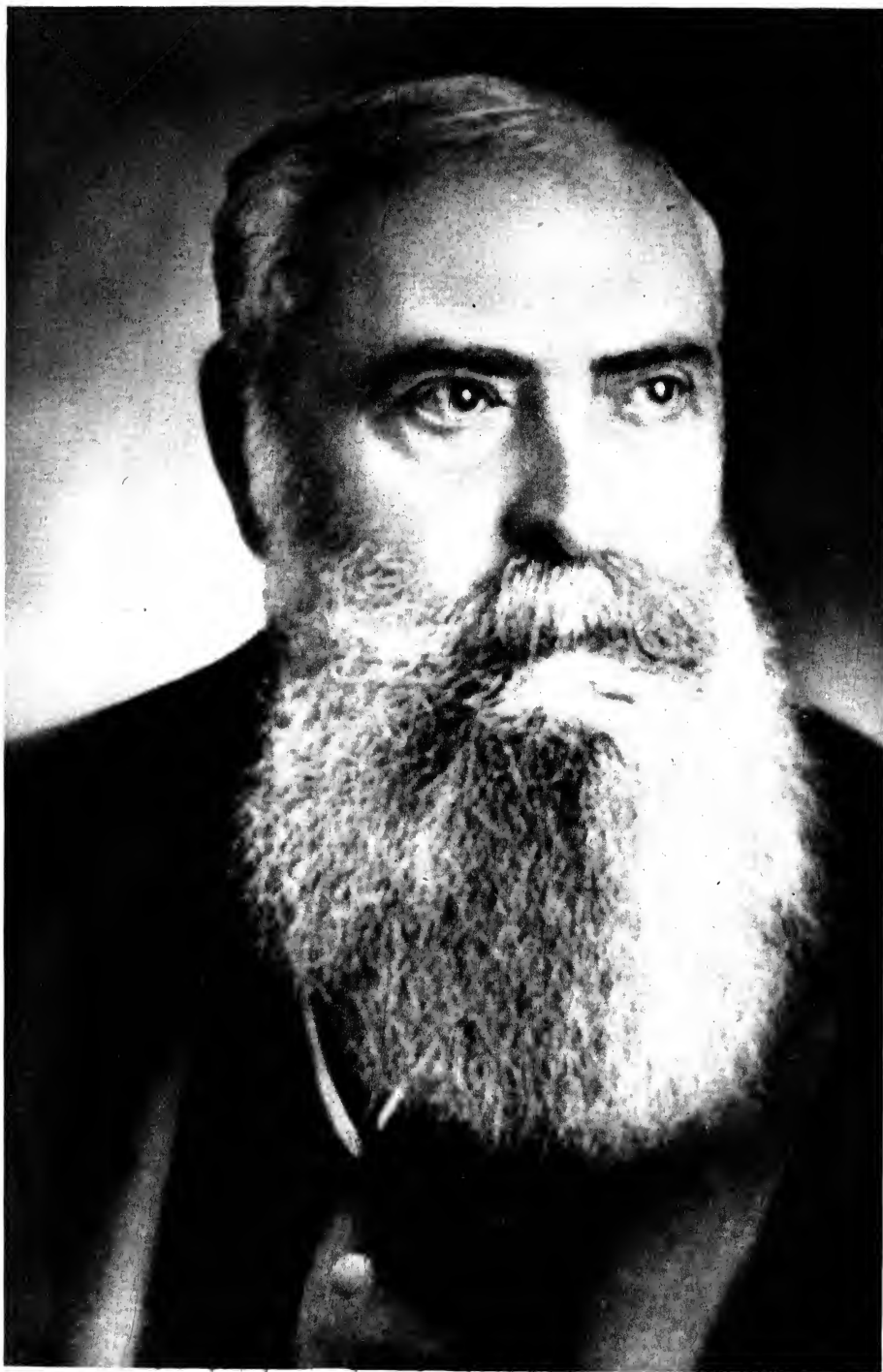
The violent attacks which have been directed against the Dardanelles and Gallipoli by the land and sea forces of the English and French in order to facilitate the realization of the intended invasion of Constantinople and the strait—an object stubbornly pursued by the Russians for the last two and a half centuries—have been repulsed by the resistance and the devoted enthusiasm of my army and my navy. Both army and navy have added new glory to the deeds of our ancestors, and have won the admiration of the whole world.

Our enemies have suffered enormous and terrible losses. The defeat of our enemies has produced everywhere the conviction that the road to Constantinople cannot be conquered, and has compelled our proud enemies to seek help among the Balkan States. The defeat has served to dissipate all the intrigues which had been spun in the Balkan Peninsula, and has made it possible for our mighty allies to drive the Russian Army out of the Carpathians, to force it back through Galicia and Poland, to conquer all the fortified places of our hereditary enemy, and to destroy all hope which the Triple Entente had placed in the Russian Navy. Full of gratitude I cast myself down before the Almighty. He has given the Turkish Army the opportunity so brilliantly to recover glory and honor. To Him I give all thanks, and I pray that He will also vouchsafe the final victory to my other glorious soldiers, who are protecting the boundaries of our fatherland on the other fronts.

When the glorious armies of our allies, with wonderful organization and courage, had taken all the fortified places and broken the offensive power of the Russian Army, and then turned to the Balkans, the Bulgarian Army joined them. This remarkable event, which changed the Triple Alliance into a Quadruple Alliance, has hastened the realization of the final victory. In order to facilitate and to assure this development of the Balkan situation in our favor, we have consented to a rectification of the Turco-Bulgarian frontier. The treaty which has been concluded is submitted to our assembly for approval.

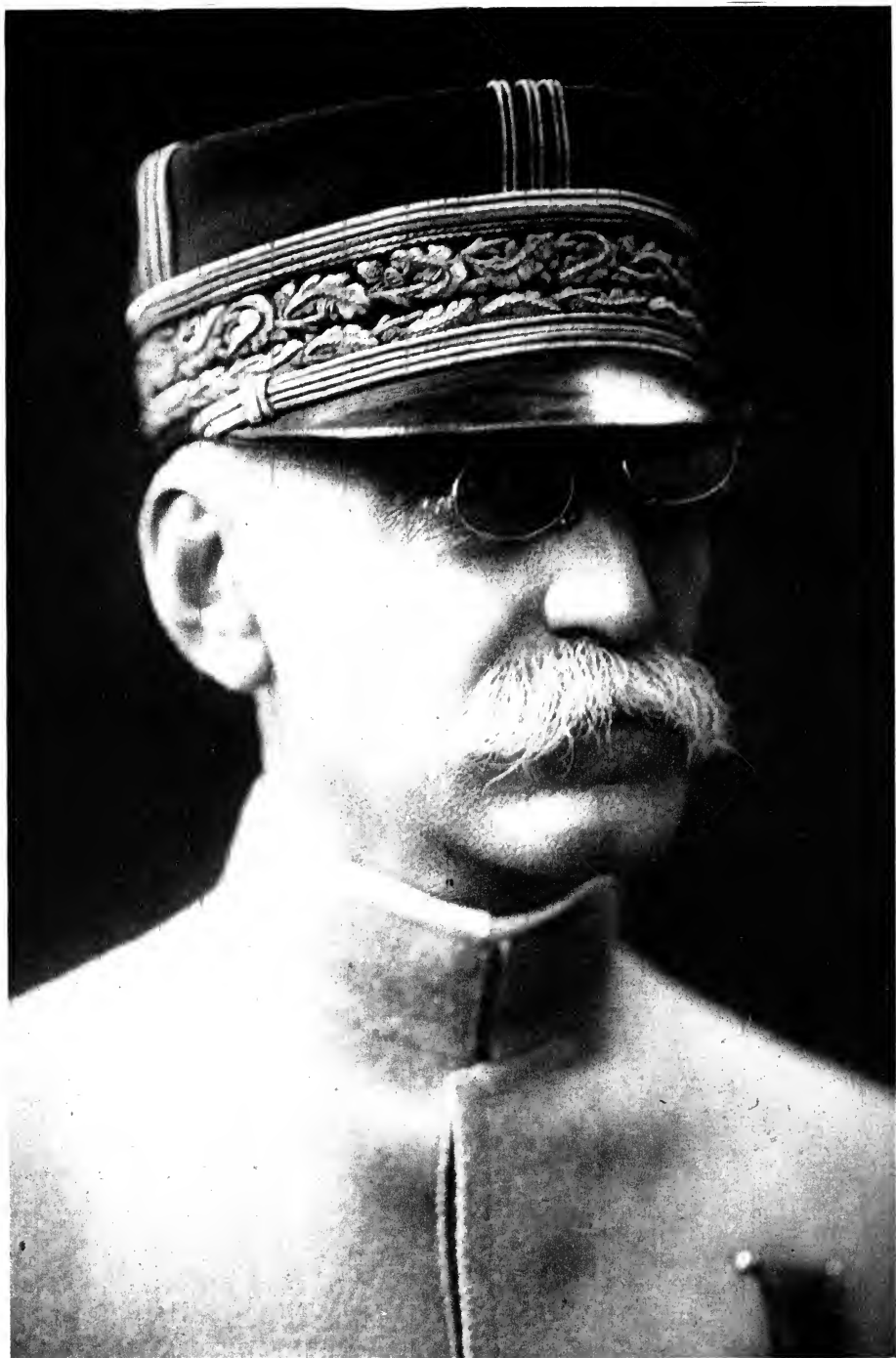
The criminal perjurer Serbia is today occupied by the armies of the Allies, traffic on the Danube has been secured, and the road from Berlin to Vienna and from Vienna to Constantinople has been opened. Thanks and glory be to God for the happy establishment of these communications, which guarantee to the allied peoples victory in war and in peace progress and prosperity.

Our political relations with our allies are based now and forever upon the mutual confidence which is growing every day, and upon the greatest mutual sincerity. Our joint policy toward our enemies will be to support one another upon all fronts, and in all things to endure, until we can win for our States and our peoples the advantageous peace which makes possible the full development of all personal and natural resources. Our relations with neutral States continue to be sincere and friendly.



STEPHANOS SKOULODIS

Premier of Greece. He Succeeded Premier Zaimis on Nov. 7, 1915
(Photo from Bain News Service.)



GENERAL GALLIENI
Minister for War of France
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

French Contempt for Americans

By Richard Harding Davis

ONE who left Paris in October, 1914, and returned this month finds her calm, confident, her social temperature only a little below normal. A year ago the gray-green tidal wave of the German armies that threatened to engulf Paris had just been checked. With the thunder of their advance Paris was still shaken. The withdrawal of men to the front, and of women and children to Bordeaux and the coast, had left the city uninhabited. The streets were as deserted as the Atlantic City Boardwalk in January. For miles one moved between closed shops.

Along the Aisne the lines had not been dug in, and hourly from the front ambulances carrying the wounded French and British officers unwashed from the trenches, in mud-covered, bullet-scarred cars, raced down the echoing boulevards. In the few restaurants open you met men who that morning had left the firing line, and who after dejeuner, and the purchase of soap, cigarettes, and underclothes, by sunset would be back on the job. In those days Paris was inside the "fire lines." War was in the air; you smelled it, saw it, heard it.

Today a man from Mars visiting Paris might remain here a week and not know that this country is waging the greatest war in history. When you walk the crowded streets it is impossible to believe that within forty miles of you millions of men are facing each other in a death grip. This is so, first, because a great wall of silence has been built between Paris and the front, and, second, because the spirit of Paris is too alive, too resilient, occupied with too many interests, to allow any one thing, even war, to obsess it.

The people of Paris have accepted the war as they accept the rigors of Winter. They may not like the sleet and snow of Winter, but they are not going to let it beat them. In consequence, the shop windows are again dressed in their best,

the kiosks announce comedies, revues, operas; in the gardens of the Luxembourg the beds are brilliant with Autumn flowers, the old gentlemen have resumed their games of croquet, the Champs Elysées swarms with baby carriages, and at the aperitif hour on the sidewalks there are no empty chairs. At many of the restaurants it is impossible to obtain a table.

It is not the Paris of the days before the war. It is not "gay Paris." But it is a Paris going about her "business as usual." This spirit of the people awakens only the most sincere admiration. It shows great calmness, great courage, and a confidence that, for the enemy of France, must be disquieting. Work for the wounded and for the families of those killed in action and who have been left without support continues. Only now, after a year of bitter experience, it is no longer hysterical. It has been systematized, made more efficient. It is no longer the work of amateurs, but of those who by daily practice have become experts.

In Paris the signs of war are not nearly as much in evidence as the activities of peace. There are many soldiers, but, in Paris, you always saw soldiers. The only difference is that now they wear bandages or advance on crutches. And, as opposed to these evidences of the great conflict going on only forty miles distant, are the flower markets around the Madeleine, the crowds of women in front of the jewels, furs, and manteaux in the Rue de la Paix.

It is not that France is indifferent to the war, but that she has proved herself. She has faith in her armies, in her Generals. She can afford to wait. She drove the enemy from Paris; she is teaching French in Alsace; in time, when Joffre is ready, she will drive the enemy across her borders. In her faith in Joffre she opens her shops, markets, schools, theatres. It is not callousness she

shows, but that courage and confidence that are the forerunners of success.

But the year of war has brought certain changes. The searchlights have disappeared. It was found that to the enemy in the air they were less of a menace than a guide. So the great shafts of light that with majesty used to sweep the skies or cut a path into the clouds have disappeared. And nearly all other lights have disappeared. Those who drive motor cars claim the pedestrians are careless; the pedestrians protest that the drivers of motor cars are reckless. In any case to cross a street at night is an adventure.

Something else that has disappeared is the British soldier. A year ago he swarmed; now he is almost entirely absent. Outside of the Hospital Corps a British officer in Paris is an object of interest. In their place are many Belgians, almost too many Belgians. Their new khaki uniforms are unsoiled. Unlike the French soldiers you see, few are wounded. The answer probably is that they cannot return to their own country and must make their home in that of their ally. And the front they defend so valiantly is not so extended that there is room for all. Meanwhile, as they wait for their turn in the trenches, they fill the boulevards and cafés.

This is not equally true of the French soldiers. The few you see are convalescents or on leave. It is not as it was last October, when Paris was part of the war zone. Until a few days ago, until after 7 in the evening, when the work of the day was supposed to have been completed, an officer was not permitted to sit idle in a café. And now when you see one you may be sure he is recovering from a wound or is on the General Staff or has been released for a few hours from duty.

It is very different from a year ago, when every officer was fresh from the trenches—and "fresh" is not quite the word, either—and he would talk freely to an eager, sympathetic group of the battle of the night before. Now the wall of silence stretches around Paris. By posters it is even enforced upon you. Before the late Minister of War gave up

his portfolio by placards he warned all, when in public places, to be careful of what they said. "Taisez vous! Mefiez-vous. Les orielles ennemies vous écoutent." "Be silent. Be distrustful. The ears of the enemies are listening." This warning against spies was placed in tramways, railroad trains, cafés. A cartoonist refused to take the good advice seriously. His picture shows one of the women conductors in a street car asking a passenger where he is going. The passenger points to the warning. "Silence," he says; "some one may be listening."

There are other changes. A year ago gold was king. To imagine any time or place when it is not is difficult. But today an American twenty-dollar bill gives you a higher rate of exchange than an American gold double eagle. A thousand dollars in bills in Paris is worth \$30 more to you than \$1,000 in gold. And to carry it does not make you think you are concealing a forty-five Colt.

Another curious vagary of the war that obtains now is the sudden disappearance of the copper sou, or what ranks with our penny. Why it is scarce no one seems to know. The generally accepted explanation is that the copper has flown to the trenches, where millions of men are dealing in small sums. But whatever the reason, the fact remains.

In the stores you receive change in postage stamps, and on the underground railroad, where the people have refused to accept stamps in lieu of coppers, there are incipient riots. Last night at the restaurant I was given change in stamps, and tried to get even with the house by unloading them as his tip on the waiter. He protested eloquently. "Letters I never write," he explained. "To write letters makes me ennui. And yet if I wrote for a hundred years I could not use all the stamps my patrons have forced upon me."

These differences the year has brought about are not lasting and are unimportant. The change that is important, and which threatens to last a long time, is the difference in the sentiment of the French people toward Americans.

Before the war we were not unduly

flattering ourselves if we said the attitude of the French toward the United States was friendly. There were reasons why they should regard us at least with tolerance.

We were very good customers. From different parts of France we imported wines and silks. In Paris we spent, some of us spent, millions on jewels and clothes. In automobiles and on Cook's tours every Summer Americans scattered money from Brittany to Tours. They were the natural prey of Parisian hotel keepers, restaurants, milliners, and dressmakers. We were a sister republic, the two countries swapped statues of their great men, we had not forgotten Lafayette, France honored Paul Jones. A year ago, in the comic papers, between John Bull and Uncle Sam, it was not Uncle Sam who got the worst of it.

Then the war came and with it, in the feeling toward ourselves, a complete change. A year ago we were almost one of the Allies, much more popular than Italians, more sympathetic than the English. Today we are regarded not with hostility, though after the war it may grow to that, but with contempt.

This most regrettable change was first brought about by the letter calling upon Americans to be neutral. The French could not understand it. From their point of view it was an unnecessary affront. It was as unexpected as the cut direct from a friend, as unwarranted, as gratuitous, as a slap in the face. The millions that poured in from America for the Red Cross, the services of Americans in hospitals, were accepted as the offerings of individuals, not as representing the sentiment of the American people. That sentiment, the French still insist in believing, found expression in the letter that called upon all Americans to be neutral, something which to a Frenchman is neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring.

We lost caste in other ways. We supplied France with munitions, but, as a purchasing agent for the Government put it to me the other day, we are not

losing much money by it, and, until the French Government protested, it was found that some of our manufacturers were supplying shells that could not be persuaded to explode, and shoes made of pasteboard. I have seen the cross section of a shoe "Made in U. S. A." of which 80,000 pairs had been ordered, the main deck of which was brown paper. When an entire people, men, women, and children, are fighting for their national existence and their individual home and life, to have such evidences of Yankee smartness foisted upon them does not make for friendship. It inspires contempt.

This unpleasant sentiment was strengthened by our failure to demand satisfaction for the lives lost by the *Lusitania* and by the unfortunate announcement that we were "too proud to fight."

This latter struck the French not only as proclaiming us a cowardly nation, but as assuming superiority over the men who not only would fight but who were fighting. And as several million Frenchmen were at the moment fighting, it was natural that they should laugh.

The change of sentiment is shown in many ways. To detail them would not help matters. But as one hears of them from Americans who, since the war began, have been working in the hospitals, on distributing committees, in the banking houses, and in official posts, that our country is most unpopular is only too evident.

It is the greater pity because the real feeling of our people toward France in this war is one of admiration. Of all the Allies, Americans who respect efficiency probably hold for the French the most hearty good feeling, affection, and good-will. That through the Government at Washington this feeling has been ill-expressed, if not entirely concealed, is unfortunate. Mr. Kipling, whose manners are his own, has given as a toast: "Damn all neutrals." The French are more polite. But when this war is over we may find that in twelve months we have lost a friend of many years.

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Exchanges of Wounded Prisoners

By Fritz Engel

In the subjoined article the correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt in Stockholm describes how the exchange of German and Russian soldiers seriously wounded, was effected on Swedish soil.

LONG trains are now carrying the invalided German soldiers toward their homes. They have to traverse the entire length of Sweden. The telegraph has already reported how a small company of Germans went as far as Hallsberg, four hours' distant from Stockholm, to the west, to meet their countrymen. Those leading the party were Freiherr von Lucius, the German Minister to Sweden; the Military Attaché, Major Aveyden, and his wife, and the Legation Counselor, Baron Freys.

Then we waited for the fortunate unfortunates. Even though they appeared tired and unfit for any further military service, they made the impression of genuine German warriors. When some foolish persons threw anti-military pamphlets into their train the soldiers were quick to tear these things to pieces. The returning fighters were in better humor than we who were ready to console them. They were filled with the intense longing for home, and, despite their injuries, they were joyful to know that soon their long travel would be at an end.

The moment the German soldiers touched Swedish soil they began to realize their freedom from Russian captivity. Gathered together from various hospitals in interior Russia, and after making the long journey through Finland and along the eastern shore of the Sea of Bothnia, their exhausting trip commenced along the western coast country through Sweden to Malmoe. In Haparanda they reached Swedish territory. Up there in the north, not far from the polar circle, where the homeless Laps with their reindeer travel between Russia and Sweden and where stern nature is inexorable, there was shown in the present instance the evidence of that love for man which

is the highest expression of culture. We Germans must never forget what the Swedish people have done and are doing to facilitate the exchange of incapacitated prisoners from Russia that there will be no delay in getting them forwarded.

One must understand the topography of Sweden to fully realize what it meant to organize for the exchange of prisoners in those distant parts. The Swedish Red Cross did great service in this direction. Prince Carl, a brother of the King, is not only an official representative of the organization, but he is in reality one of the principal workers who in his villa in the Stockholm Djurgarden had arranged most of the details later put into execution. Assisted by Herr Wilhelm Didring, Prince Carl's plans worked out splendidly. With the first arrivals in Hallsberg it was evidenced that everything would come off as planned. It was indeed a great pleasure to grasp the hands of our brave comrades and serve them with the tempting meals that waited for them. Alas, many of them were minus hands! But there stood the Red Cross nurses, the splendid Swedish women, and assisted wherever the men were unable to help themselves. We bow in gratitude before them.

To the Germans who now traverse this country the present hospitality has also another meaning. I do not mean the friendly attitude toward Germany is to be pointed to, for official Sweden is very careful to stay neutral, and the Russian prisoners that return home from German camps are accorded identical treatment. No, I mean to say that this orderliness, this discipline, has a touch of familiarity. What we Germans term "German order" the Swedes may well claim to be of their qualities also.

Danish Authors On the World War

By Sophus Michaelis, Valdemar Roerdam, Palle Rosenkrantz, and
Thit Jensen Fenger

The Copenhagen Dagens Nyheder recently asked leading Danish authors to tell what special effect the great war was having on their work and productivity in general. The subjoined replies indicate how variously the stirring events abroad have affected some of these writers.

I.

An Eclipse of the Soul

By Sophus Michaelis

TO any one who, like myself, works best and happiest when all is still and the sun shines—when flowers unfold themselves—the war must necessarily have looked like a hopelessly overdrawn horizon. To any one who, like myself, believes that to write requires the most ennobling soulfulness, the war signified the storm that darkens all around and makes each hour heavy and joyless. The mind within ceases its song; existence becomes a nightmare.

A world catastrophe like the one we are experiencing burns into the soul like an eclipse. A chilling and ghastly yellow shadow creeps over all that we used to love. Primitive peoples believe that the sun is darkened because the dragon of the deep tries to swallow up the great luminary. War's eclipse is the worst of all the dragons of the earth. No one knows when it will let go its hold.

In comparison with the spiritual injury sustained by me in this war, the material damage is of slight consequence. Our little neutral land once more has to look to itself. Export is at a standstill. The warring nations have use for nothing but war literature. The cultures of the smaller countries that had found entre in the centre of the Germanic Empire are once more thrown upon their own resources. And there they are likely to remain for a while. Germany has more than enough to concern it—its own writers, even the best of them, find no circulation for their productions, except they cultivate the most unadulterated war poesy. The same may be said

of England and France. My last book, "Hellenic and Barbarian," which as yet has appeared only in Danish and Swedish, my German publisher keeps under cover until the proper times arrives. Likewise some English translations of certain of my earlier works abide a more propitious hour. No one can tell when that will be.

My play, "The Physician," the performance of which had previously been prohibited in Germany out of friendly regard for Russia, now, that no such sentiment any longer exists, is again scheduled for the German scene. But it is a question whether, after all, it will pass the censor, who never did care to see the topic People vs. Monarch treated dramatically. For the present German theatres are permitted to present nothing but the tamest farces and comedies; of course, apart from that which treats the war patriotically.

Here do we stand, then, on the brink of that flaming abyss that runs across Europe and separates race from race, nation from nation. The national hatred cuts deep into the open wounds where frontiers are. Even the most clear-thinking minds have been seized by this war insanity and brutality. The enemy is a beast that must be exterminated. Barbarism is being fought with barbarism. Killing is the highest conception. Even a poet like Kipling returns from the front filled with the holy and stubborn idea that the "Boche" is an animal to be struck down. The brave soldiers have but the task "to kill when and how

they can, and they attend to their work." No one knows how long this "pretty" work is to last. But the fissure will become more and more aflame and a fearful abyss will be created between peoples that formerly stood in close cultural association to each other. Under such conditions existence for the neutral mind becomes some sort of inferno. The day-time is strewn with evil dreams in the form of war telegrams. There is something sardonically jocular about it all. But we mind our own little circles while the earth beneath us keeps a-trembling. We become unfeeling to the point of numbness. We cling to the most trifling things so as to forget that all the world around us is seething lava. The disap-

pearance of a 2-year-old child a few days ago made more of a commotion among us all than the thought of the millions that at the present time are being killed or translated into cripples. What are Europe's invalids to us so long as they do not exhibit their deformities on our own streets? Our imagination has become bankrupt. We neither think nor feel. Everything may happen, and nothing will surprise us. We had almost forgotten our ancestry. Now we have had the reminder. The "Boche" is an animal that must be killed. We had forgotten what war was. The Napoleonic era was the purest romancing in comparison. Now we know that war is to kill when and how we can manage it.

II.

Denmark Already Defeated

By Valdemar Roerdam

HONEST dreamers and political self-seekers in all countries have denied existing facts by declaring that lasting peace had arrived; that war between civilized nations was unthinkable out of economic, cultural, moral considerations. They are the same people who declare the identical thing today; they admit reluctantly that Europe is at war, but the next war—why, that is quite impossible!

Some few persons in Denmark, I among them, and many persons in other parts of the world not touched by the war, had to interpret the signs of the times—war on earth and misunderstandings among mankind. We expected, we predicted, not only a constant shifting as between peace and war, but a war far greater in its dimensions, more violent than all preceding wars. This because intercourse between nations and races had increased so vastly, and because the economic-military preparations were on a scale of such immense proportions. In the course of the past ten or fifteen years we expected and predicted with increasing certainty the war which arrived and now is on—the world war.

Here in Denmark neither the Administration, the Crown, nor the people themselves cared to listen to such unpleasant predictions, nor did they, therefore, perceive the signs of the times.

Now, as to the question what the war means to me, my answer is that in the first place it is a volcanic confirmation of my previous views of life's demands; the same requirements for nation and individual. Power makes its exactions; these lead to strife, war, attacks, defense. It may be done with the weapons of intellectuality, those of application and shrewdness. Likewise with gold, with blood, as in the days of Attila. Those who refuse to go upward must go down.

I see in this war mankind as I saw it before—in myself—of my own time, and of all time. But I see it much plainer than ever before. Dreadful and beautiful, miserable and glorious, like creeping worm and eagle, as Pascal says; animalistic and angelical. As an individual, the experiences of this war have increased my weariness of life and added to my desire to die.

But as a Dane? The German diploma-

cy reckoned with England's neutrality; hence it was Belgium first, and not Denmark. So far as we are concerned that was lucky for us. With considerable skill our Government has managed to keep us beyond the conflict. As we are situated, we should neither strive after nor wish for anything different.

But, also, because we are situated as we are we should be prepared against being drawn into the war against our wishes. We ought to make every material effort to stand ready to meet every possible eventuality. But that is not the case with us.

It is true that the Government has, contrary to its own convictions and the majority in Congress, in certain directions very materially strengthened the defenses of the country. But in other directions, again, there has been great neglect. The work, therefore, is but half done, with wasted money and effort.

Sticking close to its program, the Government and its majority have weakened, undermined the people's moral power to defend themselves and do battle. The party of the Left, the party of the Right, the King, the people, all have submitted themselves to

this. And all this despite the war and its experiences.

This I had not expected. This is the deepest, the most bitter of the many disappointments suffered by me as a citizen of Denmark.

I still believe that the moment war is our lot—and this may happen most any time—the entire people, the Rigsdag, the press, the Cabinet Ministers, will arise in defense of liberty and fatherland. But then it will be too late to gain anything for the cause of freedom or the nation. The will to do must prevail first and last; first, to produce the means; later, so as to be able to rise above conditions when the means are exhausted.

We stand outside the war, and yet we are defeated. We have caused our own defeat. If we are to have a future, we must seek after it together with others who possess what we have not. This we can still do with honor, because what the others are without that we possess.

This is what the world war means to me. It has both rent my writing asunder and mirrored itself in what I have written.

III.

A Serial Riddle of History

By Palle Rosenkrantz

BEFORE a phenomenon like the present war the individual stands helpless. We do not seem to know what it is all about, and that in spite of the fact that in reality it is part of us.

To begin with, the war struck me as a vast unreality. There I stood, in this beehive of soldiers and civilians, of people running hither and thither, questioning, seeking to get support and consolation from others during the great uncertainty. On a very grand scale was this. It were as if one stood secure enough on shore within the circling bay and stirred expectantly outward where the breakers rolled higher and higher, threatening a storm that might sweep

over all. Suddenly everything concerned the military. The peaceful avenues with their handsome homes became filled with patrols. The military kitchens stood in the open, making ready the meals for the soldiers. The men in blue were the hope of the citizens. The entire territory became a camp.

And from without came the reports about the enormous armies engaged in battle, the thunder of the cannon; about untold cruelty and awful destruction. In the beginning of the war my confusion was unbounded; I understood nothing and felt the whole to be an evil dream.

My oldest son was an officer in our own

army, my daughter was in Switzerland. I had a brother in France and another in England. The telegraph was our only means for communicating, and it took longer to send a message than a letter before the war. Every event was connected with the only event—the war.

Only toward the Fall did the war become a matter of normal existence that instinctively belonged to the background of life itself. And thus the war remains. Perhaps, after all, it is the same world about us, only in changed form with far-flung causes and effects to which we are gradually becoming accustomed. The chief motif is its incomprehensible complexity.

Whether the war, as now in effect, really impresses itself on my productivity, that is something which is not quite clear to me. I cannot say that I am directly affected by it. My life seems to pass along as usual. I write my plays, my novels, my articles for the magazines, exactly as before. My work itself has nothing to do with the war. I have lost a good friend, Grunau, my German publisher in Leipsic. The family informed me last November that he died a hero's death in Flanders. My connections with the other countries are as they were before the war. I have seen something of a country in war dress during my trip to Russia, but even there the war appeared chiefly in reports.

I believe it is because we get everything through reports that the reality fails to touch us deeply. This apparent unreality, then, takes later the form of history. In times of peace we experience history-making only in episodes of considerable magnitude. When there is war, history is a matter of the moment; the telegraph is the daily historian. We swallow the news while the ink on the paper is not yet dry. But we miss the key to the mystery. We cannot possibly confirm our observations, we distrust the author, and cannot even guess what is to be continued in the next chapter or installment. When we now read about the Napoleonic wars we know Waterloo and St. Helena; we are sure in advance what the end is to be. Here we know nothing.

And the anticipation is nullified by the concern as to what the finish will be. My own interest is purely academic. Through a veritable sea of newspapers, white books, green books, pamphlets, &c., the war has become to me some literary performance that I may observe and absorb for my own benefit. The moment I transfer my thinking to the world of reality I stop short because I know nothing, cannot value correctly nor judge, can scarcely feel properly for all this suffering and killing, all this destruction and conflagration.

And for this reason I look upon the war as a history published in serial form with a completely unknown continuation. In the most absolute meaning of the word I am neutral. I have the greatest sympathy for German culture and my German friends in whose circles I have spent some of my happiest days in earlier years. I hold the warmest friendship for my English mother's relatives and friends, and for England's history and literature. From my youth English has been my dearest reading. I retain in fullest measure my remembrances of my friends in England; the splendid people I learned to know among them.

The two nations I place on an equally high plane. I cannot understand that they are murdering each other; I, who for many years have been as a sort of go-between between Englishman and German. I have praised the English to the people of the German Empire, and tried to get the English to understand and appreciate the greatness of Germany.

England and Germany are to me the great riddle of this war. Everything else is to me subordinated. I cannot understand this chapter of history until I see the final page. I am always ill at ease when reading a book that I do not understand, and yet I was of the opinion that from my childhood I understood so readily.

This is my impression from the war. It is a curious impression, I grant, with a flavoring of the study; an impression I cannot grasp. To me mankind itself does not seem at stake; only names and numbers. History!

IV.

Spiritual Life of Authors

By Thit Jensen Fenger

WHAT does this world war mean to the authors of Denmark?
Everything—and nothing!

It has furnished a number of writers material with which to work—to others it has furnished food for thought!

We must differentiate between two kinds of authors—those who have become writers from necessity and those who write because they consider themselves called. The first named are authors of worldliness, the latter are authors of godliness. I mean nothing derogative by calling the others worldly authors; I merely desire to say that they became writers for purely material reasons.

I shall speak here about those writers of godly tendency; not as to how their economic existence is affected by the war, but how the war has touched their spiritual life; how the war came to them as the tempter in the desert.

An author of this kind believes from his earliest youth that his ability is a gift of God. This ability carries responsibility. It exacts of him that he must aid in improving mankind—that is why this ability was bestowed on him. Of course, he knows that he alone cannot do anything of consequence; but he believes that God placed all the small candles in the great author candelabra, that each light should shed its own refulgence over some particular spot; to divulge what is right and what is wrong. Together they accomplish something.

Such an author acts as he believes is right; despite poverty and disappointments he continues to write and labor in the direction that he thinks will lead him to the goal.

But in order to be able to improve mankind such a writer must first of all feel sure that it can be improved. He convinces himself, therefore, that at the bottom of each individual there is something worth while. Just as the individual from childhood is being taught many useful things, so also should the individual

from the earliest days be instructed to cultivate good and loving thoughts. It is beyond dispute that people generally know much more today than they did in former days—why then should it be so difficult to develop the aims for doing good, to make one love his neighbor as himself.

The war has revealed the skeleton of mankind's way of thinking. It is the naked I. And what does it want, this naked, bony I? Everything for itself and nothing for the other. It is the same motive power that ruled man in the earliest ages when he struck right and left in order to carry on an existence. The only "development" today is that man strikes about him to get more than is essential to his existence.

It is then that the tempter arrives in this desert of hopelessness.

"Fool, you who believed in a better and nobler and more loving humanity! Just see how they cut down each other like grain before the reaper! A life is not worth as much as a stalk of wheat. No one reckons with the sorrow in the heart of woman; what has been written and preached year in and year out, "You Must not * * *" concerns no one. In time of peace they cover themselves with a varnish of only ethical value. When war breaks out martial paint corresponds quite naturally to the eternal inner man, the skeleton, the naked, brutal I! Have you not seen that it is impossible to improve, that all that may be done is to develop the ability to put on more varnish? Is it not then better to at once lower the banner of idealism, and employ your talent for the purpose of gaining profit?"

Such is the hopelessness and the temptations of an author in the time of war. It furnishes everything that can be furnished to strike an idealist to earth—yet, as a matter of fact, it furnishes him nothing, for, unfortunately for himself, an idealist cannot be struck down by anything whatsoever.

The Age of the Shameless

By G. K. Chesterton

This article constitutes an attack upon the spirit of this age. It appeared originally in The New Witness.

THE infantile mystification I once described in these pages, which I felt on seeing "Practical Chimney Sweep" written over a house, was as nothing to the intellectual shock I received when I first encountered another inscription. I could, indeed, write a curious record of impressions produced by shop signs and names. I had a habit of reading them absently in their most mystical sense; I remember that I always read the expression "Job Master" with a long o in the first syllable; so that it was environed with the whirlwind and wheel of stars which encircles that patriarch, the first master of the mysteries. Also I took the inscription "Hope Brothers" to be an inspiring appeal to humanity not to accept despair; and was so exalted by it that the more agnostic expression "Hope, Limited," a little further down the street, failed to drag down my soaring soul. But all these bemused mistakes were nothing compared with the crash of astonishment with which I saw in some quiet corner the quiet inscription "Robinson and Son, House-Breakers." I have since discovered that it has a tame and law-abiding meaning, and only refers to some arrangements for the removal of disused timber or other rubbish. But for the time it seemed as if I had come upon a place more incredible than fairyland. I stood in a city of fantastic candor; where men lived in glass houses, under the crystal minarets of the Palace of Truth. I expected to see next some sober and seasoned lawyer's office, lined with dark oak and baize and bearing on its front the legend "Matthew Straight, Forger." On the chemist's, above those bottled sunsets which intoxicate the infant eye, would run the simple words, "Pilson and Sons, Poisoners"; while the busy emporium of "Minns, General Assassins," would fill the street with life—and death.

But it is not sufficiently realized that this is an age of such extravagances. Ruskin and the paler romantics used to rebuke modernity as mean and drab; but it is rather monstrous, and covered with crude and cruel colors like an Egyptian idolatry. Its parallels are to be found on the insane heights of history. For instance, I call it monstrous that a Roman Emperor should make his horse a magistrate. But I call it equally monstrous that a magistrate should consider the tragedy of the horse and disregard the tragedy of the man; for all the world as if the magistrate really were a horse, instead of a human donkey. And many, probably most, of our magistrates do this. I call it monstrous that the Italian aristocrats of the Renaissance should be able to get their enemies poisoned by private chemists who existed for the sole purpose of poisoning them. But I call it equally monstrous that citizens of the American democracy should be able to get their enemies shot by private detectives, who exist for the sole purpose of shooting them. I think it monstrous that the State tolerated men in the livery of some feudal lord, openly evading the law that protected shopkeepers from pillage. I think it more monstrous that the State tolerates men in the livery of a private club, openly evading the law that protects children and old women from the deathly speed of motorists. In both cases the law permits an open plot against the law. What on earth should we say if we found a man standing in a splendid uniform at the corner of a slum and discovered that he was there to warn pickpockets of the proximity of the police? Yet some of the motorists so warned are not pickpockets, but murderers.

The cause of their immunity is naked and not in dispute. They wear an armor of gold, inside which this very Golden Age allows them to do anything.

But what I wish to remark is that the note of our time is one especially emphasized by the old Roman satirists, the note of shamelessness. In what is said there is indeed much euphemism and evasion; and I do not doubt that when Nero fiddled over burning Rome the contemporary press said that his interest in clearing the congested districts of the metropolis did not prevent his finding time for his old interest in music. But in what is done there is no shame whatever. And what is done is of a piece with Tamberlaine driving Kings instead of horses. We shall best understand the events of our time if we reduce them to plain stories about persons.

There is this great difference between economics and finance, as they call it, that economics may be a dull story, but it is a story; an account of what happened; whereas finance largely consists of things that don't happen. Economics turns a penny into a penny bun; but finance turns it into a penny promise. Observe the remote language used in the munition problem about "social service" and further "taxing profits." The fact is that there is a great heap of goods, things to eat and drink, in the middle of the street, quite accessible to the King and his Captains; but it must not be touched because a merchant's servants have made it for the merchant alone. The town may be besieged, the foe may be battering all its gates, the streets may be full of famine, and the skies full of fire; but this heap must not be touched because the merchant wants it for himself. The servants say they would be willing to go on working for the King and town; but the merchant says they must go on working for the heap—that is, for him. But he regards it as a very handsome patriotic concession to say he has no objection to his servants being made to go on working for him. That is all.

Realize these mere facts and then turn to the torrents of trash that pour out every day, not only from a press now suspect, but from honest old Tory papers which on other subjects are chivalrous enough in their way. There is the same old notion that a strike is a sort of

picnic. There is the same grumbling from dear old doctors and lawyers against the bare existence of the Trade Union Rules, which in their own very ruthless Trade Unions the dear old doctors and lawyers would die rather than break. I read in a very respectable little Unionist rag a prodigious piece of bluster about the working classes, if they resisted conscription, being as easily dealt with as the mutineers of the Nore. Before remarking on the peculiar mentality of the outbreak, I may observe that I do not believe for a moment that the working classes would rise against legal conscription, even if it were dragged down with all the dead weight of Mr. George's luckless reputation. Our middle-class writers cannot see the working man; because they are always trying to understand him. The secret of the working man is one which can be seen at a great distance, when he stands on the remotest summit of a wild Welsh quarry; that he is a man. He is against the Germans because they are in the wrong. He is against his employers because they are in the wrong. But he is not such a fool as not to see that the greater evil includes the lesser; and that he must save England in order to reform her. And he would not submit to a national humiliation imposed by the Kaiser, even for the sake of that wild industrial emancipation which he would obtain from the Krupps.

But let us reflect, not without tears, upon the minds of those who tell all the manual workers of Britain that it would not take much to hang them as traitors and mutineers. Exactly what it would take to do it, in men and munitions, I do not know. But one feels a sort of medical curiosity about such men. Is it possible, by any chance, that they are actually mad? Their formula for conscription seems to run as follows: we have so few soldiers engaged in the foreign war in France that we can quite afford to bring some of them back to begin a civil war in England. The helpless in the clubs, who say this sort of thing, evidently suppose that large numbers of men can be arrested and executed by machinery; if a button is

pressed by a poor quavering old boy in a smoking room. I remember him during the great strikes, and how he wanted to have the miners all shot because nobody else could work in the mines. But then, at least, he was not firing wild while an enemy was firing straight. He has surpassed himself in his new model of an expeditionary force, in which we are to waste large numbers of our actual soldiers in shooting as many as they can of our possible recruits. I suppose such hog's wash, accompanied with appropriate profanity, really goes down in Pall Mall. But if this capitalist project for a civil war ever travels beyond this island, I fancy that the army swears more terribly in Flanders.

It is exactly as certain as that Christ-

mas comes in December that no strikes would occur in nationally vital industries today if the employers gave up their profits altogether. It is equally certain that every one of them could give up all their profits tomorrow morning. The Government may not have the pluck to ask them; but there is no reason to think they would have the madness to refuse. I do not share the moral philosophy of the wretched pacifist who lately expressed an abject wonder at a young and happy man going to fight and fall. I know that life is not worth having if it is not worth losing. But if we are to rebuke such, what shall we say of the shamelessness of old men, who cling to that which is baser than life when they near the grave?

M. Denys Cochin

[From The Times of London]

M. Denys Cochin, Minister of State in the new French Cabinet, now on a mission to Greece, has received the freedom of the City of Athens. In this generation the honor can scarcely have been more worthily bestowed.

Denys Marie Pierre Augustin Cochin was born in September, 1851, in Paris, where, too, he was educated. His studies were interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war, in which he took part as a Sergeant in the Eighth Lancers and later as standard bearer to Bourbaki, who recommended him for the coveted Military Medal. This decoration, which he still wears, he wore on the day when, after the Commune, the examination for degrees in the University of Paris was once more held. Egger, one of the most brilliant scholars who ever occupied the Greek Chair at the Sorbonne, examined him. "Your Greek prose," said Egger, "is pretty poor; but I see you wear the Military Medal. You may proceed to your degree!"

While law was his prescribed study, his natural inclination led him toward scientific research with Pasteur and Schutzenberger. The fruit of these studies is to be found in the book, "Evolution and Life," which he published in 1888. In this and later works he took up the cudgels against Spencer, and to this day the study of first principles has been his hobby.

In 1881 he followed in the footsteps of his father and offered himself for election to the Municipal Council. In 1893 he entered Parliament. In these two spheres he has ever since worked untiringly for Paris and for France.

In the Chamber foreign affairs claimed his chief attention. On foreign questions no French politician has greater competence or is listened to with greater pleasure. As a Catholic the question of the maintenance of the French Protectorate in the Levant found in him a sturdy champion. Greece and the Hellenic cause have ever possessed his warm sympathies, which the Greeks for their part have readily recognized. He is a Commander of the Order of the Saviour.

His speech is singularly fluent and persuasive. Simple and conversational in style, his utterance is that of a man who has words to choose from and knows how to choose them. His election to the Academy three or four years ago was a fitting acknowledgment of his mastery of French and of form.

The quality of his patriotism may be measured by the fact that he, a practicing Catholic and a life-long Conservative, should have consented to join M. Briand's Ministry. Honesty and kindness distinguish his actions, and among French public men today none better than he is qualified to interpret to the constitutional King of the Hellenes the sentiments of France and of the French democracy.

Broadsheets for Soldiers and Sailors

Sir Walter Raleigh's Passages From the Great English Writers

An immense circulation has been attained in the British Isles by the envelopes filled with broadsheets, ready for mailing to soldiers and sailors, which have been edited by Sir Walter Raleigh and published by The London Times. It is of singular interest that the British people in their present state of exaltation should look to the inspiring passages in their rich literature with which to hearten their men at the front. A reproduction of the printed envelope of Series 1 is shown below, together with a few of Sir Walter Raleigh's selections.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

These Broadsheets are published to meet an urgent demand from Soldiers in the trenches and men with the Fleet for the best literature in a portable form. They can be enclosed in letters. The passages were selected by Sir Walter Raleigh.

SERIES. N^o. 1



The Times BROADSHEETS
For Soldiers and Sailors.

SIX SELECTED PASSAGES

From Great English Writers.



Enclose the Broadsheets with letters.

Best English Literature for British Soldiers and Sailors in Broadsheets,
Published by The Times of London.

Wordsworth

It is not to be thought of that the Flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters, unwithstood,"
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous Stream in bogs and sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
Armory of the invincible Knights of old:
We must be free or die, who speaks the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.—In every thing we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Shakespeare

King Henry. By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,
Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost;
It yearns me not if men my garments wear;

Such outward things dwell not in my desires;
 But if it be a sin to covet honour,
 I am the most offending soul alive.
 No, faith, my coz, wish not a man from England:
 God's peace! I would not lose so great an honour
 As one man more, methinks, would share from me
 For the best hope I have. O, do not wish one more!
 Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,
 That he which hath no stomach to this fight,
 Let him depart; his passport shall be made
 And crowns for convoy put into his purse:
 We would not die in that man's company
 That fears his fellowship to die with us.
 This day is call'd the feast of Crispian:
 He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
 Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named,
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
 He that shall live this day, and see old age,
 Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
 And say "Tomorrow is Saint Crispian":
 Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,
 And say "These wounds I had on Crispin's day."
 Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot,
 But he'll remember with advantages
 What feats he did that day: then shall our names,
 Familiar in his mouth as household words,
 Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.
 This story shall the good man teach his son;
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
 From this day to the ending of the world,
 But we in it shall be remembered;
 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
 For he today that sheds his blood with me
 Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
 This day shall gentle his condition;
 And gentlemen in England now a-bed
 Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
 And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
 That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

King Henry V., iv., 3.

Milton

Oh, how comely it is, and how reviving
 To the Spirits of just men long oppress'd,
 When God into the hands of their deliverer
 Puts invincible might,
 To quell the mighty of the Earth, th' oppressor,
 The brute and boist'rous force of violent men,
 Hardy and industrious to support
 Tyrannic power, but raging to pursue
 The righteous and all such as honour Truth!
 He all their Ammunition
 And feats of War defeats
 With plain Heroic magnitude of mind
 And celestial vigour arm'd;
 Their Armouries and Magazines contemns,
 Renders them useless, while
 With winged expedition
 Swift as the lightning glance he executes
 His errand on the wicked, who, surpris'd,
 Lose their defence distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise
 Of Saints, the trial of their fortitude,
 Making them each his own Deliverer,
 And Victor over all

That tyranny or fortune can inflict,
 Either of these is in thy lot,
 Samson, with might endu'd
 Above the Sons of men; but sight bereav'd
 May chance to number thee with those
 Whome Patience finally must crown.

Samson Agonistes.

The English Expeditionary Army in Spain, A. D. 1367

From Lord Berners' Froissart, Ch. 237

THE Prince of Wales, at the breaking of the day, was ready in the field arranged in battle, and advanced forward in good order, for he knew well he should encounter his enemies. So there were none that went before the marshals battles but such couriers as were appointed; so thus the lords of both hosts knew by the report of their couriers that they should shortly meet. So they went forward an hosting pace each toward other; and when the sun was rising up it was a great beauty to behold the battles and the armours shining against the sun. So thus they went forward till they approached near together: then the Prince and his company went over a little hill, and in the descending thereof they perceived clearly their enemies coming toward them: and when they were all descended down this mountain, then every man drew to their battles and kept them still, and so rested them, and every man dressed and apparelled himself ready to fight.

Then Sir John Chandos brought his banner rolled up together to the Prince, and said, "Sir, behold here is my banner; I require you display it abroad, and give me leave this day to raise it; for, Sir, I thank God and you, I have land and heritage sufficient to maintain it withal." Then the Prince and King Dom Pedro took the banner between their hands and spread it abroad, the which was of silver a sharp pile gules, and delivered it to him and said, "Sir John, behold here your banner; God send you joy and honour thereof." Then Sir John Chandos bare his banner

to his own company, and said, "Sirs, behold here my banner and yours, keep it as your own": and they took it and were right joyful thereof, and said, that by the pleasure of God and St. George, they would keep and defend it to the best of their powers. And so the banner abode in the hands of a good English squire, called William Dalby, who bare it that day and acquitted himself right nobly. Then anon after the Englishmen and Gascons alighted off their horses, and every man drew under their own banner and standard in array of battle ready to fight: and it was great joy to see and consider the banners and pennons and the noble armory that was there.

Then the battles began a little to advance; and then the Prince of Wales opened his eyes and regarded toward Heaven and joined his hands together and said: "Very God, Jesu Christ, who hath formed and created me, consent by your benign grace, that I may have this day victory of mine enemies, as that I do is in a rightful quarrel, to sustain and to aid this King, chased out of his own heritage, the which giveth me courage to advance myself to reestablish him again into his realm." And then he laid his right hand on King Dom Pedro, who was by him, and said: "Sir King, ye shall know this day if ever ye shall have any part of the realm of Castile or not: therefore, advance banners, in the name of God and St. George." With those words the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos approached: and the duke said to Sir William Beauchamp, "Sir William,

behold yonder our enemies: this day ye shall see me a good knight, or else to

die in the quarrell": and therewith they approached their enemies.

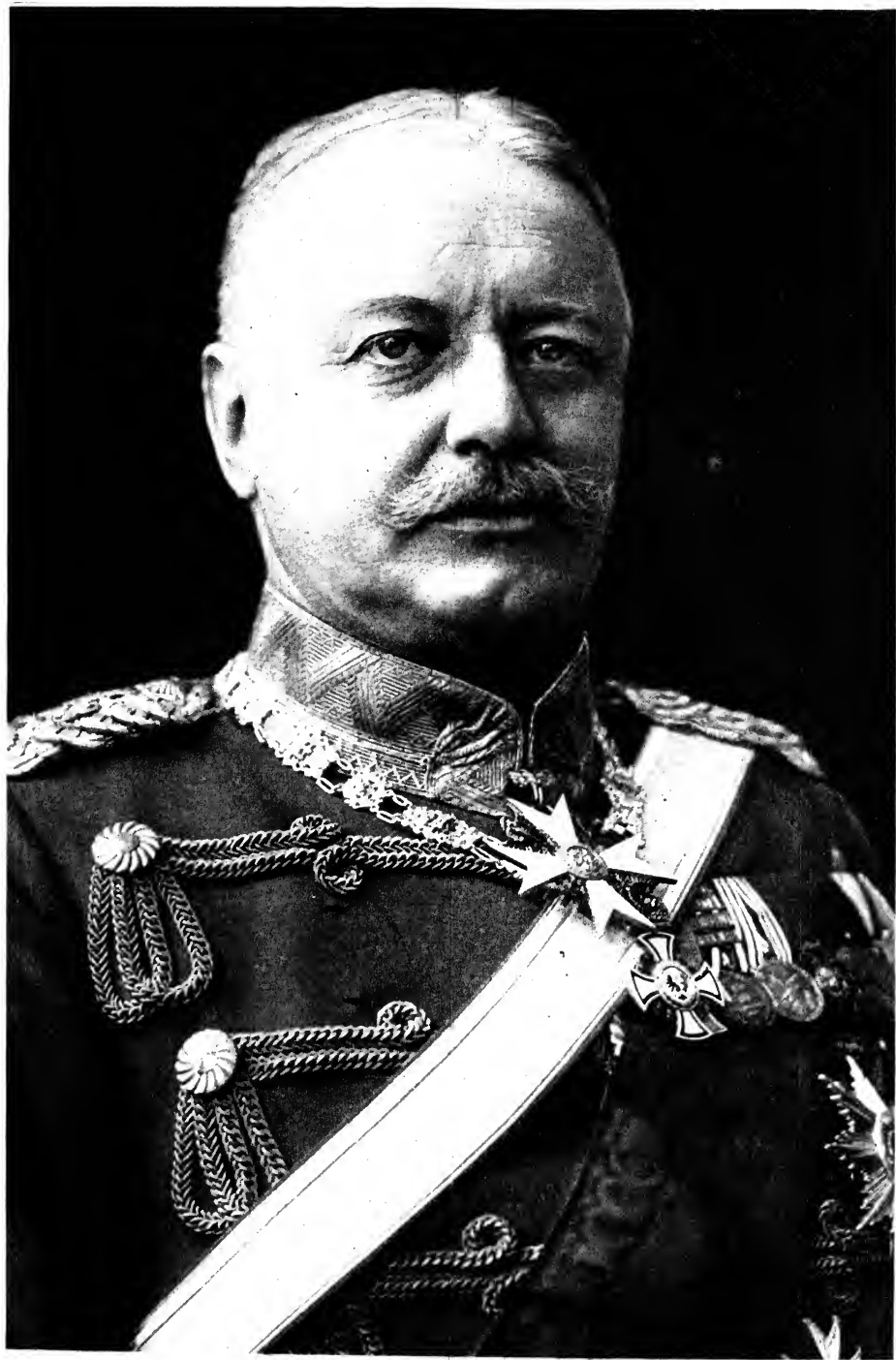
Pericles to the Athenians

From Thucydides

I HAVE dwelt upon the greatness of Athens to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than are those who enjoy none of our privileges, and to make clear proof of the merit of the men whom I am commemorating. Their loftiest praise I have already recorded. In magnifying the city I have magnified them, and others like them, whose virtues made her glorious. Of how few Greeks can it be said, as it can be said of them, that their deeds, when weighed in the balance, are equal to their fame? I think a death like theirs gives the true measure of a man's worth; sometimes it is the first revelation of the virtue on which it puts the final seal. Even those who come short in other ways may redeem themselves by fighting bravely for their country; they blot out the evil with the good, and benefit the State more by their public services than ever they injured her by their private actions. None of these men was enervated by wealth; none hesitated to resign the pleasures of life; none put off the evil day in the hope, so natural to the poor man, that he might one day be rich. Holding the punishment of their enemies to be sweeter than any of these things, and knowing that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honorably avenged, and to leave the rest to fate. They resigned the uncertain hope of happiness, and in the face of death resolved to rely upon themselves alone. When the moment came they chose to resist and suffer rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the name of dishonor, but on the battlefield their feet stood fast, and in an instant, at the height of their good fortune, they passed away from the scene not of their fear, but of their glory.

Such was the end of these men; they

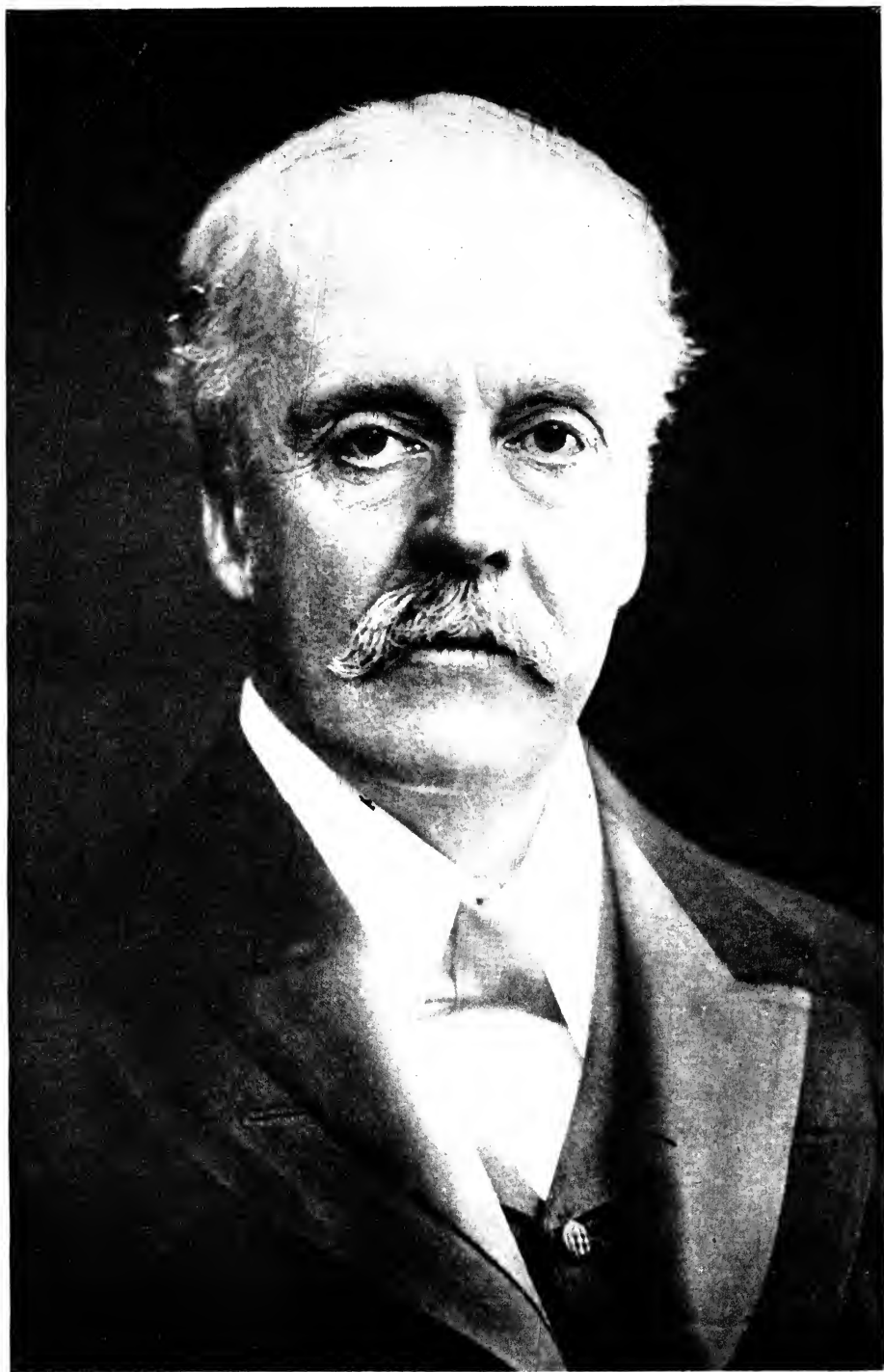
were worthy of Athens, and the living need not desire a more heroic temper, though they may pray for a less fatal event. The worth of such a temper cannot be told in words. Any one can tell you commonplaces about the merits of a brave defense. Instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, till you are filled with the love of her, and when you are overcome by her glory, reflect that this empire was made by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, and who, if ever they failed in what they undertook, would not have their virtues lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest holiday offering to deck her feast. The sacrifice which they offered in common was repaid to them singly; to every one of them was given a praise that never grows old and the noblest of all sepulchres—I do not mean that in which their remains are laid, but that in which their glory lives, and is proclaimed for ever, on every fitting occasion, both in words and deeds. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; they are commemorated not only by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands also, and by memorials graven not on stone but on the hearts of men. Take them for your example and, knowing that courage is freedom and freedom is happiness, do not be too careful in weighing the perils of war. The wretch who hopes for nothing from the future has more reason to cling to life than the happy and prosperous man, who at any time may encounter a change for the worse, and to whom the reverses of fortune come as grave disasters. To a man of spirit fear and disaster are bitterer than the death which strikes him unaware when he is full of courage and buoyed up by the general hope.



PRINCE VON BUELOW

His Secret Mission to Switzerland Has Aroused Speculation About
German Efforts Toward Peace

(Photo from Bain News Service.)



ARTHUR J. BALFOUR
First Lord of the British Admiralty
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

Liberation of the Lesser Nations

By Dr. J. Stübben

Dr. Stübben is a German educator whose close study of the smaller nationalities under the government of the great powers is embodied in the following article from the *Koelnische Zeitung*, forwarded to *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* by Dr. Stübben.

IT is emphasized by the Quadruple Entente that it is battling for the liberation of the small nations. It may be taken for granted that thereby is meant only those small nationalities under the government of the Teutonic allies. It is out of the question that either Russia, England, France, or Italy will extend freedom to those racial or national divisions that come under their own control. And yet they all have good ground for observing the beams in their own eyes before they look for the mote in their brothers' eyes.

Russia dominates in Finland over both Finns and Swedes; in the Baltic Provinces over Lettish, Lithuanians, and Germans; along the Bug and the Vistula over Poles and Jews; in the south over Ukraines, Rumanians, and Greeks. There is no reason to add here about conditions to the east. As a matter of fact, of Russia's 150,000,000 inhabitants, only 70,000,000 are real Russians. Is it the intention of the Quadruple Entente to give the 80,000,000 non-Russians freedom from the domination of the Czar?

No! Neither does England purpose to liberate the Irish or the Boers, the East Indians or the Egyptians, the inhabitants of Cyprus, Malta, or Gibraltar.

France is just beginning to exercise in earnest its control of the Flemish in the north, the Italians in Nizza and Corsica, the Africans of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis. And Italy? Will it let go of its own free will either Tripoli, or the French-speaking Val d'Aosta, in order to give liberty to foreign peoples?

In truth, if the desire is really there, the powers of the Entente have excellent opportunity to begin at home with liberating foreign peoples. There would have been no occasion to war against the central powers to achieve this result. At the same time it is both instructive and entertaining to examine who are the sub-

jugated nationalities that give the Quadruple Entente such concern.

We have, then, within the German Empire some 240,000 French in Alsace-Lorraine, 140,000 Danes in Schleswig, and 2,500,000 Poles in the eastern provinces of Prussia. In fact, in so far as concerns Alsace-Lorraine, the announced effort of the Entente does not confine itself to the deliverance of the small number of French, but it includes as well the 1,500,000 Germans of Alsace-Lorraine now under the sceptre of the French Republic. One may gather how thoroughly German the whole of Alsace is when one reads the names of some of the places mentioned in the war reports—Sennheim, Sondernach, Hartmannsweilerkopf, Schratzmaennle. No Frenchman would ever give their surroundings names like these. The freeing of the 140,000 Danes from German jurisdiction cannot be any concern of the Entente, but of Denmark itself which stands completely outside the war. And to bring the Prussian Poles under the despotic rule of the Russian Czar is just the opposite to deliverance. The action of the Quadruple Entente points more in the direction of subjugation of lesser nations than their freedom.

To Austria-Hungary, the aim of the Entente in this war would mean the destruction of the Hapsburg monarchy. In order to realize the plans of conquest of Russia, Rumania, Serbia, and Italy the century-old political makeup of the peoples within Austria-Hungary is to be disrupted. Since the Poles of Galicia could only be handed over to Russia against their will, and as the same condition holds good relative to the Southern Slavs, who are to fall to Italy, certainly here there is no sense in speaking about a "deliverance."

Wherever one looks it is clear that the battle cry regarding the liberation of the

smaller nationalities is a big untruth. But just as hypocritical is the above statement when one reads that many millions of Germans in France and Belgium and East and West Prussians in Russia are the concern of the Quadruple Entente in this war.

In the case of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the only reason assigned from the beginning as the cause of the war has been the fact that they aim at maintaining their national existence. Neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary has purposely extended its boundaries. Even though the war has favored the central powers, there has been no change in their program. But obligations have come along that do concern the freeing of oppressed people. Primarily this is the case with Poland; in the second place, regarding the western frontiers of Germany and southern borders of Austria-Hungary; and also regarding the freedom of the seas.

The Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, has publicly declared that the Poles are to be freed from the mismanagement of the Moscovite rule and that plans are making for the solution of the problem, so that there shall be an end to the long-existing national quarrel between Poles and Germans. It is entirely too early to speak now of the details touching the new freedom. It is sufficient to know that the central powers obligate themselves to discharge the task that the Quadruple Entente falsely gives as one of its aims in waging war.

For the greater security of the German west front, Belgium and France will come in for consideration. Except for a rectification of the frontier question, there is slight reason to believe that Germany has any annexation plans. At no time

and on no occasion has the German Government mentioned anything about annexing the occupied territories of Belgium and Northern France. The political status of the conquered fortresses and the coast of Flanders at present in possession of the German military forces will remain a part of the national independence of the countries in question. But France, in order to regain its lost territory, must be satisfied to give in exchange colonies as well as money.

It will probably become a necessity to improve the strategical frontiers of Austria-Italy as well as of Hungary-Serbia. Apart from this arrangement it follows as a matter of course that Italy must be punished for a treachery that cries to Heaven, and Serbia for the murder at Serajevo.

England will be compelled to return the German colonies, to make free the oceans, at least in regard to the inviolability of private property at sea, and to pay over many millions in indemnity. These demands are in keeping with every national expectation of the central powers.

Finally we have Turkey. How can the Quadruple Entente speak of bringing deliverance to peoples when it means to turn Constantinople over to the Russians and Asiatic Turkey is to be despoiled for the sake of France, Italy, and England?

But we have said enough. Neither the Entente nor the central powers entered this terrible war for the sake of bringing liberty to other people. Each power fights in its own interests, not for foreign ones. If, however, freedom should come to subjugated nations as a result of this war—there is, besides Poland, Finland, Egypt, and Macedonia—this will not be due to the Quadruple Entente, but to the Teutonic allies!



Naval Defenses of the United States

By Captain Albert P. Niblack, U. S. N.

At the annual meeting of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, held in New York City, Captain Albert P. Niblack, U. S. N., the Vice President of the society, read a paper, given below in part, on "The Maintenance of the Fleet," in which he discussed from an entirely new angle the naval defenses of the United States, particularly on the Pacific Coast. Captain Niblack is one of the navy's most distinguished line officers, and is now commanding the dreadnought Michigan of the Second Division of the Atlantic Fleet.

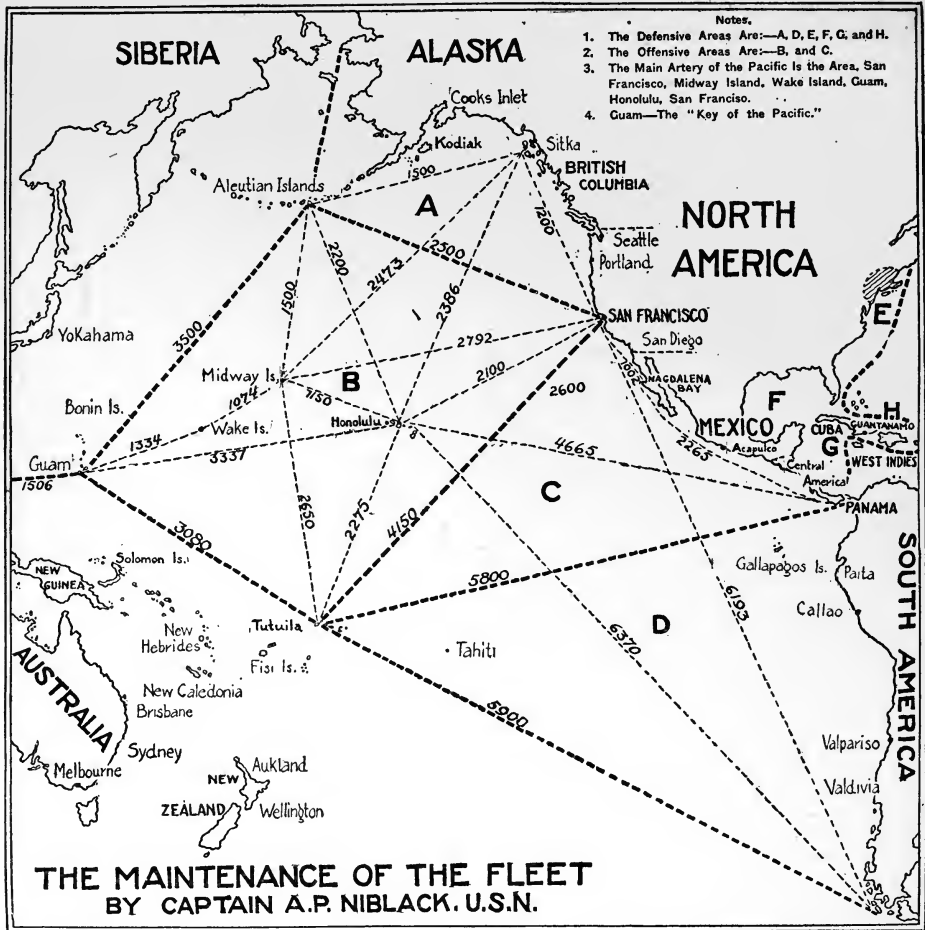
THE first line of the national defense is diplomacy, which, for safety and to avoid misunderstandings, should be in the hands of skilled if not specially trained men. Due to our geographical position, our second line is the navy, which must ever be prepared to act on the offensive, as its chief value lies in mobility and initiative. The third line is the sea coast and other fixed defensive, with a mobile land force to protect the land approaches. From its immobility this third line is essentially defensive. The fourth line is the regular army, which, like the navy, is essentially offensive. The fifth line is the trained reserve, and that we have not. As patriotic and as self-sacrificing as are the individuals who compose the militia, no thinking person, with knowledge of the facts, can count the militia as a trained reserve. For all that it is, we should, however, be deeply thankful. The sixth line is the reserve of equipment—guns, ammunition, clothing, food and fuel—together with the manufacturing establishments to turn out whatever additional is needed, from a button to a battleship. Untrained men, as a war asset, are like ore in the mine, cotton in the bale—simply a valuable raw material.

Whatever legitimate differences of opinion we may have as to our national policies as a world power, it would seem to be best, instead of discussing the subject of the maintenance of the fleet on the high plane of patriotic or civic duty, to apply the acid test of business, or what pays best in the end.

In the first place, geography has placed a large ocean on either side of us, between us and our powerful neigh-

bors. Looking across the Atlantic, we have always accepted a defensive rôle, and talked, and thought, and built to repel an enemy if he should come. This habit of thought, of waiting for something, of holding back, of expecting things to come to us, has almost destroyed our initiative, has kept back our foreign trade, and almost driven our flag from the ocean. We have reasoned that our fleet would give us time to bring up our supposed reserves and enable us to raise an army of volunteers. Facing this comfortable solution, we have turned our back upon the Pacific.

Geography, acquisitiveness or destiny has presented us in the Pacific with Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, Tutuila, (Samoa,) Midway Island, and Guam, as stepping-stones across the Pacific, and, by their possession, imposed upon us the same policy as if they were actually in the hands of an enemy or rival, because they exist and cannot be sunk; and if we fail to make the right use of them geography will turn them against us, just as it turned them away from others and to us. The Pacific permits to us no defensive policy such as we have softened ourselves to in the Atlantic. Our coast line extends to Guam, even if we should scuttle in the Philippines. We can wiggle, and squirm, and make a wry face over paying the bill, but we can never evade ultimately the cost of adequately fortifying a naval base in the island of Guam, and in a lesser degree in the island of Tutuila, in the Archipelago of Alaska, and on Midway Island, just as we have already begun the good work in the Hawaiian Islands and at Balboa at the Pacific end of the Panama Canal,



This Map Shows the Offensive and Defensive Areas of the Pacific, with the Supply Bases That Dominate Each.

the reason being, if there were no other, to prevent their being used against us as commercial supply stations or naval bases by an enterprising rival or enemy. Besides, it will pay us to do so.

Suppose that on Jan. 1, 1916, there should be assembled off Panama, in the Pacific, a fleet to make a leisurely voyage to Manila and return by way of Honolulu, Midway, and Guam. Let us assume that this fleet consists of thirty battleships, twenty of our largest cruisers, (now mostly out of date because deficient in speed,) forty destroyers, twenty colliers, three supply ships, and the fleet repair ship Vestal. In order to state the problem of supplying this fleet

in its simplest form, the speed is ten knots, no bad weather is encountered, there are no delays from breakdowns, and the time to overhaul machinery, &c., is placed at an absurdly low figure. As the stretch from Panama to Honolulu is 4,665 miles and would necessitate towing some of the ships of lesser coal endurance, and, as touching at Magdalena Bay would only be 125 more than the direct route, this stop is made. Stopping at San Diego, Cal., instead, would have made a difference of 436 miles.

We have at Balboa a fine refueling plant and an embryo naval station, and the fleet is supposed to sail from there full of coal and fuel oil. The assum-

tion is a very liberal one that eighteen tons of coal and three and one-half tons of oil per mile will cover the fuel consumption of the battleships, cruisers, and destroyers at sea at a speed of only ten knots, and that 1,000 tons of coal and 160 tons of oil will cover their daily consumption in port. According to London Engineering, the average collier or freighter will burn one-sixth of a ton of coal per mile, (or one-eighth of a ton of oil,) and will burn about twelve tons of coal (ten tons of oil) in port per day. Our battleships carry nearly forty days' fresh provisions, and five months' dry provisions, and the three refrigerator supply ships Culgoa, Glacier, and Celtic may be emptied on reaching Guam, proceed to Sydney, Australia, (3,000 miles,) to fill up, and return to Guam to meet the fleet on its return voyage.

The following is the calculated coal consumption for the outward voyage:

	Sea miles.	Coal, tons.	Oil, tons.
Panama to Magdalena			
Bay	2,265	49,000	8,500
In port 5 days.....		5,000	800
Magdalena to Honolulu. 2,543		55,000	9,500
In port 5 days.....		5,000	800
Honolulu to Guam, via			
Midway	3,450	74,700	13,000
In port 10 days.....		10,000	1,600
Guam to Manila.....	1,542	33,500	5,800
In port 10 days.....		10,000	1,600
Total	10,000	232,200	41,600

Taking from the "Naval Pocket Book" the bunker capacities of all the ships enumerated as comprising this fleet, adding to it the carrying capacities of coal and oil of the twenty colliers, and comparing the sum with the consumptions of fuel in the foregoing table, we have:

	Coal, tons.	Oil, tons.
In bunkers	129,000	16,900
As cargo.....	120,000	38,100
Total	249,000	45,000
Consumed as per table.....	232,200	41,600
Margin	6,800	3,400

It should be stated that the two new oil carriers, Kanawha and Maumee, now ready for service, are included in the list of colliers. These two help swell the figures for oil by 18,244 tons. The mar-

gin remaining as above is uncomfortably small, and we are at once confronted with the problem of 240,000 tons of coal and 40,000 tons of oil required to get the ships back to Balboa. The bunker coal for the colliers can be gotten from Singapore or Australia, but only "Welsh" or "Pocahontas" class of coal serves for naval use. The problem, as elementary as it may seem, is extremely complicated even in time of peace. What it would be in war is another matter, but it illustrates the profoundly gratifying fact that we have wisely given our ships a large steaming radius, and, more wisely still, gone in for Government-owned colliers and supply ships, while every other navy in the world has to rely on chartering. With adequate supplies of coal and oil at Honolulu, Midway, and Guam, we may attain the desired mobility of the fleet even in war, provided we adequately fortify Guam and Midway. The cost would not exceed that of one battleship.

In time of war the high speeds required in scouting and protecting would increase enormously the demand for fuel, and the ten knots speed for the fleet shows how narrow is the margin, as it gives the very minimum, easily increased by leaps and bounds under stress of weather or war operations. It is estimated that probably 200,000 tons of coal a month would be required along this route in time of war. Two things stand out clearly in this problem, viz., the necessity for adopting the system of towing and coaling at sea, so ably and so often advocated in the meetings of this society, and the need of replacing our old colliers, supply ships and cruisers with newer, larger and faster ones. These colliers, repair and supply ships, fitted with 5-inch and 6-inch guns and officered and manned by regular officers and men, should be able to give a good account of themselves in time of danger and would not need the sheltering and shepherding that must be given to a heterogeneous lot of chartered and irresponsible craft, none too reliable under the most favorable circumstances. This leads up to the question of either purchasing additional colliers and supply

ships, or building them, as we cannot rely on chartering because we will need all the available merchant ships for other purposes, viz., our expanding foreign trade, and maintaining what we have. A purchased ship will require at least two months to overhaul and adapt her to Government requirements. During the "war with Spain" we purchased colliers having a gross tonnage of 42,500 at a cost of \$76 per gross ton. Economy and serviceability point to the entire desirability of building ships for the special service required

In supplies are included reserve ammunition, medical stores, fresh and dry provisions, clothing, equipment, fresh water, "canteen" stores, both afloat in supply ships and at the naval bases. Fuel means the ability to deliver the blow without delay. Delay means the loss of the initiative. Operations can only be based on available means, and, in modern war, you cannot plan and then assemble stores to execute the plan. After war is declared it becomes a question of supplies and weapons at the front, or else falling back on the defensive and trying to gather from every source the supplies needed even for the defensive. With fortified island bases each would become a stepping-stone to the next, and a centre from which to sally

forth, attack and harass, and to which to return for supplies, rest and overhaul. Our real coast line would become, as it were, more remote from our enemy as these obstacles in his path hindered his free movements, and, on the other hand, these island bases would have the effect of extending our coast line out into the ocean for our own forces. As sources of supply they are as valuable to the enemy as to us, unless we fortify them adequately.

All this sounds like the stock language of the rampant militarist looking for and bringing on trouble, but is simply the cold business of insurance against and avoidance of trouble through provision and provision. There is, moreover, no reason in forbidding business in foreign relations, or diplomacy in making for markets and trade opportunities. Tutuila, Midway, and the Aleutian Islands come into the question of island bases as auxiliary centres of supply and security, or as centres of scouting and offensive, not to mention commercial operations. Over and above all lies Guam in its position of unique, commanding and supreme importance, the "Key of the Pacific." On what we do there depends our future on that ocean, and as a peaceful, law-abiding and properly respected member of the community of nations.

Montenegrin Fighters

A description of Montenegrin fighting qualities is given by the special correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt with the Austrian troops. He says:

The Montenegrins themselves do not understand so much about artillery as about other arms, in the employment of which they are past masters. Their speciality is not the complicated modern war, but the partisan warfare in the mountains, the real Indian war. One hears them shouting something to one another on the bare, black mountains; then they glide down into the valley in groups of two or three, jump in their soft felt shoes from stone to stone, conceal themselves in the holes which are hidden by the evergreen bushes, and suddenly they all collect at one spot in the rear or at the flank of our patrols. Woe to these patrols if they allow themselves to be surprised! The Montenegrins give no quarter to anybody, not even to the wounded. On the other hand, it is next to impossible to capture Montenegrin soldiers. Wherever a warrior goes or stands there also is his wife, and when he falls she jumps to his side and drags him away. No dead or wounded are found after a battle.

The Uses of Adversity

By Ignatius George Kelly

Editor of The British Review

This remarkable article by the editor of *The British Review* includes a discussion of the adverse conditions under which Great Britain and her allies labor in their contest with Germany, which was originally published in that periodical.

THE most arduous period of the year is approaching, Winter, bringing to those upon the battle front hardships almost intolerable, to those at home who are elderly and infirm the fear that they may not see another Spring, and to all our minds a season which may be called, more truly than ever in history, the Winter of our discontent. All Belgium and the richest provinces of France are still firmly in the enemy's power. Attempts to dislodge him have been costly and unsuccessful. At a time when, according to our last year's prophecies, his treasury should have been depleted, his people starving, his army a skeleton, we have seen him embark upon an advance five times greater and more difficult than his attack on Paris and press it home with a speed and accuracy almost incredible. The armies of Russia roll back, and their Generals strain every nerve not to achieve a decision, but to avoid it. The counterattack upon Constantinople is at present no more than a lesson in the impotence of valor, and if the German menace from the west bears fruit we may yet see the expedition abandoned and left with no claim to greatness save the enormity of our loss and the gallantry of those who fail. Our intentions have gone awry, our expectations are withered, save for the stubborn hope that the enemy's strength must at last desert him before he becomes the master of us all or enforces at least an indecisive peace.

Looking upon the organization of their own State and the still unprepared powers of its opponents, there is no end to the ambition of a people already confident and overbearing to the pitch of insolence. They doubtless see re-enacted in themselves the antique example of Rome. They anticipate the time when

the name of German shall be more awful than ever was *civis Romanus* in provincial ears; they look to a new world of their own making and fit upon their doings the imperial utterances of Virgil's "Aeneid." Their Generals capture works of art as Mummius looted Corinth of its statuary, secure in the confidence of a civilization which was to prevail. They are bringing new blood to a spent and luxurious earth. They will make other laws and invent fresh graces for us, crowding our old beauties into the museums of antiquity. Rome itself, indeed, will be outdone, for she at least was content to leave to the Greek his softer arts wherewith, in the end, he might reconquer an empire. But Germany will deny us even that poor eminence and promises that beneath her table there shall lie no crumb that she herself has not bestowed.

It ill becomes us to sneer at this ambition without first giving thought to the refutation of it, for, superficially at least, the analogy of history is strongly founded. The days of Roman conquest were not the days of her ultimate greatness, but of crude preparation. Her civilization was for centuries a material civilization only, resting upon her disciplined troops, her fortified places, her roads, over which we can still pass safely, her bridges, aqueducts, and walls. Her cultured victims scorned her for her rudeness, but succumbed. A German historian, looking upon his country's roads and railways, her industry and plodding science, her disciplined and machinelike legions, must be pardoned if he think of Livy as his model. He may go further still and not outrun just speculation. He may cast his memory back upon the races over which Rome marched and compare them with some accuracy to those against which his own forces are

in arms; Greece the anarchical, Carthage the mercenary, Gaul the vast and disorganized, have for unfriendly eyes their counterparts in modern Europe. To the biased vision of a Heidelberg professor the scandals and revolutions of France are on a level with the perpetual upheavals which disgraced the latter years of Greek republics until the firm hand of Rome imposed stern order. The very art of both is subject to a comparison, however unjustly drawn, which should magnify the evidence of decadence. In the numerous and diverse provinces of the vast Russian Empire, linked together by a common head and otherwise only by an impalpable unity of spirit, Germany sees the hordes of northern tribes on whom at last the imperial troops branded the impress of the Roman eagle and the insignia of Latin culture. Even in peace, German merchants and engineers had all but made that empire their own.

Lastly, there is England, the greatest and most dangerous, as she thinks, of all her foes. Carthage was a merchant State, with a maritime empire; so, too, is England. Carthage relied upon her fleet; so, also, does England. Carthage had a mercenary army; so, in another sense, has England. Carthage was wealthier than Rome by as much as England is wealthier than Germany, yet Carthage fell. A Carthaginian General upon the crest of victory once sent despairing messages for munitions and men, and was refused by a supine and luxurious people; an English General asked the same to stave off defeat, and still awaits his answer. Gott strafe England! is a foolish saying; but what of old Cato's reiterated *Delenda est Carthago*? To each of her foes it must have seemed inconceivable that Rome should bear away the palm which they so long had worn, but the result of this war or, if need be, this war and those which shall succeed it will rank with Salamis and Zama in the history of men.

It is from reflections of this color that Germany takes heart and bids us think long of all these writings on the ancient walls of time. If we are wise, we shall take up the challenge. We are not justified in mocking the great preten-

sions of those who, as all the world admits, have at least in the practical sphere proved themselves a people of wonderful powers, for, though laughter is said to kill, no hollow cartoon can destroy the united wills of a determined nation. There is, to be sure, an easy opening for criticism of a negative kind to show that in her imperial wars it was usually the part of Rome to suffer defeats at the outset and only to win after long tribulation. Moreover, Rome conquered the world piecemeal, and did not ever take arms against the united powers of her day. Like England, she acquired an empire by accident. She acquired it because behind her material strength she harbored an ideal, or the germ of an ideal, which was worth more than those of her enemies; in the highest sense of the words, she was justified by the event. She hired no advocate-philosophers. But the majestic calm of her assemblies in face of destruction may have warned her opponents that this confidence reposed on something stronger than the force of arms.

Germany claims that she possesses assurance not less high. But we also, even in defeat, have never doubted that we stand to represent something greater than our own estate. We are not Carthage, nor is Russia Gaul; and France is growing greater than ancient Athens, nobler than she herself has ever been in history. To Germany's analogy of Rome we reply by the analogy of Napoleon, who believed that in the triumph of post-Revolutionary France lay the future of the world. We say that the European empire is dead because Europe herself is now alive; she is of age, let her speak for herself. She is no longer an impulsive, uncertain body, ready to fall to the will of the next autocrat who would make her his slave, but fully conscious of herself and the unity of her children who have the charge of her civilization. She cannot brook the destruction of one of her nations and remain the same; most surely she could not submit to German ideals and continue to exist at all.

It is precisely upon this point that the German argument fails, since it presumes that in all Europe there is no sound State

but Germany. If all the nations were rotten to the core, her claim might be just, though we, perhaps, were better advised to die for the ideal which we had lost than submit to her dictation. But Germany herself can now hardly say that her enemies are what she has proclaimed them. She has, indeed, disproved her own case. Her attack has roused a France and a Russia of which she never dreamed; and as for the English mercenaries at whom she still must be gibing, these despicable creatures have at least earned the compliment of her detestation. There is disloyalty and selfishness in England, and many who should be fighting are striking for halfpence, secure of their reward from an embarrassed Government. But let Germany, or, indeed, France, Russia, or Italy, ask themselves this question: Had they been islands equipped with superb fleets and subject for centuries to a complaisant Constitution, would their citizens have done more than ours? There is only one answer which can be given. The groundlings of the nations are much alike.

They are much alike, until there comes a day when they realize that their existence depends upon their superiority to the groundlings of neighboring States. Then, though not till then, the mettle of their pasture is shown, and in the crass and vulgar rabble itself there flame up the cardinal virtues of a great people. The very men who now sullenly proclaim their right to profit from our extremity or cynically ask what measure of difference in their estate can be created by allegiance to the enemy may yet lay down not their profits only, but their lives, rather than forsake a losing cause. Our honorable men are dead or facing death. But honor is the privilege of rare spirits and it does not follow that, when it has thrown its stake, there is not a residue of courage, of endurance, of sober love for home, to carry on the conflict when once the spur is driven home.

If the advisers of Germany are wise, they will know that the critical moment of their fortune has arrived when they believe that they have at last beaten England to her knees. It is a country

which rarely becomes really formidable until the moment when its power seems on the point of extinction.* For us the war is in its infancy. Our morale has not been tested. The danger which hovers so threateningly above our eastern allies is no more than a speck to the eye of those who dwell in the island peace of England. The very futility of air raids and fugitive bombardments enhances the sense of our security and appalls the citizen no more than the news that a desperate criminal is at large. It is, perhaps, a pity that Germany cannot make her terrors more effective, for it would certainly be the prelude to her downfall. Nor is it easy to understand how a people of such competence in war should first waste their energy to no purpose and then should think that their reign of terror, if it were successful, could do aught but deprive them of their best ally, the apathy of the still sleeping mob.

Hot-headed men have wished that our recalcitrant workmen might see German soldiery reveling among their homes and working their will upon the wives and children at present subject to no ill-treatment save such as flows from a husband's and a father's privilege. So drastic a remedy would have too many attendant risks. But there is yet beneath the suggestion a substantive truth which should render us less apprehensive of adversity, if it should come, since it seems that no other goad than positive ill-fortune will stimulate the great mass of the disinterested public. The British Government is apparently as ignorant of this fact as is the German, for otherwise it would certainly replace the vulgar mirth of its recruiting advertisements by sombre pictures of dying men. The proper course with English laggards is not to soothe their spirits but to depress them. And when to the groans of the professional pessimist can be added the actual sting of a genuine and palpable calamity, there is hope that some life

*"I always thought they were bad soldiers," said Soult after his defeat at Albuera, "and now I am sure of it. I had turned their flank and pierced their centre, but they did not see it and would not run!"

may stir in the prone limbs of the sufferer.

For us, therefore, the gloom of coming Winter may prove to be the Indian Summer of our strength, bringing to fruition much of the energy that now supinely watches the achievements of spirits more susceptible. In any event, the war has reached a stage at which it may be said that for the future it will be a conflict less of material than of moral forces, pitting one against the other the stubbornness and endurance of the two opponents. It has been clearly proved that certain resources are needed, and before long we may see them supplied. But more than resources is required steadfast endurance in the soldier and in the

patient men and women at home who watch the life-blood of their families drain away and contemplate the ruin of great hopes without result, who bear in silence the strain of anxious days and sleepless nights and, perhaps the heaviest of all, the dull monotony of war. They are the steel of the nation and know that they must neither bend nor break. When, therefore, Germany makes boastful analogies between herself and the Roman majesty, it is to the more enduring and less dramatic aspect of antiquity that we may liken ours, and remind her that the patience of a Fabius and the honor of a Regulus did more to found her greatness than any triumph that ever blazed upon her ancient Capitol.

Germanic Supplies From Turkey

A writer in Die Post of Berlin, while agreeing that a great deal may be expected from Asia Minor in the way of raw materials for German industries and food at some indefinite date in the future, warns his countrymen not to expect too much from the Ottoman Empire for the time being. He says:

The advantages of a clear land route, connecting the Central Empires and their friends with the Golden Horn, are quite obvious. What Turkey lacks in the way of industrial products will henceforth be supplied to her from Germany; and we shall receive from her in return as much raw material as may be required to render our economic situation easier. In this regard, however, we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by any fantasies based on what may happen in the future. Turkey, of course, is not so far removed from us as she once might have become. But we are not in a position to avail ourselves, at the present day, of anything she may be able to let us have in the future. Before our dreams of "Berlin to Bagdad" become a reality, we shall first have to await the results of a few decades of German labor and millions of German capital. Then our theory of a self-supporting economic region, closed to outsiders, stretching from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, will be translated into practice. Our successes in the Balkans are taking us no nearer to the cotton crops, worth millions of marks, which are not yet growing in Asia Minor. Let us, therefore, for the time being, keep our eyes fixed on our military battles in the Balkans. The hopes which we are founding on their successful outcome should not be allowed to distract our attention from the remaining theatres of war.

The Serbian Soldier

By Stanley Naylor

This word picture of the Serbian fighter, his patriotism, his hopes and problems, was printed in *The London Chronicle* of Oct. 19. In it Mr. Naylor tells why the Serb is called "The Irishman of the Balkans."

WHEN, a few days ago, I left Serbia after constantly traveling up and down the country over four months, I carried away with me many different impressions. Some of these impressions, it may be, are curiously confused and conflicting, for Serbia is by no means an open book to be read by all who run as soon as they reach her gates. Like the rest of her Balkan neighbors, she is to some extent a paradox—a nation of warring truths. But one impression that I early formed has remained with me so long that it is now among my ripest convictions. On one point I am proof-positive. Today there is no fighting man in the world more wonderful than the "Tommy Atkins" of Serbia.

Wonderful is a big word, but it is not too big to fit the men in the rank and file of the Serbian Army. They are wonderful, first of all, in the stoicism—one had almost said gayety!—with which they have borne the heat and burden of four years of war. They were wonderful again, when, now nearly a year ago, under superb generalship, they successfully drove over 500,000 Austrian invaders from their territories and took 62,000 of them prisoners into the bargain. And they are still more wonderful at the present moment, when, after ten months of masterly inactivity, they "stand like greyhounds in the slips straining upon the start" for—well, whatever betides!

"Don't forget that when the time comes to strike, Serbia will be ready," M. Pašićs, the veteran Prime Minister, told me proudly at Nish as far back as last May. And in view of the fact that, five months earlier, our ally had purchased her victory over the Austrians at a cost of 100,000 lives, this was certainly no mean boast. Even at that incredibly early date Serbia, after having been in

the interval ravaged by pestilence and disease and riddled by shot and shell, was once more back at her old fighting strength, with her forces completely reorganized and better equipped than ever before! Since that time, too, ammunition making has been proceeding apace. If Serbia, with her army of 400,000, was ready to strike in May, we may be quite sure she is more than ever ready to strike today.

There has been something impressive and grand in the picture of these stout-hearted men of Serbia, massed round the little nation's borders—waiting, always waiting. For several hours nearly every day during the past ten months many a Serbian "Tommy Atkins" has known what it is to stand rigidly on guard, glued like an automaton to his post, his face stolidly inscrutable, but his heart yearningly aflame to be once more up and doing. "I'm dead sick of having to wait," a private told me when I talked with him while off duty through an interpreter who, having lived in America, was able to translate very racily. "If only we could have another whack at 'em! I'm just longing for the war to end. You see, I haven't seen my wife and children for three years. My home is so far away and we have been so everlastingly fighting, or expecting to fight, that I have never had a chance to go back."

And if this has been the lot of some of Serbia's first-line soldiers still in their prime, what of those veterans of the third and fourth lines who are to be found guarding the remoter places less liable to attack? These grizzled warriors are generally cheerful. Yet, for them also, life holds more than its fair share of irony. "Of course, I'm only scrap-iron—too old for the firing line," one of them lately confessed to me. "I'm 50, and I've been in the army thirty-three

years. In Serbia, you know, we start serving at 17 and finish at 55." * * * "Then, in another five years you will be free?" I ventured encouragingly. * * * "Yes, in another five years I shall be free all right," he replied bitterly. "But please don't forget, Sir, I shall also be 55!"

But not for nothing has the Serb been called "the Irishman of the Balkans." His temperament is mercurial, and these moments of depression soon slip away. Although occasionally discouraged, he is seldom seriously downcast. Difficulties never daunt him. Instead they fire his blood. "If only we could have another whack at 'em!" That is the spirit in which he goes forth to meet and beat his foes. To him the thought that Serbia should be vanquished is simply unthinkable. For with him his country ranks as God. Patriotism, an all-consuming love of the land of his forefathers, is practically the only religion he knows and understands. Provided he holds fast to his faith in the salvation of Serbia he feels all will be well. Inevitably his enemies must go to the wall. * * * This is the firm belief of every true Serbian peasant. And maybe—who knows?—it is because perhaps he clings to it so tenaciously that he fights so valiantly and well.

"Victory is not won by shining arms, but by brave hearts," runs the Serbian "Tommy's" guiding maxim. And in his case, it is literally true. When you reflect that many of the Serbian officers contrive to cut quite a formidable dash on £70 a year, it follows that the uniforms of the men in the ranks are not exactly glittering. The only allowance they get is a very few dinars a month, together with one loaf of bread and a round of ammunition a day. And unless they are first-line soldiers they fight in their peasant dress. As a rule the peasants have only two suits of clothes—one for Winter and one for Summer. Each is firmly stitched on to him, ac-

cording to season, by a devoted wife—so firmly that, if left to himself, he pursues the line of the least resistance, and, such is his pagan taste for filth, changes his clothes only twice a year!

All honor, then, to the poverty-stricken men who fight under such terrible conditions. The homes from which many of them came seem too wretched to fight for. Yet they still go on fighting—for the unification of their beloved Serbia, for the glory of this one single idea. Their bravery in action is now a byword. But let me, at least, give one story for the truth of which that ardent Serbophile, Dr. Seton-Watson, vouches.

Before the superior forces of the enemy on one occasion a Serbian regiment had to retire. Of the men serving the machine guns all but one were killed and wounded; but this man, instead of withdrawing with his comrades, continued to work his gun with such fiendish energy that at last the advancing enemy, not realizing that he stood alone, and fearing a trap, retired in their turn. And so the situation was saved by the courage of one man. His exploit was duly reported to the General, who sent for him next day and said fiercely, "You're a terrible fellow! What's this I hear of you? They tell me it was a regular massacre. How many men did you kill?" The gunner, much perturbed, stammered out his belief that certainly well over a hundred men must have fallen victims to his machine gun.

"Well," said the General, frowning, "there's nothing for it but to make you a Corporal." "Oh, General!" exclaimed the man, who had expected some kind of punishment. "And now, Corporal —, I make you a Sergeant." "Oh, General!" gasped the man, speechless with astonishment. "And now, Sergeant —," the General went on, "I make you a Lieutenant." The new officer burst into tears. "And now," cried the General, "now embrace me!"

Important Books in Press

These informing extracts from important books that have not yet been placed in the hands of reviewers—which are actually still in press, although they will appear this month—afford the first anticipatory glimpses of the kind ever presented in an American magazine. They are intended to give readers better facilities for determining what the forthcoming books are about than can be found in the publishers' announcements. They present the same sort of information as may be gotten later by turning over the pages in a bookstall.

"The Crimes of England"

A SERIES of historical essays by Gilbert K. Chesterton on "The Crimes of England" (John Lane Company) will be preceded by a note about his use of the word "English" in which he will say:

I can assure the Scot that I say "England," not because I deny Scottish nationality, but because I affirm it. And I can say, further, that I could not here include Scots in the thesis, simply because I could not include them in the condemnation. This book is a study, not of a disease, but rather of a weakness, which has only been predominant in the predominant partner. It would not be true, for instance, to say either of Ireland or Scotland that the populace lacked a religion; but I do think that British policy as a whole has suffered from the English lack of one, with its inevitable result of plutocracy and class contempt.

The purpose of the book will be revealed in a mock dedicatory letter to the German professor headed "Some Words to Professor Whirlwind," which close as follows:

It could be easy to fence with you forever and parry every point you attempt to make, until English people began to think there was nothing wrong with England at all. But I refuse to play for safety in this way. There is a very great deal that is really wrong with England, and it ought not to be forgotten even in the full blaze of your marvelous mistakes. I cannot have my countrymen tempted to those pleasures of intellectual pride which are the result of comparing themselves with you. The deep collapse and yawning chasm of your ineptitude leaves me upon a perilous spiritual elevation. Your mistakes are matters of fact; but to enumerate them does not exhaust the truth. For instance, the learned man who rendered the phrase in an English advertisement "cut you dead"

as "hack you to death," was in error; but to say that many such advertisements are vulgar is not an error. Again, it is true that the English poor are harried and insecure, with insufficient instinct for armed revolt, though you will be wrong if you say that they are occupied literally in shooting the moon. It is true that the average Englishman is too much attracted by aristocratic society; though you will be in error if you quote dining with Duke Humphrey as an example of it. In more ways than one you forget what is meant by idiom.

I have therefore thought it advisable to provide you with a catalogue of the real crimes of England; and I have selected them on a principle which cannot fail to interest and please you. On many occasions we have been very wrong indeed. We were very wrong indeed when we took part in preventing Europe from putting a term to the impious piracies of Frederick the Great. We were very wrong indeed when we allowed the triumph over Napoleon to be soiled with the mire and blood of Blücher's sullen savages. We were very wrong indeed when we allowed the peaceful King of Denmark to be robbed in broad daylight by a brigand named Bismarck; and when we allowed the Prussian swashbucklers to enslave and silence the French provinces which they could neither govern nor persuade. We were very wrong indeed when we flung to such hungry adventurers a position so important as Heligoland. We were very wrong indeed when we praised the soulless Prussian education and copied the soulless Prussian laws. Knowing that you will mingle your tears with mine over this record of English wrongdoing, I dedicate it to you, and I remain,

Yours reverently,
G. K. CHESTERTON.

Near the close of the book Mr. Chesterton will say:

There may be, in the eyes of some,

a risk in dwelling in this dark hour on our failures in the past: I believe profoundly that the risk is all the other way. I believe that the most deadly danger to our arms today lies in any whiff of that self-praise, any flavor of that moral cowardice, any glimpse of that impudent and ultimate impenitence, that may make one Boer or Scot or Welshman or Irishman or Indian feel that he is only smoothing the path for a second Prussia. I have passed the great part of my life in criticising and condemning the existing rulers and institutions of my country: I think it is infinitely the most patriotic thing that a man can do. I have no illusions either about our past or our present. I think our whole history in Ireland has been a vulgar and ignorant hatred of the crucifix, expressed by a crucifixion. I think the South African war was a dirty work which we did under the whips of money-lenders. I think Mitchelstown was a

disgrace; I think Denshawi was a devilry.

Yet there is one part of life and history in which I would assert the absolute spotlessness of England. In one department we wear a robe of white and a halo of innocence. Long and weary as may be the records of our wickedness, in one direction we have done nothing but good. Whoever we may have wronged, we have never wronged Germany. Again and again we have dragged her from under the just vengeance of her enemies, from the holy anger of Maria Teresa, from the impatient and contemptuous common sense of Napoleon. We have kept a ring fence around the Germans while they sacked Denmark and dismembered France. And if we had served our God as we have served *their* Kings, there would not be today one remnant of them in our path, either to slander or to slay us.

"A Life of William Shakespeare"

THE biography of William Shakespeare, which Sir Sidney Lee originally published seventeen years ago, is this month to be reissued by Macmillan in a new shape. Sir Sidney says that the "whole has been drastically revised and greatly enlarged." He will say in his announcement:

Recent Shakespearean research has proved unexpectedly fruitful. My endeavor has been to present in a just perspective all the trustworthy and relevant information about Shakespeare's life and work which has become available up to the present time. My obligations to fellow-workers in the Shakespearean field are numerous, and I have done my best to acknowledge them fully in my text and notes. The new documentary evidence, which scholars have lately discovered touching the intricate stage history of Shakespeare's era, has proved of especial service, and I have also greatly benefited by the ingenious learning which has recently been brought to bear on vexed questions of Shakespearean bibliography. Much of the fresh Shakespearean knowledge which my personal researches have yielded during the past few years has already been published in various places elsewhere, and whatever in my recent publications has seemed to me of pertinence to my present scheme I have

here co-ordinated as succinctly as possible with the rest of my material. Some additional information which I derived while this volume was in course of preparation chiefly from Elizabethan and Jacobean archives at Stratford-on-Avon and from the wills at Somerset House of Shakespeare's Stratford friends, few of which appear to have been consulted before, now sees the light for the first time.* In the result I think that I may claim to have rendered an account of Shakespeare's career, which is more comprehensive, at any rate, than any which has been offered the public previously.

*My transcripts of the wills of William Combe the elder (d. 1611) and of his nephews Thomas Combe (d. 1609) and John Combe (d. 1614) have enabled me to correct the many errors which figure in all earlier accounts of Shakespeare's relations with the Combe family. Similarly the will of the Southwark tomb-maker, Garret Johnson the elder, has helped me, in conjunction with documents belonging to the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, to throw new light on the history of Shakespeare's monument in Stratford-on-Avon Church and to solve some puzzles of old standing in regard to it. With the assent of the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's birthplace I purpose depositing in their library at Stratford, for the use of students, copies of all the fresh original material which I have gathered together in the interests of this volume.

“Man—an Adaptive Mechanism”

THE book under this title, to be published by Macmillan, written by George W. Crile, M. D., whose method of preventing surgical shock in operations under anaesthesia have given him international fame, will be read with special interest by faith healers. According to Dr. Crile's theory of the evolution of the bodily functions, every adequate stimulus awakens an ancestral memory or association, and adaptive energies follow in the physical organs. Through the brain, adrenals, liver, muscles, and thyroid the transformations adapting man to his environment work as through a mechanistic chain both in health and disease. His mechanistic conceptions of disease find this illustration:

Our studies showed that inhalation anaesthesia does not prevent the transmission of traumatic [wounding] impulses from the field of operation to the brain, and that shock is the result of the combined effect of these traumatic impulses and of pre-operative fear upon the brain. We found also that as a result of shock or exhaustion from any cause, certain histologic changes occur uniformly and constantly in certain organs—notably the brain, the liver, and the adrenals, and we discovered that both the clinical and the histologic phenomena of shock could be eliminated by the prevention of pre-operative fear and by “blocking” the nerve paths from the field of operation to the brain by local anaesthesia used in addition to general anaesthesia. These facts having been established experimentally and clinically, a *Kinetic Theory of Shock* was formulated.

The theory of adaptive transformations of energy is thus suggested:

When a boy steps upon a sharp stone there is an instant discharge of energy in a motor act of self-preservation. This act is neither a conscious reaction nor one due to the boy's individual (ontogenetic) experience, but is the result of the adaptation of his progenitors, through natural selection, throughout the vast eons required to evolve the species, during which the frequent recurrence of similar mechanical injuries resulted in the implantation of a neuro-muscular mechanism, adapt-

ed to discharge automatically, at the needed moment, the required amount of energy in the form of an adaptive muscular action.

That is a normal, healthful reaction; but if the shock is too great, acute acidity of the blood, with rapid respiration, sweating, thirst, and restlessness, show the bodily reactions to pain and fear that manifest disease. Moreover:

Emotional activation—activation by worry and fear particularly—is as potent in causing excessive transformation of energy and an excessive production of acid by-products with consequent physical impairment as are any other kinetic stimuli. It is obvious, therefore, that the absence of worry and fear may aid in stopping the body-wide activations which lead to an organic breakdown. The therapeutic value of rest, of change of scene, of diversion, and the restorative powers of happiness and success and congenial surroundings are thus explained in terms of approximate physical value.

The kinetic theory of health and disease, which Dr. Crile elaborates through the book of over 200 pages, tracing the selective influences that shape the life of the human race from the dawn of history and of its members from conception to the grave, is invoked to explain the fact that many different diseases are apparently the outcome of the same cause, and the equally puzzling fact that certain diseases may be the outcome of various causes:

It suggests the manner in which continuous activation of the Kinetic System may cause Graves's disease, neurasthenia, cardio-vascular disease, diabetes, indigestion, certain forms of acidosis and Bright's disease.

In his summing up at the end, Dr. Crile says:

The effect of fear, grief, worry, and jealousy on the physical body is seen in the changes in the cells of the brain, the adrenals, and the liver; and the resultant diseases and disabilities are many. Against man's inhumanity to man, religions and philosophies have been invoked, each of which aids in proportion to its power to substitute faith for fear. Thus in understanding the physical

basis of the action of faith and hope, as opposed to fear and grief, we have at our command a concrete force which can be efficiently used to protect the individual. * * * The knowledge that these activations not only decrease the power of the individual to do his work, but ultimately cause numerous diseases as well, will result automatically in arousing the

instinct of self-preservation, which will surround the individual with a protecting circle, through which anger, jealousy, grief, and worry cannot penetrate, just as the zone of local anaesthesia in the associated surgical operation is an impenetrable barrier between the brain and the knife, making the surgical operation shockless.

"Rights and Duties of Neutrals"

THAT the laws affecting neutrality for the next century are to be "determined largely by the attitude of the United States during the present European conflict" will be the position taken under the above-named title by D. Chauncey Brewer, (Putnam's.) Mr. Brewer will observe that a neutral nation can safeguard the rights of neutrals best and automatically "with the creation of a military and naval force proportional to its needs":

Fitted in its own eyes for defense, it becomes from the belligerent's point of view a powerful medium for offense. In this nations have all the frailty and weakness of mortals. During the time that the neutral State was of no importance from a military point of view it was ignored. Now that an army and navy are features of its sovereign life it is courted and treated with consideration.

It is curious that eminent pacifists whose hopes for the future rest upon the part assigned neutral States in world councils have given this fact so little weight.

Oppenheim, the text writer on international law, is a better observer. To him (Vol. II., Page 359) the shaping up of such resources has been a most important factor in bringing about the rapid development in the laws of neutrality during the nineteenth century. If the distinguished professor is right, and ministries involved in war are careful not to offend a powerful neutral for fear of driving it into the opposite camp, the present opportunity for the United States to win lasting advantages, not only for itself as a neutral, but for all neutral States, is one that is historically without parallel.

Mr. Brewer's contention is that the laws of neutrality are abnormal, too strongly affected by the power of war-

like nations. Discussing the law of search, he says:

That rules, operative on any sea in which the belligerent man-of-war sees fit to order a neutral trading craft to haul to and submit to such a search as pleases the boarding officer or his superior, are galling in the extreme, are unreasonable and are unfair, must occur to any one. What if there be a blockade of enemy ports or the trader carry contraband? Why should the belligerent interfere with a neutral ship in waters over which God Almighty alone holds dominion, and which may be off Kamtchatka, while the feud itself affects nations in the antipodes?

The question can have no very different answer from this. In the good old days, (which seem to be with us again,) when nations pursued war as a business, it pleased combative and ruling powers that neutrals should be "cabinéd, cribbed, confined," and that their convenience, trade, and very life interests should be crumpled into such space as suited the militant States.

The protection of noncombatants on merchantmen brings up the *Lusitania* case:

No better illustration can be given as to the right and the wrong course for a neutral to pursue at a moment when basic principles are under discussion than that furnished by the resignation of Mr. Bryan from Mr. Wilson's Cabinet, June, 1915.

The question before the American people, acting not only for themselves but in the interests of the race, was—righteousness or peace—which?

Mr. Bryan said first peace, and perhaps righteousness if a court provided for along lines suggested by him so provides. The President, with clear insight into the hearts of the American people, said—righteousness first, then, let us hope, peace.

Lord Redesdale's Memoirs

MEMOIRS OF LORD REDESDALE," two volumes, (Dutton,) comprises a biographical record of many of the royalties and notabilities of the world with whom Lord Redesdale came in contact—those now living being excluded—since his entry into the British Foreign Office in 1858. He went to St. Petersburg in 1863, was appointed to Peking in 1865, was transferred to Japan in 1866, and accompanied Prince Arthur's mission to Japan in 1906. Lord Redesdale says in his preface:

Now that the midnight of life is at hand, before the last chime of the clock must ring out, I have been busying myself in writing down memories of the people who brightened its morning, its noon, and its evening. It was my fate long ago to be associated with men older, sometimes much older, than myself, and so it happens that few, indeed, of the friends of my early manhood are now left. Except where it is absolutely necessary in order to tell the rest of my tale I have not dealt with the living. To praise them might seem sycophantic, to blame them an impertinence. It would be overbold in me to write a chronicle of my own days were I not able to say with Horace:

At me cum magnis vixisse fatebitur
usque
Invidia.

My life, indeed, has been largely spent among men who in many lands have made the history of their time. The story of their public achievements is, or will be, written in the annals of their countries. The story of their private lives is often unknown to, and therefore put on one side by, their biographers. To rescue from oblivion here and there some intimate feature, some petty detail which may help to make known the real personalities of such men—perhaps to remove a wrong impression—is the humble object of this book, and it is to the shades of those who did so much for me that I offer it as a grateful tribute.

Here are some of Lord Redesdale's reminiscences of the late King Edward:

The invitations to Marlborough House and Sandringham were by no means confined to the butterflies of society. As often as not the Prince might be seen standing apart in earnest talk with some such man as Lord Granville, Lord Clarendon,

Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, Bishop Wilberforce, one of the great diplomats, Delane, Billy Russell, the famous war correspondent; Generals, Admirals, men of science. But why dwell upon this? It is well known that it was through conversation and the press that the Prince acquired that marvelous fund of information which enabled him to hold his own in any company.

His memory was phenomenal; he seemed unable to forget. The business of kingcraft is not one that it is easy to learn. It is impossible for a King to specialize in any one subject; but he must be sufficiently posted in the trades of all sorts and conditions of men to be able to discuss intelligently the subjects upon which they have to address him. This King Edward did to perfection, and we must remember that this power was not acquired all of a sudden, like a miracle conferred upon him by anointment at his coronation; it was the result of long years of patient listening and inquiry—of those same long years which his detractors would have us believe were spent to exhaustion in the pursuit of frivolous occupations and in the selfish sacrifice of duty to pleasure. No more false charge was ever brought against a man in his exalted position.

That he was the acknowledged leader in the society of which he was the darling is perfectly true. It is also true that he spared no pains to promote the pleasure of others. But however late he might stay at some entertainment or at the Marlborough Club, he was up again at earliest dawn to attend a review at Aldershot or Spithead, or take part in a ceremonial in some distant part of the country, where he would appear as gay and as pleased as if he was fulfilling the one ambition of his life. His strength was wonderful; he knew not fatigue. That was an immense help to him. Later in life he allowed himself more rest; but as a young man he seemed to be almost independent of sleep.

It has been said, cynically enough, that a King has no friends. That might be the case with a Roi Soleil who divided mankind into three categories—royal personages, white men, and black men. Our King, on the contrary, was so full of human sympathy and loving kindness for others that he won for himself an affection such as is given to few men in any position.

Planning of City Streets and Lots

DIAGNOSING the particular needs as to plan of some thirty cities and towns scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, research studies at Harvard, a European visit that included an international town planning conference in London, where the thesis of his forthcoming book on "City Planning"—with special reference to city streets and lots—was subject to international criticism; teaching of its text in college classrooms, and progress in the "fast unfolding science and eager practice of city building" constitute the five special sources of information and stimulus leading to the production of Charles Mulford Robinson's book by Putnam's. Mr. Robinson says:

As a result of all this, the original book—published in 1911 as "The Width and Arrangement of Streets," in an edition which has been since exhausted—has been so amplified, revised, and rearranged that a reader will not be impressed by the presence of the old material. Yet it is all here—though buried under the new.

As an exponent of the cause of more rational method of street platting, the book has a definite mission:

It is designed, in insistence upon the less spectacular but more efficient phases of city planning, to help in a practical way the real estate platter—be he owner, dealer, city engineer, or landscape architect.

With respect to city planning laws, Mr. Robinson says:

The section on City Planning Legislation, which is practically all new, seemed to be necessitated by the very rapid growth in the United States of that phase of the movement, and by the effectiveness of the machinery which this phase is now making available, not only for carrying out the city plan but for insuring better plans. When "The Width and Arrangement of Streets" was published, only four years ago, very little could be said on the subject of legislation. Laws on the subject have now so multiplied that their discussion here cannot be exhaustive. Yet it is believed that the section touches upon the most essential and suggestive of those measures which are a product of the present town planning movement.

The book is to have copious illustrations with such suggestive captions as these: "Unsympathetic Plan of a Domestic Street"; "A German Type of Handsome Street"; "Sacrificing Comfort and Beauty for Width"; "Extra Space for Unused Road Leaves Little Space for Much Used Garden"; "An Inside Park in High-Class Residence Property"; "How Footpath Entrances May Be Marked," and many views of traffic areas, streets, and highways in foreign and American cities.

American Imperialism

THE American people should learn from history that the United States has not been a white dove among political hawks, Jennings C. Wise will contend in his book "Empire and Armament: The Evolution of American Imperialism and the Problem of National Defense," (Putnam's.) Dr. Wise, late Professor of Political Science and International Law in the Virginia Military Institute, says:

If I were asked to state what I believed to be the most practical method of procedure for American

pacifists, I should unhesitatingly answer, the honest writing of history for the rising generation. It may be patriotism to present the history of one's country in the best possible light, but, in the United States, we have gone beyond patriotism by actually misrepresenting the facts to our own advantage. It is just that kind of mistaken patriotism which tends to convince the American people that they have always been peculiarly just and pacific, and that fosters among them the growth and continuance of a spirit of intolerance and aggression.

Professor Wise will try to give an un-

varnished picture of American imperialism, with the intent to show that the average American is not yet "too proud to fight":

In this study of the evolution of American imperialism, it has been sought to disclose the political doctrines which gradually, step by step, led to an aggressive national expansion, and to show that between imperialism, with all its dangers, and militarism there exists no essential connection. It has been attempted, without cynicism, to stress the fact that the American people have deluded themselves into believing that, because they were not militaristic, they were not aggressive or militant in their dealings as a nation with the world.

American imperialism in all its aggressiveness I have shown to have been based on a doctrine which has long been held up as a peaceful influence, a fact which is thoroughly in accord with the anomaly of American national character; for the Monroe Doctrine, as shown by the history of its pronouncement, was nothing more nor less than an aggressive measure adroitly veiled in words of a pacific sound.

It is not in a cynical spirit, nor through lack of patriotism, that I have endeavored to picture Americans as others see us, but in the sincere conviction that an appreciation of the defects of our national character may aid us in overcoming those defects.

Philosophy of Painting

THE Philosophy of Painting," by Dr. Ralcy Husted Bell, (G. P. Putnam's Sons,) which will appear this month, is "a study of the development of art from pre-historic to modern times." The author will explain in his preface that his purposes in writing the book were:

First, to sketch the course and progress of the art in an easy perspective; second, to assemble some scattered material which is interesting and convenient to have in small compass; third, to give some results of his own reasoning, and playfully, as it were, to fly the kite of speculation from more or less solid ground; fourth, to hit some absurdities which have long been shameless bores; fifth, to correlate some relationships which reveal a tendency strong enough to be called a spirit; and, sixth, to suggest some theories which may be proved or disproved by more competent students.

In the course of his discussion he will give the following definition of the art of painting:

The development of painting as an art appears to be of an order rigidly logical and climactic to a degree equaled only in mathematics. A representation of the relations of the first two dimensions proceeds primarily from accuracy of position and contour on a plane surface; then it passes through subtle processes involving emphasis until it extends to action or character. A representation of the third dimension brings

into play delicate problems of illusion which vastly complicate the process. The expedients of linear and aerial perspective become necessary. Following the third comes one which may be called the aesthetic dimension. If this is not mastered, then the mastery of the three primary dimensions is only tentatively artistic in that it is barren of the ideals of art, although it may be rich in mechanical grace and attractive in its geometric perfection.

Having assumed, for convenience of discourse, other than the three primary dimensions as necessary to the art of painting, it may be permissible to postulate emotional and purely intellectual dimensions. What seems to be overlapping, interweaving and blending of relations between all these different dimensions, possible to the technic of painting, is really a climactic order, which in time may be reduced to a formula and denoted with symbols similarly to the writing of mathematical formulae.

When the forms and colors of a painting bear to one another ordered relationships, an aesthetic element enters into the arrangement. When the arrangement is so ordered that the forms and colors combine into a whole while yet remaining distinct and in contrast, an added value is given to the pattern which usually enables it to address the emotion.

Mere resemblance is not regarded as art, or, at least, when it is so regarded it is classified under the

most prosaic and monotonous forms of art. The paradoxical aspect of the matter is that intensified resemblance—the very essence of resemblance—is the most vital element in the higher and more poetic forms of painting. That is to say, resemblance must be intensified with accent and emphasis in order to express character and to reveal what is ordinarily called soul.

The potential beauty of arrangement and pattern for pictorial composition everywhere existent is the source from which artistic inspiration is drawn. And the sole means

of drawing this inspiration is through the emotional and intellectual powers of the mind. The artistic representations of space, and the filling of it with the harmonious relationships of color and form, of lines, masses, and tones, supported by arrangement, unified by pattern, and convincing in a resemblance which has been intensified by emphasis, all depend upon the mind, which must be able to see adequately, to feel sympathetically, and to execute efficiently. That is the art of painting in a nutshell—and without it painting is no art.

Revolution in Principles of Health

HIBBERT WINSLOW HILL, Professor of Public Health in Western University, will say in his book on "The New Public Health," (Macmillan,) that the conceptions of health, public and private, held by our ancestors, and, until very lately, by ourselves, "have undergone gradual revision, not to say revolution, in the last twenty years; changing most radically, perhaps, in the last ten." Contrasting old principles with new, Professor Hill will say:

The statement that there is a "New Public Health" may shock those who, although familiar with recent changes in scientific thought, yet have not fully realized what those changes mean; but the shock will be far greater to those who have not appreciated that changes were going on. * * *

The old principles have merged gradually into the new, in keeping with the experiments, observations, and conclusions of many investigators in many individual sciences related to general public health. Within professional public health circles, bacteriology, clinical observation, and mathematics have furnished most of the reconstruction. The bacteriologist, the epidemiologist, and the vital statistician, sometimes working together, more often alone, in the dark and even at cross purposes, have nevertheless all reached the same point, and today each finds his co-workers beside him. Much of the work done has consisted in clearing away the fallacies built up by tradition, but construction work has gone on also, and it is now possible to formulate the results.

The essential change is this: The

old public health was concerned with the environment; the new is concerned with the individual. The old sought the sources of infectious disease in the surroundings of man; the new finds them in man himself.

The old public health sought these sources in the air, in the water, in the earth, in the climate and topography of localities, in the temperature of soils at four and six feet deep, in the rise and fall of ground-waters; it failed because it sought them, very painstakingly and exhaustively, it is true, in every place and in every thing *where they were not*.

The new public health seeks these sources—and finds them—among those infective persons (or animals) whose excreta or other constituents or body contents enter the bodies of other persons.

The old public health failed to find the sources of infection; it also failed in most instances to find the routes of transmission. It is true that public water supplies were detected as at times transmitting infection; but milk was hardly suspected twenty years ago; flies, (and other insects,) suggested in 1887, were not seriously considered until the Spanish-American war; mouth-spray and hands have been only recently recognized as important. On the other hand, dirty clothes, bad smells, damp cellars, leaky plumbing, dust, foul air, rank vegetation, swamps, stagnant pools, certain soils, smoke, garbage, manure, dead animals, in fact, everything physically, sensorially, aesthetically, or psychically objectionable, were lumped together as "insanitary" without much distinction of "source" or "route," and were regarded as a sort of general "cause

of disease" to be condemned wherever found, "for fear of epidemics."

It was taught that infectious diseases "generated" in the foul, ill-smelling, unventilated, sunless hovels of the slums. In the vogue of those days, "the slum-dwellers live like pigs, and thereby invoke the coming of smallpox, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, diphtheria." When these diseases invaded the home of the well-to-do, where this explanation was not seemly, a pin-hole leak in some plumbing fixture accounted amply for diphtheria; rotten potatoes, forgotten in a dark corner of the cellar, for typhoid

fever; scarlet fever was traced to a letter bearing "scales" from a friend who had the disease months before; smallpox to unpacking books used by a patient a quarter of a century previously; manure piles gave rise to cholera; and dampness to malaria, which was not recognized as transmissible at all. Yellow fever originated in impure water and was directly transmitted from person to person—a typical example of intense direct contagion; tuberculosis was noninfectious and hereditary; bubonic plague was banished from the Egyptian Cairo "simply by improving the ventilation of the city" (!)

"Keeping Physically Fit"

WILLIAM J. CRAINE, Instructor in Physical Education in the University of Pennsylvania, will say in the book, "Keeping Physically Fit," (Macmillan):

Would you, Mr. Busy Business or Professional Man, believe that you can gain and maintain physical efficiency by devoting but eight of the 1,440 minutes of each day to simple common-sense physical exercise? Well, whether you believe it or not, I shall go on record for making such a claim. If you will meet me half way by following the instructions contained in this article, I shall by your own verdict at the end of one month prove my assertion.

Who Needs Exercise?

Every one, from the strongest athlete down to the bedridden invalid, needs a certain amount of muscular exercise. If one can do no more than practice deep breathing, then he should do so in order to assist nature in regaining his health and strength. The man who needs physical training most is he whom I addressed in opening this article, he who in his daily vocation performs much mental work, uses the mental machine almost to the exclusion of the muscular—who should aim to secure a little muscular exercise every day. He who teaches in school, he who works in the bank, the office, or leans all day over the drawing board, will surely deteriorate physically and mentally if exercise is neglected persistently. One who keeps a high pressure of steam in his mental boiler and who fails to provide a

safety valve in the form of exercise is in constant danger of becoming a victim of nervous prostration, sleeplessness, indigestion, anaemia. He sees the world through blue glasses, contracts colds more frequently, and, on account of the faulty elimination of impurities which accumulate in the system, rheumatism and other ailments become manifest. On account of vitiated air in the office the busy brain-worker is more subject to constitutional disease, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia, than the outdoor worker, and he needs exercise in order to combat the tendency and danger of these diseases. The man working in the mill, the shop, or the factory gets muscular exercise; but, as it is usually confined to a certain group of muscles, and often performed in a cramped, unnatural position, he consequently needs physical training in order to strengthen and develop parts and to correct poor posture.

In his preface Mr. Craine will say:

In 1909 The Saturday Evening Post published an article on "Fifteen Minutes Daily Invested for Health," and in 1911 The Outlook printed a paper "Investing for Health."

The commendatory letters, together with those seeking advice and additional information, as a result of these two manuscripts, from all parts of the United States and many foreign countries, has impelled me to write a series of articles on "Common-sense Exercise for Every Member of the Household." These, together with an article on physical fitness, were written and published in The Outlook. The chapter on "Deep

Breathing" was published in *Life and Health*.

After the publication of these papers they were extensively en-

larged and revised and are now included in this volume in order that they may have a wider circulation and more permanent form.

Holders of Railroad Securities

THE full title of this forthcoming book by Louis Heft of the New York Bar (Dutton) is descriptive of its contents: "Holders of Railroad Bonds and Notes: Their Rights and Remedies: Treating Particularly of the Receivership and the Reorganization of the Road, of the Foreclosure of the Mortgage, and of the other Proceedings to Realize on the Security." In discussing the values of a railroad security Mr. Heft will say:

Generally speaking, a railroad security may be said to have three values. It has a market value, the price at which it can be bought and sold (probably) in the market. It has an intrinsic value, depending upon the solvency of the issuing company and the property or security behind it. It has a legal value, founded upon the rights and remedies its ownership confers to enforce its payment, and which entitles it by reason of its legal lien or standing to be paid out of certain property of the road or out of all its property, as the case may be, before other creditors or other classes of creditors receive anything.

Of the third value, this passage indicates the scope of the book:

The legal value of a railroad security is the foundation of both its market and intrinsic values. For its legal rank as a security, its rights to priority in payment over the other indebtednesses of the company, its form and negotiability, and such special rights and privileges that may be peculiar to that issue, affect its market value and enter materially into a consideration of its intrinsic value.

While the railroad company is paying interest regularly, and there is no apparent reason for concern, the legal rights and remedies that the security may carry with it are not given much thought. Then the price at which it may be bought or sold, and the ready market that it may have, are alone considered. But when the railroad company falls into insolvency then the safety of the security is thought of. And in the usual struggle among its creditors over its assets, those rights that enable the holders of its securities to obtain payment in full in preference to or priority over other creditors, or other classes of creditors, become of prime importance. It is this that constitutes the legal value of a railroad security, and upon which its market and intrinsic values depend.

"The American College"

HENRY HOLT & CO. will issue this month a volume on "The American College," comprising papers read by college Presidents and Directors at the centenary celebration of Allegheny College. President William H. Crawford of that institution will say in the introduction:

One of the noticeable and significant things about the conference was the strength and virility of the utterances. There was no attempt to cover up. On the contrary, there was a straightforward and open facing

of the facts, with an appeal almost prophetic for the things which make for life and character. Here is a sample from the paper of President Meiklejohn: "So far as we can bring it about the young people of our generation shall know themselves, shall know their fellows, shall think their way into the common life of their people, and by their thought shall illumine and direct it. If we are not pledged to that, then we have deserted the old standard; we are apostates from the faith. * * * We pledge ourselves to a study of the universal things in human life, the

things that make us men as well as ministers and tradesmen. We pledge ourselves forever to a study of human living in order that living may be better done. We have not yet forgotten that fundamentally the proper study of mankind is Man." A fitting paragraph to put alongside this is from the closing part of President Finley's paper: "If this multiple college is to be merely or chiefly a place of *discipline*, then its tasks might better be given over to the high schools, to the *gymnasias*. If it is to be a place of special preparation for life, then it would better give way to the professional, the technical school, the university. If it is to be a place merely through which to attain, in an agreeable way, social position and conventional culture, to take part in contests of bodily strength and skill, or to enjoy only the companionships and friendship of living, (that is, if it is to be a great college, country or city,

club,) it is perhaps hardly worth preserving as an American institution. But if it is to be *for the many*, (what it has been, thank God, *for the few*,) if it is to be *for all the fit*, a place of understanding, of rebirth, of entering the race mind, then is the college which I see in prospect the most precious of all our educational possessions."

The above quotations are included in this introduction with a twofold purpose: First, to indicate the general scope and spirit of the papers presented; and, second, to whet the appetite of the reader for what follows. If the atmosphere which pervaded the conference shall pervade, even in some small measure, the printed page, it is confidently believed that this volume will be regarded as a real and valuable contribution to the literature of the American college.

Ellen Glasgow's Next Novel

LIFE AND GABRIELLA," by Ellen Glasgow, (Doubleday, Page & Co.,) will lay its scene in Richmond, Va., and in New York. It deals with the life and vicissitudes of the daughter of a Southern family.

In the middle nineties, before social life in Richmond became both complicated and expensive, it was still possible for a girl in Gabriella's position—provided, of course, she came of "good family"—to sew all day over the plain sewing of her relatives, and in the evening to reign as the acknowledged belle of a ball. "Society," it is true, did not reach any longer, except in the historic sense, to Hill Street; but the inhabitants of Hill Street, if they were young and energetic, not infrequently made triumphant excursions into "society." Though Gabriella was poor and sewed for a living, she had been, from the day she left school, one of the most popular girls in town. To be sure, she was neither so pretty as Florrie Spencer nor so clever as Julia Caperton, but, in the words of Julia's brother Algernon, she was "the sort you could count on." Even in her childhood it had become the habit of those about her to count on Gabriella Mary. Without Gabriella Mary, her mother was fond of saying, it would have been

impossible to keep a roof over their heads. * * *

Darting past her in a flash, he bounded gaily up the staircase, while Gabriella stood facing O'Hara, who had risen and thrown his cigar away at her entrance. * * *

"Mr. O'Hara," she began firmly, with her hand still on the door, "I wish you would not take my son away from me."

He did not lower his gaze, and she saw, after an instant in which he appeared merely surprised, a look of sincere amusement, of smiling tolerance, creep into his expressive eyes. Within four walls, in his light Summer clothes, with the gauzy drift of tobacco smoke over his head, he looked larger and more irrepressibly energetic than he had done out of doors. * * * At this he laughed outright, with a boyish zest which dispelled the oppressive formality of her manner. He was completely at his ease again, and while he ran his hand impatiently through his hair, he answered frankly:

"Well, you see, when it comes to that, I didn't take any sudden fancy, as you call it—I didn't take any fancy at all—it was the other way about. The boy is a nice boy, a bully good boy, anybody can see that—and I like boys, that's all. When he began trotting round after me, we got

to be chums in a way, but it would have been the same with any other boy who had come to the house—especially," he added with a clean blow

given straight from the shoulder, "if he'd been a decent chap that a parcel of women were making into a muff."

Joseph Conrad's New Book

WITHIN THE TIDES," by Joseph Conrad, (Doubleday, Page & Co.,) consists of four short stories, whose titles are "The Planter of Malata," "The Partner," "The Inn of the Two Witches," and "Because of the Dollars." "The Planter of Malata," from which the following extracts are taken, fills nearly half the volume. Its action takes place in an English colonial city in the Southern Hemisphere and on a near-by small island where a man who had formerly been a famous explorer has started a silk plantation. Thither come from London a famous philosopher and his daughter searching for her one-time fiancé who had dropped out of knowledge.

They had been feasting a poet from the bush, the latest discovery of the Editor. Such discoveries were the business, the vocation, the pride and delight of the only apostle of letters in the hemisphere, the solitary patron of culture, the Slave of the Lamp—as he subscribed himself at the bottom of the weekly literary page of his paper. He had had no difficulty in persuading the virtuous Willie (who had festive instincts) to help in the good work, and now they had left the poet lying asleep on the hearthrug of the editorial room and had rushed wildly to the Dunster mansion. The Editor had another discovery to announce. Swaying a little where he stood, he opened his mouth very wide to shout the one word "Found!" Behind him Willie flung both his hands above his head and let them fall dramatically. Renouard saw the four white-headed people at the end of the terrace rise all together from their chairs with an effect of sudden panic.

"I tell you—he—is—found," the patron of letters shouted emphatically.

"What is this!" exclaimed Renouard in a choked voice. Miss Moorsom seized his wrist suddenly, and at

that contact fire ran through all his veins, a hot stillness descended upon him in which he heard the blood—or the fire—beating in his ears. * * * "He's the very man we want," continued the Editor. "Excuse my excitement. You are the very man, Renouard. Didn't you tell me your assistant called himself Walter? Yes? Thought so. But here's that old woman—the butler's wife—listen to this. She writes: All I can tell you is that my poor husband directed his letters to the name of H. Walter."

* * * * *

Near by the topmost pinnacle of Malata, resembling the top of a buried tower, rose a rock, weather-worn, gray, weary of watching the monotonous centuries of the Pacific. Renouard leaned his shoulders against it. Felicia Moorsom faced him suddenly, her splendid black eyes full on his face as though she had made up her mind at last to destroy his wits once and for all. Dazzled, he lowered his eyelids slowly.

"Mr. Renouard! There is something strange in all this. Tell me where he is?"

He answered deliberately:

"On the other side of this rock. I buried him there myself."

She pressed her hands to her breast, struggled for her breath for a moment. * * *

Her vengeful aspect, her poignant cries left him as unmoved as the weary rock against which he leaned. He only raised his eyelids to look at her and lowered them slowly. Nothing more. It silenced her. And, as if ashamed, she made a gesture with her hand, putting away from her that thought. He spoke, quietly ironic at first.

"Ha! the legendary Renouard of sensitive idiots—the ruthless adventurer—the ogre with a future. That was a parrot cry, Miss Moorsom. I don't think that the greatest fool of them all ever dared to hint such a stupid thing of me that I killed men for nothing."

Margaret Turnbull's "Handle With Care"

HANDLE WITH CARE," by Margaret Turnbull, (Harper,) will tell the story of a young woman who is assistant to a physician in a psychological laboratory devoted to the treatment of nervous diseases and consequent moral and mental ailments, and of their experiment upon a young man whom they hope to rescue from wild ways. The action takes place in New York and New Jersey.

"I shall not know any one here," Janet thought to herself. "I'll have my books, my work, and my kind neighbors, and that will be enough. I'll rest and get back my strength, and meantime—I shall know nobody."

Of course, this was an impossibility, and so Janet speedily found. She might retire into her shell as much as she liked, but Covered Bridge meant to know her and all about her, and Covered Bridge, like all other human institutions, was stronger than the individual.

So while Janet taught herself to cook, (she had only experimented before and for "fun," and "fun") had generally meant "fudge,") worked a little, and rested a lot, read and walked. Covered Bridge was watching keenly and making notes.

On the whole the verdict was favorable. Janet was well spoken of and well liked by that part of Covered Bridge with whom she bought and sold.

"She keeps herself to herself," was the general verdict, "but she

ain't so proud, and she ain't as queer as them artists generally. She don't spend much, being a lone woman, but what she buys she pays for, and living where she does Mis' Embury 'll look after her." * * *

Janet had paused irresolutely on the threshold. Now that she felt his steady, contemptuous look of enmity, she came resolutely forward and stood opposite him. "I know it. Yet I came."

"Why?" thundered Steve.

"To keep you from breaking your word," said Janet. "I could stand—anything—but that. So I came, and, if you want it—I have the key."

She could hear both Herman and his mother at the door huddled together, draw their breath in terror, but she neither moved nor flinched, keeping her eyes fastened on Steve, while through her slender body ran shivers of deadly fear.

"I said I would ask for it when I wanted it."

"I know," the girl replied, steadily, "but I judged from what I was told that you weren't in a state to come for it, so I came that you might not sink too low and break your word as well as—"

"Drink," finished Steve.

And now there was a long silence, in which they eyed each other keenly, like deadly enemies; and in that silence Mother Dietz pushed her big son over the door-sill, and followed herself, softly closing the door behind her, and, still holding the door-knob, crouched in the dim passageway, ready to fly in at a word from Janet. * * *

A Novel by Rupert Hughes

CLIPPED WINGS," by Rupert Hughes, (Harper,) will deal with the complications which life brings to the modern woman who wishes to follow her individual career and at the same time does not wish to give up her career as woman and wife. The heroine is an actress who loves and marries, to find that her husband resents and is jealous of her life on the stage.

It was Sheila Kemble's destiny to pass like a magnet through a world largely composed of iron filings,

though it was her destiny also to meet a number of silver churns on whom her powers exerted no drag whatever. Her father had been greatly troubled by her growth through the various stages of her personality. He had noted with pain that she had a company smile that was not the smile that illumined her face when she was simply happy. He had begun a course of education. He kept taking her down a peg or two, mimicking her, satirizing her. Her mother protested.

"Let the child alone. It will wear off. She has to go through it, but

she'll molt and take on a new set of feathers in due time."

"She's got to," Kemble groaned. "I'd rather have her deformed than affected. If she's going to be conscious of something, let her be conscious of her faults." * * *

All this time Bert Winfield had grown angrier and angrier. Bear-baiting was one thing; but dove-baiting was too cowardly even for mob action, too unfair even for a night of sports, unpardonable even in Freshmen. He was thrilled with a chivalrous impulse to rush to the defense of Sheila, whose angry beauty had inflamed him further.

* * * Fellow seniors in the box caught at his coattails, but he wrenched loose and, putting a foot over the rail, stepped to the apron of the stage. In his struggle he lost his eyeglasses. They fell into the foot-light trough, and he was nearly blind.

Sheila, who stood close at hand, recoiled in panic at the sight of this unheard-of intrusion. The rampart of the footlights had always stood as a barrier between Sheila and the audience, an impassable parapet. Tonight she saw it over-passed, and she watched the invader with much the same horror that a nun would experience at seeing a soldier enter a convent window.

Winfield advanced with hesitant valor and frowned fiercely at the dazzling glare that beat upward from the footlights.

He was recognized at once as the famous stroke-oar of the crew that had defeated the historic rivals of Grantham University. He was hailed with tempest. * * * From the wings the big actor who had played the taxicab driver dashed forward with a roar of anger and let drive at Winfield's face. Winfield heard the onset, turned, and saw the fist coming. There was no time to explain his chivalric motive. He ducked his head and escaped the fist, but the actor's impetus caught him off his balance and hustled him on backward till one foot slid down among the footlights. Three electric bulbs were smashed as he went overboard into the orchestra.

He almost broke the backs of two unprepared viola players, but they eased his fall. He caromed off their shoulder blades into the multifarious instruments of the "man in the tin shop." One of his feet burst the bass drum with a mighty plop; the other sent a cymbal clanging. His clutching hands set up a riot of "effects," and he lay on the floor in a ruin of orchestral noises and a tornado of din from the audience.

Jack London's Novel

THE LITTLE LADY OF THE BIG HOUSE," by Jack London, (Macmillan,) with all its action taking place upon a huge ranch in California, contains many realistic pictures of scenes and activities upon the ranch. The master of the estate is a capable, energetic man of middle age, and his wife is a charming woman whose heart gets entangled in love for another man. The story develops the situation and pictures the efforts of husband and wife to solve the problem.

Laughter lurked in the mouth corners and eye corners, and there were cheek lines about the mouth that would seem to have been formed by laughter. Equally strong, however, every line of the face that meant blended things carried a notice of surety. Dick Forrest was sure—sure, when his hand reached out for any object on his desk, that the

hand would straightly attain the object without a fumble or a miss of a fraction of an inch; sure, when his brain leaped the high places of the hog cholera text, that it was not missing a point; sure, from his balanced body in the revolving desk chair to the balanced back-head of him; sure, in heart and brain, of life and work, of all he possessed, and of himself.

He had reason to be sure. Body, brain, and career were long proved sure. A rich man's son, he had not played ducks and drakes with his father's money. City born and reared, he had gone back to the land and made such a success as to put his name on the lips of breeders wherever breeders met and talked. He was the owner, without incumbrance, of 250,000 acres of land—land that varied in value from \$1,000 an acre to \$100, that varied from \$100 to 10 cents an acre, and that, in stretches, was not worth a

penny an acre. The improvements on that quarter of a million acres, from drain-tiled meadows to dredge-drained tule swamps, from good roads to developed water rights, from farm buildings to the Big House itself, constituted a sum gaspingly ungraspable to the countryside.

* * * * *

"Can't you understand?" she asked. "That I don't understand? You see, I am a woman. I have never sown any wild oats. And now that all this has happened, I don't know what to make of it. Shaw and the rest must be right. Women are hunting animals. You are both big game. I can't help it. It is a challenge to me. And I find I am a puzzle to myself. All my concepts have been toppled over by my conduct. I want you. I want Evan. I want both of you. It is not amorous adventure, oh, believe me. And if by any chance it is, and I do not know it—no, it isn't, I know it isn't."

"Then it is love."

"But I do love you, Red Cloud."

"And you say you love him. You can't love both of us."

"But I can. I do. I do love both of you. Oh, I am straight. I shall be straight. I must work this out. I thought you might help me. That is why I came to you this morning. There must be some solution."

She looked at him appealingly as he answered, "It is one or the other, Evan or me. I cannot imagine any other solution."

"That's what he says. But I can't bring myself to it. He was for coming straight to you. I would not permit him. He has wanted to go, but I held him here, hard as it was on both of you, in order to have you together, to compare you two, to weigh you in my heart. And I get nowhere. I want you both. I can't give either of you up."

"Unfortunately, as you see," Dick began, a slight twinkle in his eyes, "while you may be polyandrously inclined, we stupid male men cannot reconcile ourselves to such a situation."

Novel by Richard A. Maher

THE SHEPHERD OF THE NORTH,"

by Richard A. Maher, (Macmillan,) will lay its scenes mainly in the Adirondack Mountains, and will appeal especially to those of the Roman Catholic religion. The "Shepherd of the North" is a Catholic Bishop and the story is concerned with his interest in two young people of that region and in the affairs of the community.

At the head of the couch knelt a young girl, her arm supporting the man's head and shoulder, her wildly tossed hair falling down across his chest.

She was speaking to the man in a voice low and even, but so tense that her whole slim body seemed to vibrate with every word. It was as though her very soul came to the portals of her lips and shouted its message to the man. The power of her voice, the breathless, compelling strength of her soul need seemed to hold everything between heaven and earth, as she pleaded to the man. The Bishop stood spellbound.

"Come back, Daddy Tom! Come back, My Father!" she was saying over and over. "Come back, come back, Daddy Tom! It's not true! God doesn't want you. He doesn't

want to take you from Ruth! How could He! It's not never true! A tree couldn't kill my Daddy Tom! Never, never! Why, he's felled whole slopes of trees! Come back, Daddy Tom! Come back!"

For a time which he could not measure the Bishop stood listening to the pleading of the girl's voice. But in reality he was not listening to the sound. The girl was not merely speaking. She was fighting bitterly with death. She was calling all the forces of love and life to aid her in her struggle. She was following the soul of her loved one down to the very door of death. She would pull him back out of the very clutches of the unknown. * * *

Suddenly the fire from below ceased. Those who had been watching the most distant of the two wings creeping around them saw these men halt and slowly begin to gather back together. What was it? Were they going to rush at last? Here would be a fight in earnest!

But the soldiers, still keeping their spread formation, merely walked back in their tracks until they were entirely out of range. It must be a ruse of some sort. The hill men stuck to their shelter, puzzled, but determined not to be drawn out.

Jeffrey Whiting, watching near the

middle of the line, saw an old man walking, barehead, up over the lines of half-burned ties and twisted rails. That white head with the high, wide brow, the slightly stooping, spare shoulders, the long swinging walk—that was the Bishop of Alden!

Jeffrey Whiting dropped his gun and, yelling to the men on either side to stay where they were, jumped down into the roadbed and ran to meet the Bishop.

"Are any men killed?" the Bishop asked before Jeffrey had time to speak as they met.

"Old Erskine Beasley was shot through the chest—we don't know how bad it is," said Jeffrey, stopping short. "Ten other men are wounded. I don't think any of them are bad."

"Call in your men," said the Bishop briefly. "The soldiers are going back." * * *

Additional Forthcoming Books

Marie Van Vorst's "War Letters of an American Woman" is to be issued this month by the John Lane Company. They are letters addressed to personal friends, chiefly from London and Paris, and descriptive of the changed life of the British and French Nations since the war began. They are inscribed to Comte Henry Dadvisard, who fell on one of the battlefields of France.

* * *

Little essays and dialogues adumbrating the great war, by Anatole France, (John Lane,) are to be published in translation by Alfred Allinson, together with the original French text, under the collective title of "The Path of Glory."

* * *

"Germany of Today," by George Stuart Fullerton, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, is the result of "ten months' close observation of war conditions and over thirty years' familiarity with the nation." The author claims to have maintained the "critical eye of the outsider." It is to come from the Bobbs-Merrill press.

* * *

John Macy's treatment of "Socialism in America" is to appear this month in the American Books Series of Doubleday. The book will be an "informal sketch of the Socialist movement intended for

readers who know little about the subject," and is "not a come-to-Socialism tract designed to convert non-Socialists."

* * *

Modern efficiency methods will be analyzed and applied in "The Creation of Wealth," (Bobbs-Merrill,) by J. H. Lockwood.

* * *

"Principles of Labor Legislation," by Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin and John B. Andrews of the International Association for Labor Legislation and the International Association on Unemployment, is to be issued this month by Harper's.

* * *

Macmillan will publish this month W. B. Munro's "Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration," which covers all sides of city planning and government.

* * *

G. P. Putnam's Sons has in press "West Point in Our Next War," by Maxwell Van Zandt Woodhull, A. M., late Lieutenant Colonel and Assistant Adjutant General, Fifteenth Army Corps and Army of the Tennessee, and Brevet Brigadier General of the United States Volunteers. It aims to set forth the "only way to create and to maintain an army."



QUERIES AND ANSWERS OF THE MONTH

AUTOMOBILES

C. N. S.—Will you please tell me when the automobile was first introduced as an article of commerce in this country? And from where did it come? I understand that our manufacturers were not the first.

THE most important early labors on the motor vehicle were those of an Englishman, Walter Hancock, who worked from 1824 to 1836 on experiments to develop steam vehicles. With the disappearance of these in 1836 the continued effort of developing the automobile practically ceased until 1884, although what may be called a "second period" of development came about 1860. The modern period began in 1884 with Gottlieb Daimler's gas engine; other important steps were those taken by Carl Benz in 1886 and M. Leon Serpollet in 1889.

A NOTED EXPLORER

A. J. O.—Kindly give me some information concerning Captain Robert Bartlett, the explorer, including who he is and where he lives in this country.

ROBERT A. BARTLETT was born at Brigus, Newfoundland, Aug. 15, 1875, the son of William James and Mary J. Leamon Bartlett. He was educated at the Brigus High School and the Methodist College at St. John's, Newfoundland. He passed the examination for "Master of British Ships" in Halifax in 1905. His explorations began when he wintered with Robert E. Peary at Cape d'Urville, Kane Basin, 1897-8. He was on a hunting expedition in the Hudson Strait and Bay, 1901; was Captain of a sealer off the Newfoundland coast, 1901-5; commanded the *Roosevelt* in 1905, and took part in Peary's expedition to the pole, reaching the eighty-eighth parallel; he commanded a ship on a private hunting expedition to Kane Basin in 1910. He has been awarded the Hubbard Gold Medal of the National Geographic So-

ciety, 1909; the Hudson-Fulton Silver Medal, 1909; the silver medal of the English Geographical Society, 1910; the Kane Medal of the Philadelphia Geographical Society, 1910, and the silver medal of the Italian Geographical Society, 1910. His home is at Brigus, Newfoundland, but he is a member of the City Club of Boston.

THEOSOPHY

G. S. A.—Will you kindly tell me a little about Mme. Blavatsky, Annie Besant, and theosophy?

WHAT is called theosophy at present is a modern growth, but it claims elements which have long been known in various religious cults and beliefs, in Buddhism, Brahmanism, Pythagoreanism, the Greek mysteries, the Isis worship of the Roman Empire, and the Eclectic philosophies which sprang up about the Christian Era in Egypt, Syria, Greece, and Rome, and particularly in Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. Mme. H. P. Blavatsky was the founder of what we know as theosophy; she had traveled to Russia, penetrated beyond the borders of Tibet, and claimed to have received "adept" instructions in India. She came to New York in 1873, and in 1875 founded, together with Colonel H. S. Olcott and W. Q. Judge, the Theosophical Society, an international organization, of which the headquarters are at Adyar, India. The announced objects of the society are to "unite humanity in a universal brotherhood, to show the essential unison of religion, and to develop the latent spiritual powers of mankind." Mme. Blavatsky claimed intimate knowledge of various Eastern "occult" secrets. Mme. Blavatsky died in 1891. A breach occurred in the management in the United States, and the theosophical "movement" in this country has been "split." Mrs. Besant is now President

of the International Theosophical Society. She has also been prominent in labor and socialist movements in former years, and has been a member of the London School Board, (to which she refused re-election in 1890.) She did not join the Theosophical Society until 1889, and has been its President since 1907. She has founded a school and a college in Benares.

ROLLER SKATING

L. G.—Please give me some data on roller skating.

THE earliest roller skate was patented by a Frenchman in 1819. About 1864 the craze for roller skating made its first appearance in England; in 1866 the "rinking" fever broke out in Australia, and thence proceeded back to England, and then to the United States. There has been an "intermittent fever" ever since, breaking out at intervals into the roller-skating fad. The latest one, up to the outbreak of the present "attack," was in 1884 and 1885. There are, of course, various kinds of roller-skating races and championship tourneys. The roller skate is put to a practical use in the speedier delivery of messages, parcels, &c.

THE ANTARCTIC CIRCLE

H. B. S.—It seems to me that there must be annually an appreciable increase in the depth of the ice shield which covers the antarctic continent due to its great cold and elevation. Is it not possible that the continuous pressure increase on that part of the earth's surface is responsible for the alteration in pointing of the earth's axis, which, I believe, has never been satisfactorily explained? Will you tell me whether astronomers figure that there is an annual increase in the depth of the ice, and whether they believe it influences the pointing of the earth's axis?

THE latitude of any given station is not fixed but undergoes two well-marked variations, one of which has a period equal to a year, and is undoubtedly due to the change of load in the ice packs in the polar regions. This annual variation is a revolution of the pole in an ellipse about thirty feet long. There is no evidence, so far as astron-

omers at present know, which shows that there is any secular change of latitude.

INDIAN TRIBES

I. C. E. S.—Is it possible for a white man to join Indian tribes, and how is it done?

WHITE men may join the Indian tribes either by intermarriage or by definite adoption. White men have so joined the Indians in considerable numbers in the past, oftener by intermarriage than by adoption into the tribe.

STATES AND TERRITORIES

C. de S.—What are the "territories" of the United States at present? In what States have women full suffrage rights?

THE "territories" of the United States are Alaska and Hawaii. The District of Columbia, the seat of the Federal Government, is also listed as a Federal "territory." Women vote for all offices in the States of Kansas, Arizona, Oregon, California, Washington, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming, and in Illinois for all offices not created by the State Constitution.

AMERICAN INDIANS

Mrs. D. A. M.—I should like information about the "Five Nations of Indians" and how they are governed in Indian Territory, and the progress of education and Christianity among Indians generally.

THE "Five Civilized Tribes," whose original domain was formerly known as Indian Territory, comprise the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma. Their total number of enrolled members and freedmen is 101,209. Of the total area of land embraced within the tribes' domain there were allotted to members 15,794,400 acres. On sales the total deposited to the credit of the Five Tribes July 1, 1898, to June 30, 1914, was \$17,099,826, and there is yet due and drawing interest at 6 per cent. the sum of \$5,623,950. The tribal form of government of the Cherokee Tribe was practically abolished at the close of the fiscal year June 30, 1914. Pursuant to previous acts of Congress applicable to all the tribes, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw,

and Seminole Tribes have been deprived of their legislative and judicial functions, retaining only a corps of executive officers for the transaction of business matters. In the Creek Nation the only work of importance looking to the ultimate disposition of tribal affairs is the equalization of Creek allotments. Of the total enrolled population of the Five Tribes the restricted class numbers 36,957. By the latest available figures the total number of Indians who have professed Christianity is 85,302; the number in 1912 was 69,529. There are 583 churches among the Indians now, as compared with 513 in 1912. The latest figures show 27,775 Indian children in Government schools and 4,829 in mission schools. The average school attendance in 1914 was 26,127; in 1912, 26,281; in 1900, 21,568; in 1890, 12,323. The number of schools in 1914 was 399; 1912, 412; 1900, 307; 1890, 246.

JULIA MARLOWE

C. R. G.—Has Julia Marlowe recovered her health? Is she playing at present? Please give any information you can.

JULIA MARLOWE, who is Mrs. E. H.

Sothern, has been absent from the stage for more than a year, save for a benefit performance and a public reading or so. When she withdrew from the joint starring tour with Mr. Sothern it was reported that her health had suffered seriously. Thereafter there were rumors that she would have to give up the stage, and these were formally confirmed last Summer, when Mr. Sothern announced from their home in Connecticut that she would be unable to play again. Miss Marlowe has been in the theatre this season, but she was on the audience's side of the footlights.

CIVIL WAR STATISTICS

H. R.—Will you kindly tell me the number of individual soldiers recruited by the North, and the number recruited by the South, and the population of each side during the civil war? What I want to get at is the percentage of fighters to the population.

THE free white population of the North by the census of 1860 was 18,791,159; the total aggregate of enlistments in the

Northern armies was 2,778,304. The free white population of the South by the same census was 8,182,684; the number of recruits was, according to count, something more than 700,000; with the addition of various uncounted branches of the service, it is estimated that the Southern armies amounted to slightly more than 1,000,000. Both sides resorted to conscription early in the war; the Southern act calling all able-bodied white males to the service of the Confederacy was passed April 16, 1862, the Northern Conscription act in March, 1863; the first Northern draft was proclaimed in August, 1862. Of the ratio between male population and fighting strength in the South, George Cary Eggleston in his "History of the Confederate War," says: "The Confederate armies included practically every white man in the South who was able to bear arms. There was in effect a levy en masse, including the entire white male population from early boyhood to old age."

NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

B. F. B.—Will you kindly say whether there is a holiday in the United States that is universally observed?

THE United States has no "national holiday," but all the States observe Washington's Birthday, July 4, Labor Day, Christmas Day, and (although it is not a statutory holiday in every State) Thanksgiving Day.

HISTORY

J. C.—What is the earliest written history, and what is its source? From what sources are the Old and New Testaments derived? Are they considered the first evidence of known history?

THE first writer who is definitely acknowledged as a historian was the Greek Herodotus, who wrote in the fifth century B. C. The very earliest of ancient records, sacred and secular, are merely lists and tables of ruling dynasties, and the next step toward the development of the continuous narrative which we know as "history" is in the expansion of such lists to include events. The most notable early examples of these "historical records" are

the Old Testament Books of Kings and Samuel, which date back to the seventh century B. C., and the Book of Chronicles, which, though equally notable, was compiled three centuries later. Ancient Egypt has similar records, and there are notable early fragments of Japanese and Chinese chronicle. The first actual written narrative "history," however, is Greek. The Old Testament, as stated, goes back to extremely early Jewish records. The New Testament, which was written in Greek, is, of course, much later; much history had been written before the beginning of the Christian Era.

THE BOY SCOUTS

G. C. T.—I should like to have some information about the Boy Scouts of America. Have they a national organization, or are they merely local organizations without central direction? Who can be mentioned as a leading representative of the movement in the United States?

THE Boy Scouts of America is a national organization, incorporated Feb. 8, 1910. President Wilson is Honorary President of the organization, and Mr. Taft and Colonel Roosevelt are Honorary Vice Presidents. The Boy Scouts of America has national officers, headquarters, Executive Board, and National Council, and the local councils are organized with charters from the national organization. The Scout Master is the adult leader in the community of the Scout troop; the boys themselves are locally organized in patrols and troops. Eight boys make up a patrol and three patrols a troop. There are about 700 local councils in as many cities in the United States, and under each there are from five to one hundred and fifty Scout Masters, each in charge of a troop. Work has been started to some extent in practically every city in the country with a population of 4,000 or over; there are about 300,000 boys and upward of 6,000 Scout Masters registered in the national organization. The Chief Scout in this country is Ernest Thompson Seton of Greenwich, Conn.; the National Scout Commissioner, Daniel Carter Beard of

Flushing, N. Y.; the national headquarters are at 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Detailed questions may, of course, be asked of the national office.

"COPPERHEADS"

R. F. H.—What were the policies of the faction known as "Copperheads"?

COPPERHEADS" was the name given during the civil war to Northerners who, "deeming it impossible to conquer the Confederacy, were earnestly in favor of peace, and, therefore, opposed to the war plans of the President and Congress," although they were not necessarily advocates of the Southern cause. In 1863 in the Western States "Copperhead" and "Democrat" were almost synonymous terms.

SCANDINAVIAN COPYRIGHT

C. L. B.—In copyrighted books the publishers often print this notice: "Right of translation into foreign languages, including the Scandinavian, reserved." Why are the Scandinavian languages particularized?

THE international copyright law does not extend to Scandinavian countries, and publishing houses doing business in those countries, and holding as far as possible Scandinavian rights, use the phrase as a warning against "piracy."

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

M. M.—Please give me the names of our Ambassadors to foreign countries and of the Ambassadors of those countries here.

THE United States maintains "Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary" in only thirteen foreign countries. Our diplomatic representatives in these countries are as follows: Argentina, Frederic J. Stimson; Austria-Hungary, Frederic C. Penfield; Brazil, Edwin V. Morgan; Chile, Henry P. Fletcher; France, William G. Sharp; Germany, James W. Gerard; Great Britain, Walter Hines Page; Italy, Thomas Nelson Page; Japan, George W. Guthrie; Russia, George T. Marye; Spain, Joseph E. Willard; Turkey, Henry Morgenthau. We have no present diplomatic relations with Mexico, to which country we ordinarily send an Ambassador.

Diplomatic representatives from these countries to Washington are: Argentina, Romulo S. Naon; Brazil, Domicio da Gama; Chile, Don Eduardo Suarez; France, Jean J. Jusserand; Germany, Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff; Great Britain, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice; Italy, Marquis Cusani Confalonier; Japan, Viscount Sutemi Chinda; Spain, Don Juan Riano y Gayangos. The Ambassador from Turkey, Rustem Bey, is on long leave of absence, and the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Dr. Dumba, has been recalled.

THE ISLE OF PINES

S. R. G.—Why was the Isle of Pines turned over to Cuba after having been on the United States maps under President McKinley?

THE Isle of Pines (Isla de Pinos) was never a part of the United States. At the close of the Spanish-American war capitalists from the United States purchased large holdings of real estate on that island and began an agitation for its annexation to this country. On appeal from the Cuban Republic, the United States Government in 1905 utterly repudiated the agitators and declared the Island of Pines an integral part of Cuba. A decision of the Supreme Court to that effect was handed down April 8, 1907.

THE CARNEGIE LIBRARIES

J. D.—Kindly tell me if Mr. Carnegie donates his libraries and other benefactions outright or if he gets some income from them.

THE Carnegie gifts are made outright, but before giving money for a library a pledge is required that the citizens will contribute enough money to keep up the library. This pledge usually amounts to about 10 per cent. annually on the original gift. None of this money goes to Mr. Carnegie, but is required to guarantee the library's permanent maintenance.

THE LINCOLN HIGHWAY

SIDNEY ABELSON.—Through what States does the Lincoln Highway pass? Up to what State is it now?

THE Lincoln Highway begins in New York City and passes through the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California, ending at San Francisco. The question "Up to what State is it now?" is not quite clear. The entire distance is marked, and thousands of motorists have passed over the road this past season, though long stretches, especially between Illinois and California, are not as yet surfaced. Between Chicago and New York the greater part of the road is surfaced.

CITIZENSHIP AND SUFFRAGE

C. C. H.—Will you kindly advise the status of an alien woman married to an American citizen, either native born or naturalized? Does her marriage automatically make her an American citizen, and, if so, under a woman suffrage law would she be permitted to vote without following the same procedure as an alien male?

MARRIAGE to an American citizen, native born or naturalized, automatically naturalizes an alien woman—provided that she herself might be lawfully naturalized—and in the naturalization of her husband an alien born woman takes his citizenship. This gives her the right to vote in the States which have extended the franchise to women, although, of course, she might qualify as to residence in the State, and so on.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN

H. FORTUNE.—If a man born in England comes to the United States and becomes an American citizen, is he still a subject of England?

A MAN born of English parents in England who becomes naturalized as an American citizen is still considered an English subject, under English law, if he goes back to England.

MARRIAGE AND CITIZENSHIP

C. L.—Is there any way in which an American woman who marries a foreigner may retain her American citizenship?

SECTION 3 of the Act of March 2, 1907, provides that "any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband. At the termination of the marital relation she may resume her American citizenship, if abroad, by registering as an American citizen within one year with a Consul of

the United States, or by returning to reside in the United States, or, if residing in the United States at the termination of the marital relation, by continuing to reside therein." There is no provision for special dispensation or arrangement by which an American woman who marries a foreigner may retain her American citizenship.

EXPATRIATION

R. P.—The Expatriation act of March 2, 1907, provides:

THAT any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign State in conformity with its laws or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign State.

"When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign State from which he came, or for five years in any other foreign State, it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during said years, provided, however, that such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or Consular officer of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the Department of State may prescribe; and provided also that no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when this country is at war."

ALIEN VOTES

L. J. L.—A claims that there are several States in the Union where an alien, who has lived only six months in the State and has declared his intention of becoming a citizen, can vote at all elections. Is that true? What are these States? I understand that Nevada, Nebraska, and Minnesota are three of them. Has such a law been repealed?

THE only States in which an alien who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States can vote after but six months' residence are Kansas, Indiana, South Dakota, and Nebraska. In Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas such aliens can vote after a year's residence in the State, and in Alabama after two years' residence. Oregon has

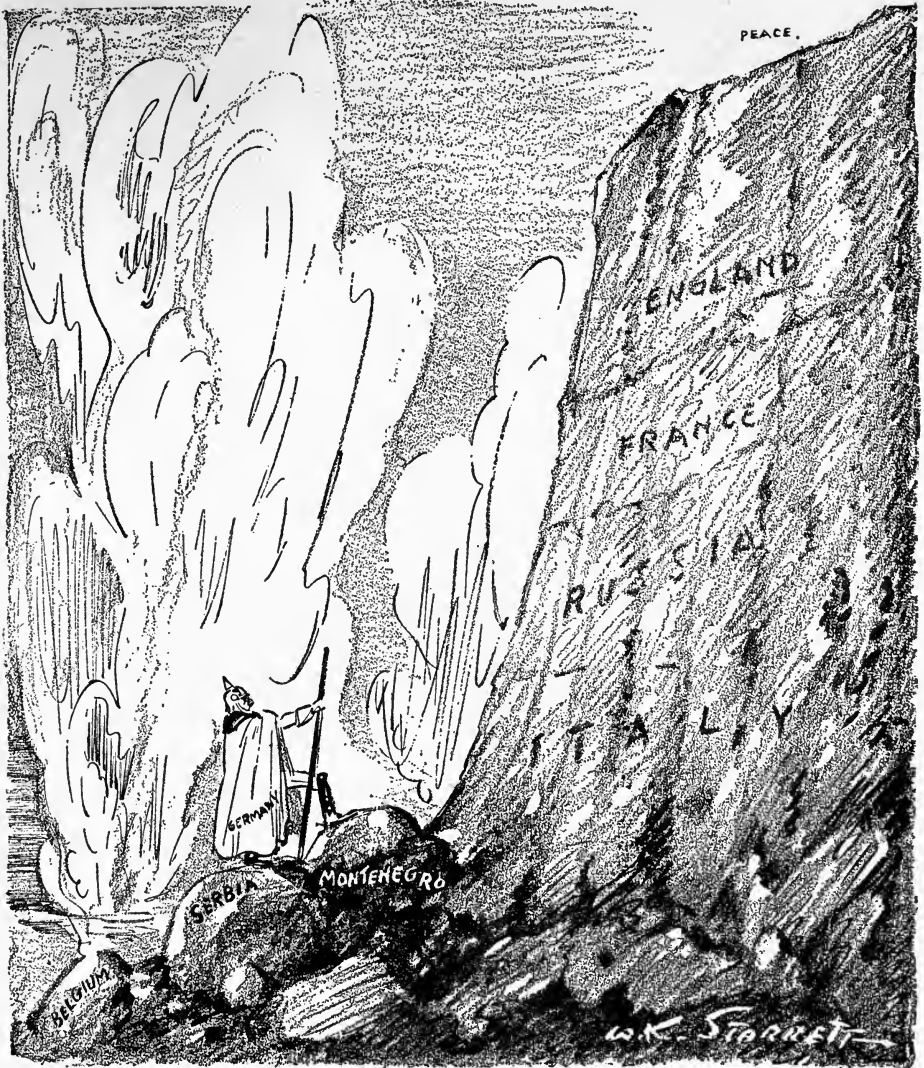
lately repealed its law giving aliens the right to vote. The eight States mentioned above allow an alien to vote after taking out his first papers, but of course place the same qualifications of residence on all voters.

THE MORMON CHURCH

S. P. R.—Will you kindly give me information about Mormons and Mormonism as follows: Are the Mormons rapidly extending their boundaries? Are they gaining as many recruits from abroad as formerly? Are they founding congregations in Eastern States? Are they supposed to be non-polygamous? Is their political power increasing? Who is their present spiritual head?

NO movement looking to the colonization of any part of the country is being considered by the Mormon Church as a body. There are as many conversions abroad, representatives report, as formerly, and add that the numerical growth by conversion is gradual. The Mormon Church does not seek, however, to "recruit" emigrants to Utah, and the proselytes to Mormonism are urged to stay at home and "assist the missionaries." The Mormons have missionaries in the Eastern States and elsewhere. They report that there are more congregations in the Eastern States now than one year ago. The official statement on polygamy is that "any member of the Mormon Church who would dare to take a plural wife now would be excommunicated. The manifesto of 1890 prohibits plural marriages. Owing to surreptitious violations, few in number, for which the Church was not responsible, the present President in 1904 presented before the general conference of the Church a rigorous prohibitive measure which was unanimously adopted by the congregation representing the entire Church. Those who had more than one wife before 1890 were not required to cast their wife or wives adrift and illegitimize their children." The Mormon Church disclaims any political interest; its members are divided on national party lines. The present President of the Mormon Church is Joseph Fielding Smith.

Onward, Christian Soldier!



—From *The Tribune*, New York.

The Stepping-Stones to a Stupendous Conquest?

[Spanish Cartoon]

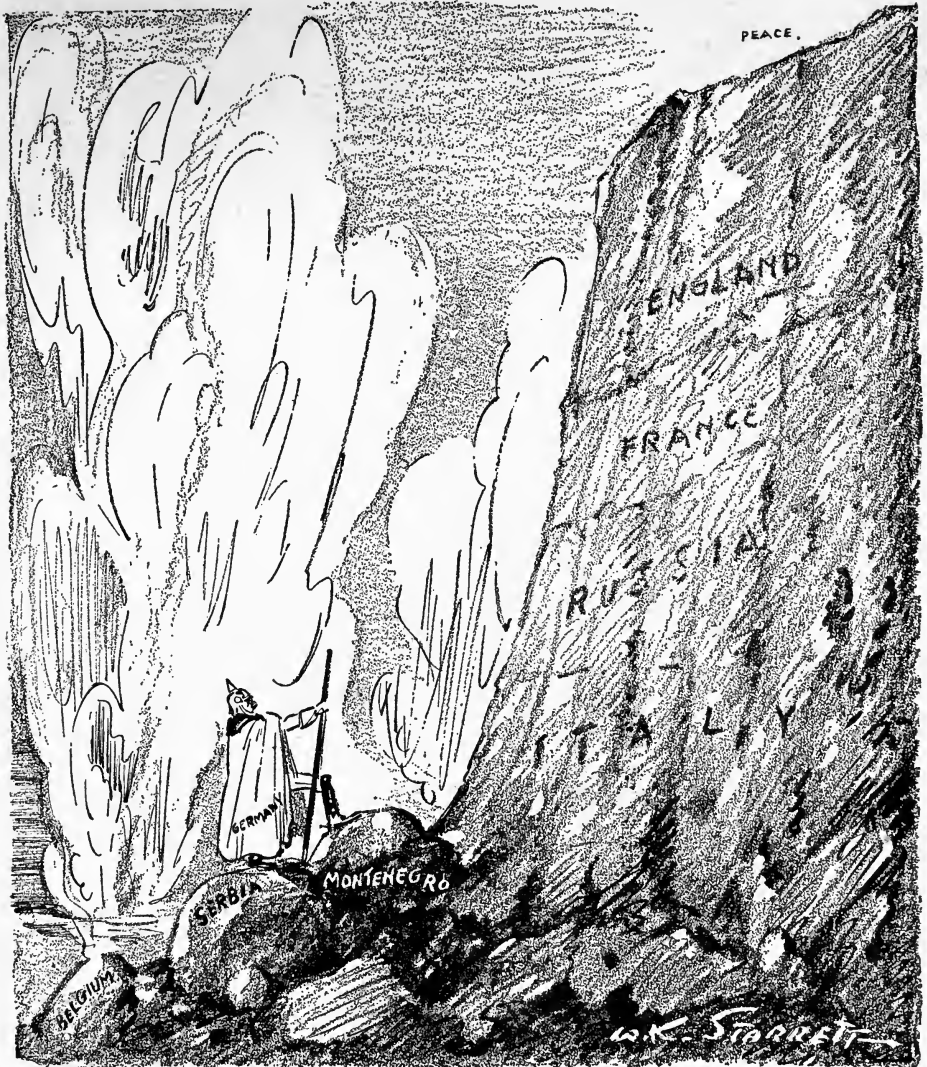
The Good Guide



—Esquella de la Torratxa, Barcelona.

“The road to peace? Come with me, I’ll point it out to you.”

Onward, Christian Soldier!

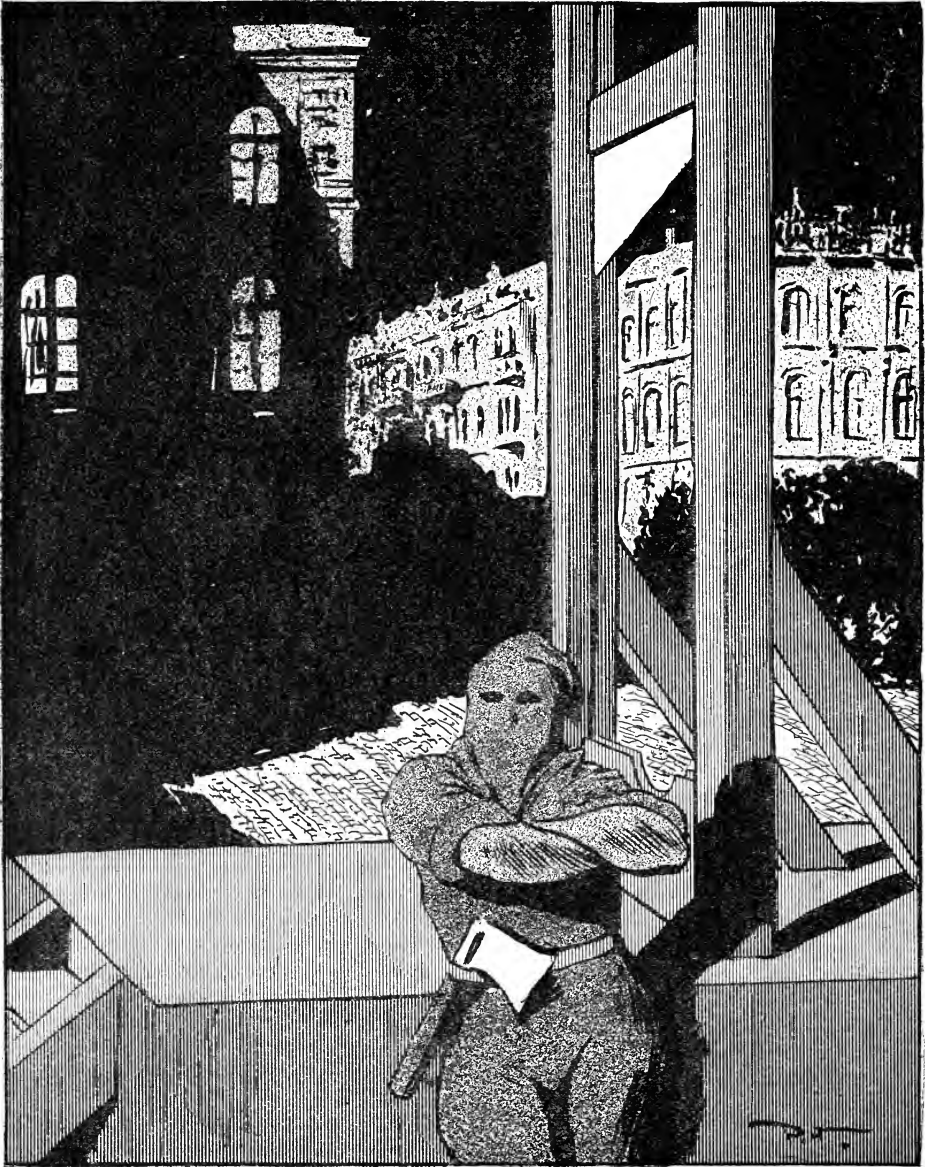


—From *The Tribune*, New York.

The Stepping-Stones to a Stupendous Conquest?

[German Cartoon]

France's Day of Reckoning



—© Ulk, Berlin.

They will soon again begin to lose their heads.

[American Cartoon]

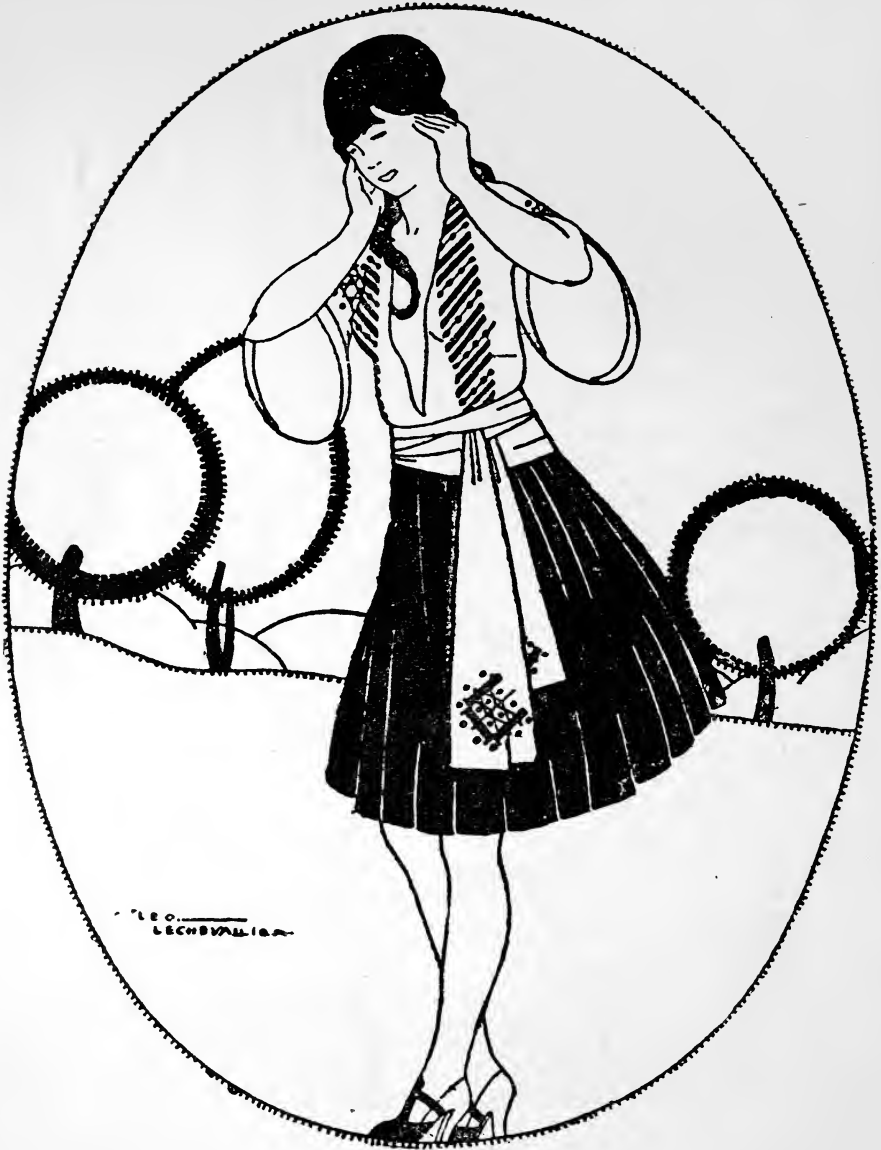
The Modern David



—From *The New York Times*.

As Henry Ford Conceives It.

Rumania's Attitude



—Le Rire, Paris.

With ears and eyes closed to the conflict.

[German Cartoon]

Serbia's Fateful Hour



—© *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin.

Look there, look there, Timotheus—the Cranes of Ibycus!
(Vengeance for the murder of Ferdinand, as the cranes avenged the murder of
the poet Ibycus.)

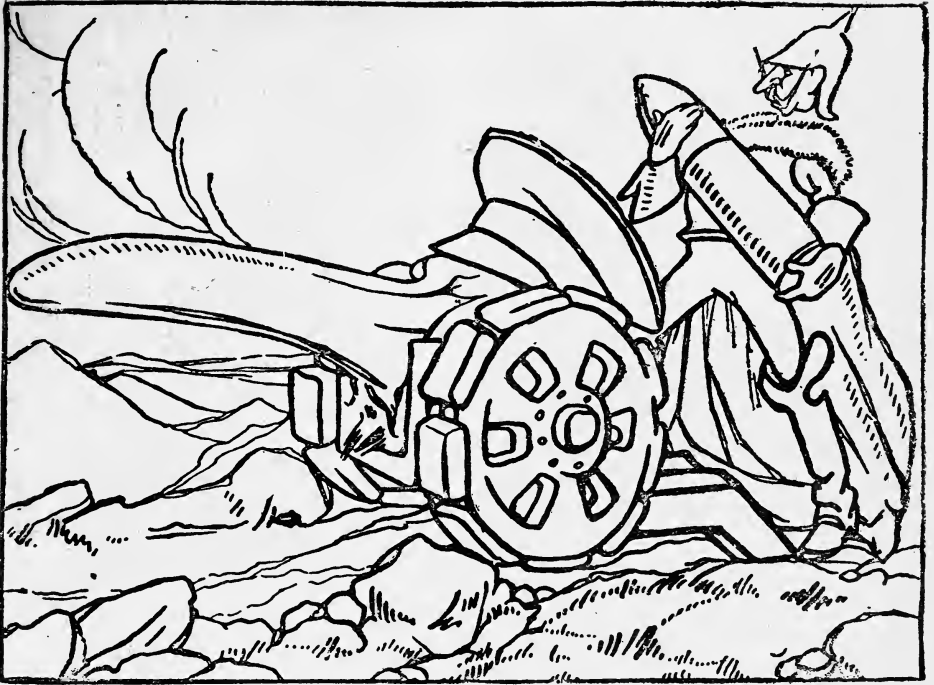
The Persuading of Tino



—From *Punch*, London.

[Italian Cartoon]

Kultur's Latest Conquest



—Travaso, Rome.

“Now we have at last the 420 cm. nose!”

[French Cartoon]

Under History's Eye



—© Le Rire, Paris.

The Allies are remaking the map of Europe.

A Last Recourse

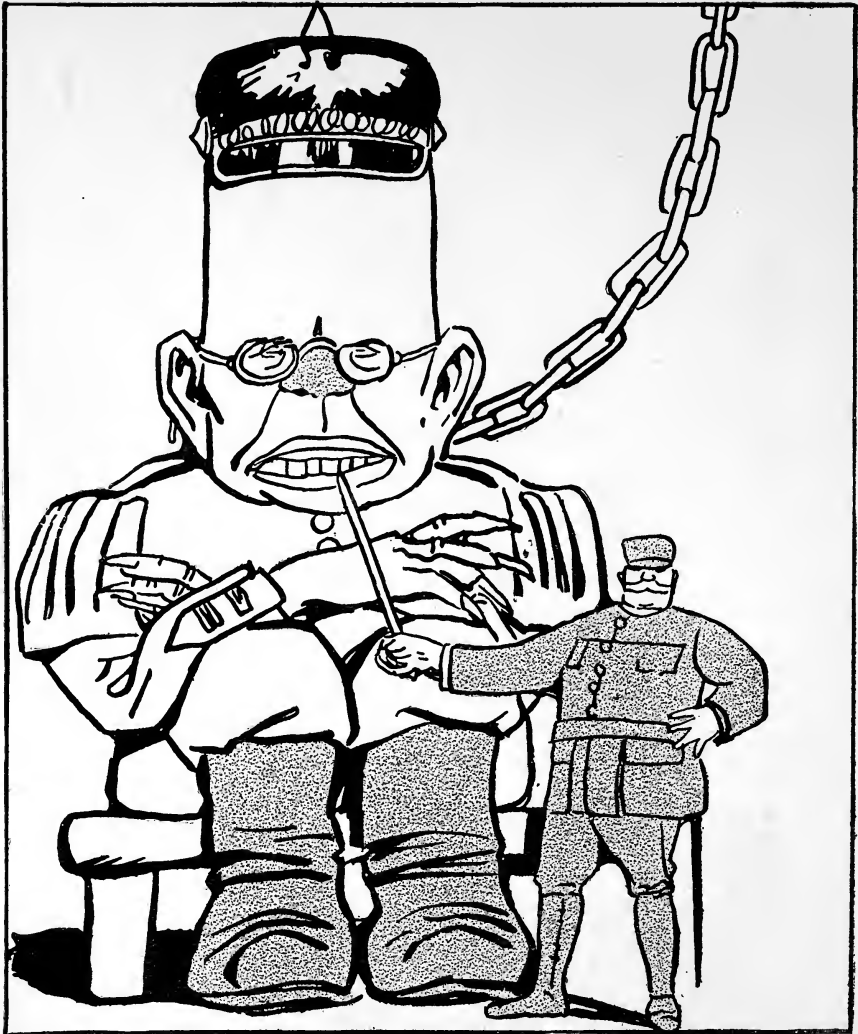


—Pasquino, Turin.

“I have tried on all the shoes of my allies; nothing left but the Bulgarian boot.”

[Spanish Cartoon]

What They Said of Moltke



—Iberia, Barcelona.

JOFFRE: "If we conquer, it will be due to the German tutor."

[German Cartoon]

Okuma's Wish



—© *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“We have put aside German barbarism and have returned to the culture of our ancestors.”

[American Cartoon]

A Triple Alliance?



—From The New York Times.

THE DACHSHUND: "It's all right, boys, you can count on me."
THE OTHER TWO: "Can we? Well, we won't."

To Be Devoured



—Mondo Uморistico, Milan.

"Sire, his Majesty the Kaiser sends you the dove of peace."

"Very well, have it roasted."

An Afterthought

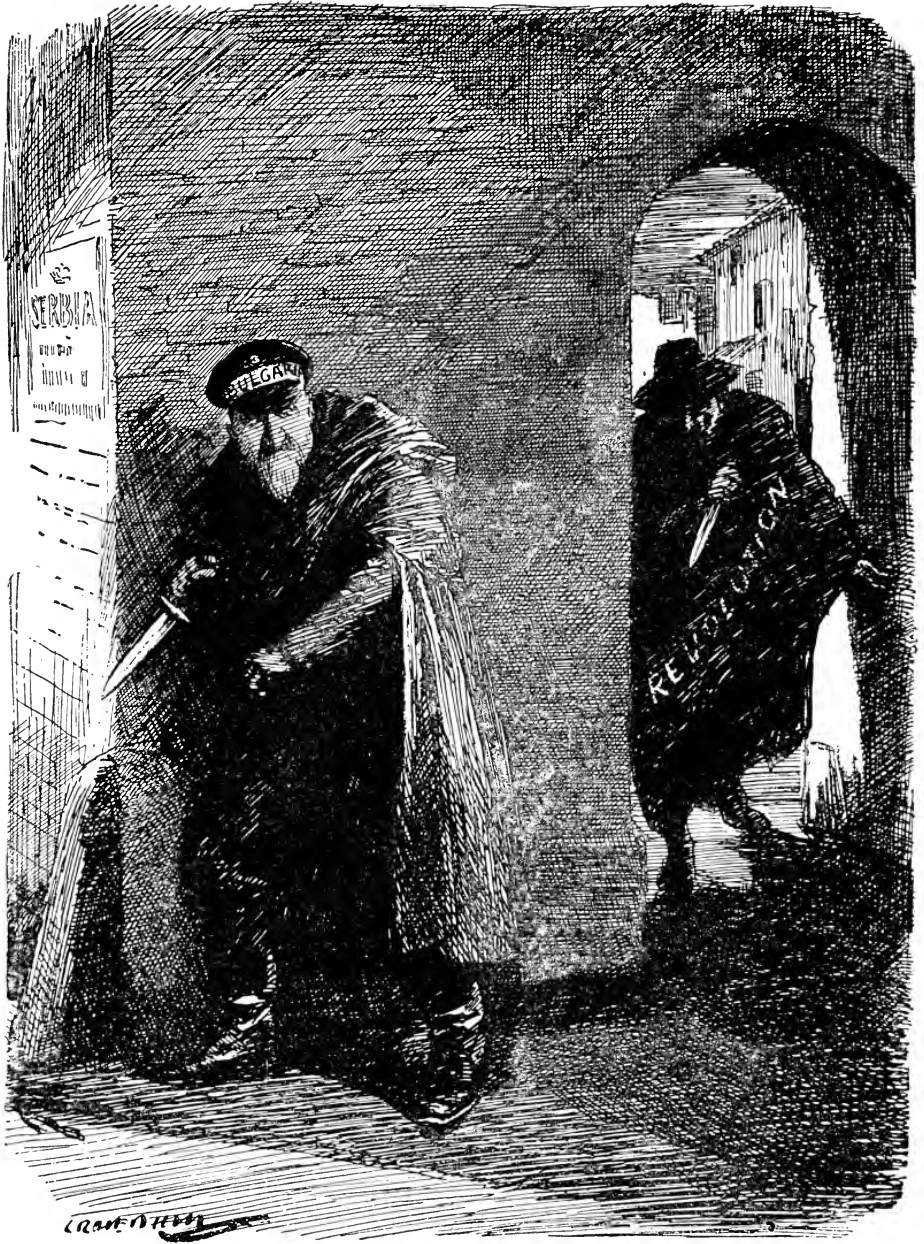


—Telegraaf, Amsterdam.

FERDINAND: "Bosh! What if I blundered, after all?"

[English Cartoon]

On the Tracker's Track



—From *Punch*, London.

The Nemesis of Tsar Ferdinand.

Caged!



—*Western Mail of Perth.*

The plight of the Kaiser.

[German Cartoon]
Giant India



If Asquith doesn't talk him to death.

—© *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

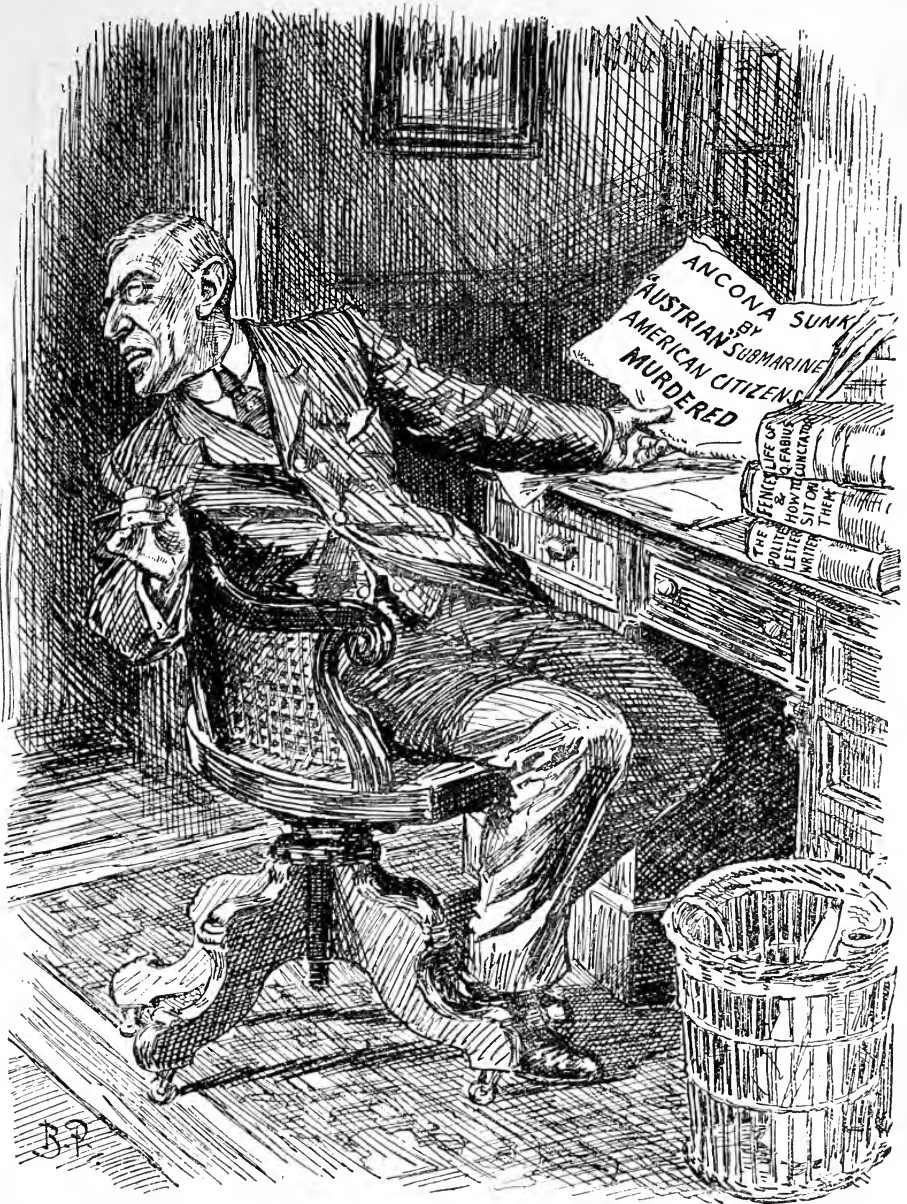
The French Deliberators



—Kikeriki, Vienna.

The Council of French Ministers preparing for a new Winter campaign.

A Matter of Routine



—From *Punch*, London.

PRESIDENT WILSON. "This calls for a note—Mr. Secretary, just bring me in a copy of our No. 1 note to Germany—'Humanity' series."

To Constantinople



—Numero, Turin.

(At the ticket window): "Do you take Turkish money?" (The Bulgarian people hate the Turks.)

[English Cartoon]
Swapping Horses!



—From *The Bystander*, London.

JOHN BULL: "I don't believe in 'swapping horses' in the middle of the stream, but I wish to goodness this composite nag of mine would make up his mind which particular streams he is crossing—and cross 'em!!"

The Neighborhood Record



—*Le Rire, Paris.*

"My dear friend, you are beaten! We hold the record. Twenty-two shells have fallen on our house this month."

"Yes, but you had the advantage of being near the cathedral."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events,

From November 13, 1915, Up to and Including

December 10, 1915

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Nov. 13—Russians drive foes further from Riga and inflict severe losses on the Germans west of Kemmern.
Nov. 15—Russians driven back across the Styr River.
Nov. 20—Russians regain positions on left bank of the Styr; violent artillery fire on Riga front.
Nov. 23—Germans repulsed near Dvinsk.
Nov. 25—Germans begin evacuating Mitau.
Nov. 25-Dec. 10—Heavy fighting along entire line; no great change in the situation.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Nov. 13—French demolish mill in Flanders occupied by German troops and silence German batteries near Boesinghe.
Nov. 15—Hard fighting resumed on Artois front; all-night battle in the Labyrinth.
Nov. 20—French wreck German works in Belgium near Boesinghe and in Somme district.
Nov. 22—Allies begin heavy artillery fire in Flanders and Champagne district.
Nov. 26—Violent artillery duels in Argonne district.
Dec. 3—Germans bombard Thann.
Dec. 8—Germans take trenches near Souain.
Dec. 9—French recover most of Souain trenches.
Dec. 10—French make slight gains in Champagne; violent gun duels along Flanders front.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Nov. 13—French forces take Hill 350, between Rabrova and Strumitza.
Nov. 15—Earl Kitchener arrives at Lemnos Island, base of operations.
Nov. 16—Anglo-Italian army is hurrying to aid of the Serbians; Bulgars take Babuna Pass.
Nov. 17—Bulgars take Prilep.
Nov. 19—Bulgars occupy Monastir.
Nov. 21—Austro-Germans occupy Novibazar, and reach road to Monastir.
Nov. 22—Serbs rout Bulgars and recover part of Nish-Saloniki railroad.
Nov. 23—Italian troops land in Albania; Serbian Government moves to Pristina; French forced back by Bulgars along the Cerna River.
Nov. 24—Teutons and Bulgars enter Kossovo Plain and occupy Mitrovitza and Pristina; Serb Government retires to Albania.

Nov. 26—Serbs driven from Kossovo Plain; Bulgars abandon attack on Monastir.

Nov. 27—Serbs retake Krushevo.

Nov. 29—Germans and Bulgars shift to face Rumania as Austrians march on Montenegro; blizzards halt fighting.

Nov. 30—Bulgars capture Pristina, taking 16,000 Serbs prisoners.

Dec. 1—Teutons hurl big armies at Montenegro.

Dec. 3—Serbs evacuate Monastir.

Dec. 8—French withdraw from Krivolak salient; Bulgars take Resna.

Dec. 10—Germans occupy Gievgli; Anglo-French forces evacuate Serbia and fall back on base at Saloniki.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 13—Heavy fighting in Gorizia.

Nov. 16—Italian shells damage churches in Gorizia; Franciscan convent of Castagnavizza, containing tombs of the Bourbons, hit.

Nov. 20—Gorizia ruined by shells; Italians gain at Monte San Michele.

Nov. 21—Italians take part of the Corso Height and repulse counterattacks.

Nov. 23—Italians advance on Isonzo front.

Nov. 24—Italians capture Calvario Height and advance in the Trentino.

Nov. 27—Italians repulsed in six attacks near Oslavia.

Dec. 4—Italians repulse massed attack by Austrians at Mrzli.

Dec. 5-11—Italians make repeated unsuccessful attacks on Austrian front in region of Gorizia.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN

Nov. 18—British resume Gallipoli advance; make gains at Krithia.

Nov. 21—Allies initiate great offensive at the Dardanelles.

Nov. 24—British fall back when within eighteen miles of Bagdad with loss of 2,000 men, but capture 800 Turks and large quantity of arms and equipment at Ctesiphon.

Nov. 29—British withdraw down the Tigris.

Dec. 7—Turks capture four vessels on the Tigris; British retreat endangered; British intrenched at Kut-el-Amara.

Dec. 8-10—Turks gain steadily in Mesopotamia.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 22—French and British forces occupy Tibati, in Kamerun.

AERIAL RECORD

Austrian aviators continued attacks on Italian cities, shelling Verona, Brescia, Vicenza, Udine, and Grado; many civilians were killed and wounded.

Allied aeroplanes made frequent raids on the territory held by the Germans in France and Flanders, the French being victorious in five engagements in Champagne and Argonne, and the British attacking a German supply station at Miramont, near Amiens. A German submarine off the Belgian coast was destroyed by a British aeroplane.

Allied aeroplanes bombarded Constantinople-Dedeagatch railway.

French dropped bombs on Strumitza.

NAVAL RECORD

In the Mediterranean Sea two French ships, the Omara and the Algerie, three small British ships, the Greek steamer Zarifis, and the Italian liner Bosnia have been sunk by German and Austrian submarines. The Italian liner Verona, in race with submarine, escaped in fog. The American oil ship Communipaw was sunk.

Turks sunk British submarine E-20 in the Dardanelles. Turkish transport hit a mine in the Sea of Marmora; most of the 500 men aboard were drowned. British submarine sank Turkish torpedo boat destroyer Yar Hissar in the Sea of Marmora.

Austrians sank a French submarine, six steamers, and many sailing vessels in the Adriatic Sea, off the coast of Albania.

The Standard Oil Company's tank ship Petro-lite was attacked by Austrian submarine off the coast of the Island of Crete.

Belgian coast from Zeebrugge to Ostend was shelled by the British.

British hospital ship Anglia, with 300 wounded men aboard, hit a mine in the British Channel; eighty-five men lost their lives.

Relief ships Ulriken (Norwegian) and Otamas (Greek), carrying wheat for the Belgians, were torpedoed off the coast of England.

Two Egyptian gunboats were sunk by German submarines off the Egyptian coast.

Russians sank a new German dreadnought and a new German cruiser in the Baltic.

British steamships Hallamshire and Merganser were lost in the war zone.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Allies have made several vain attempts to persuade Greece to abandon her attitude of neutrality. British, French, and Russian Ministers interviewed Premier Skouloudis to ask assurances that troops retreating from Serbia, if driven over the frontier, would not be interned, and Denys Cochin, the French Cabinet Minister, and Earl Kitchener conferred with the King. Certain trading privileges enjoyed by the

Greeks were withdrawn. On Nov. 24 the Entente Ministers presented a collective note to the Premier, demanding freedom of movement for their forces in Macedonia, but promising not to keep territory used and to pay for all damages. Following this, Greek steamers held at Malta were released, and commercial cable service resumed, but the Cabinet still delayed giving any pledge. On Dec. 3 the Government placed the railroad lines and the port of Kavola at the disposal of the Franco-British forces. King Constantine, in a message to America, declared his policy, saying that he would protect the Allies' retreat from Serbia, but would grant no further concessions. The Allies have made new proposals, to which Greece has not yet replied.

Germany's food shortage was admitted in the Reichstag and food riots occurred in front of the Kaiser's palace. A popular demand for a discussion of war aims and peace terms culminated in a statement by Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg in the Reichstag, in which he declared that Germany was invincible and secure and would let her foes make the advances.

Rumania remains neutral, but the Austro-Germans, in an attempt to force her hand, have occupied the Island of Hurawai, in the Danube, have mined the river, and are watching the movements of troops.

A demonstration against British officials was made in Persia on Nov. 16, and the British Consul, with other members of the British colony, was arrested. It is believed that the action was instigated by the Germans.

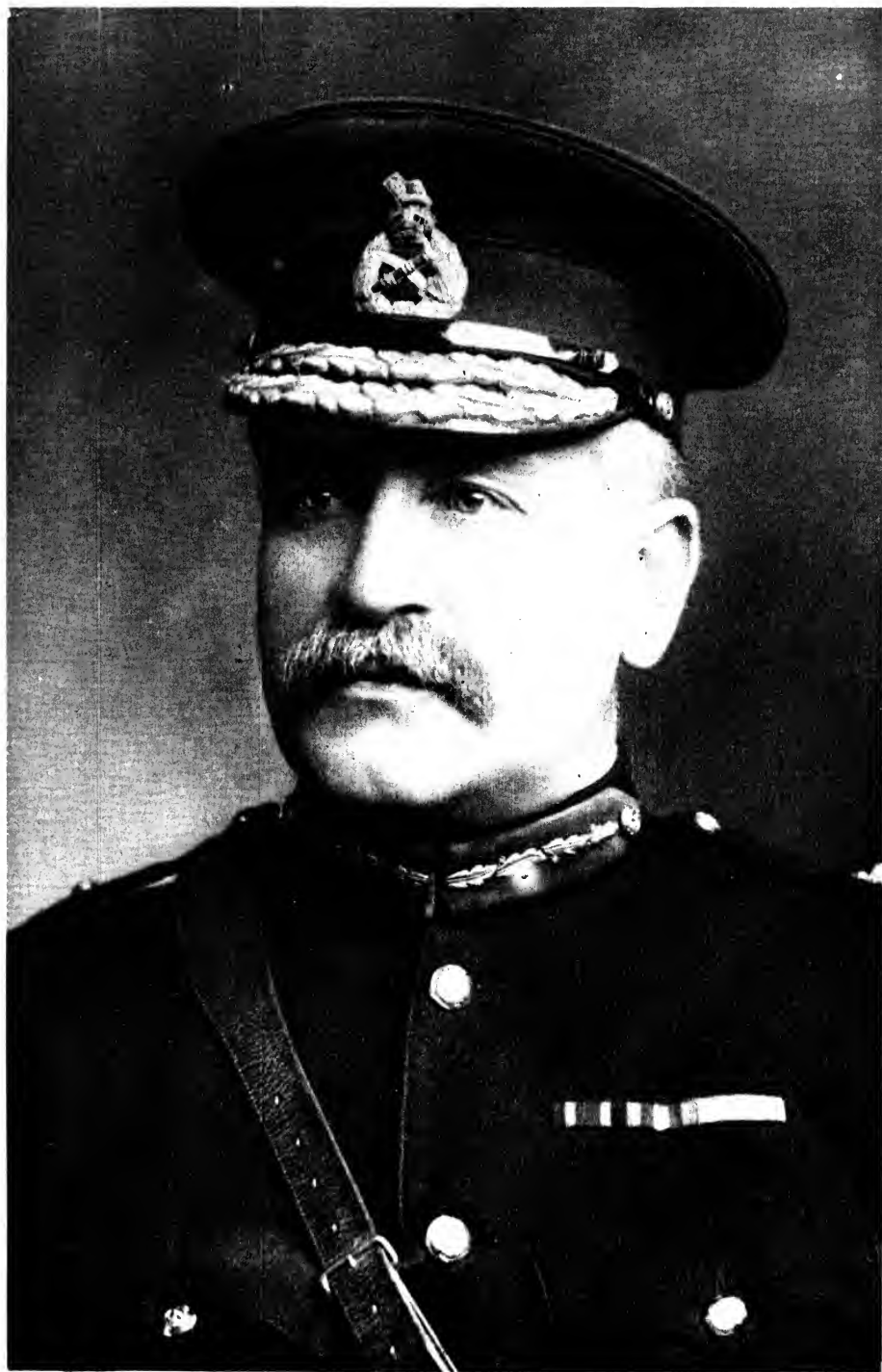
General von Bissing on Nov. 13 levied a monthly war tax of \$8,000,000 on Belgium.

The intentions of the Allies to work in perfect harmony was shown by war councils held by their Ministers, by the pooling of munitions interests, and by the creation of an Allied Board of Strategy. Russia, France, England, Japan, and Italy renewed their pledges not to make separate peace.

The United States Government on Dec. 3 demanded from Germany the recall of Captain Karl Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché, and Captain Franz von Papen, Military Attaché, of German Embassy, for "improper activities in naval and military matters." Germany's request for an explanation was refused. On Dec. 10 Emperor William recalled both men.

Germany's reply to the last note from the United States on the Frye case was forwarded Dec. 10, but the contents were kept secret.

On Dec. 8 Secretary Lansing sent to Austria a note in regard to the sinking of the Ancona, demanding disavowal of sinking, reparation, punishment of the commander of the submarine which made the attack, and assurances that such acts would not be repeated.



GENERAL SIR CHARLES MONRO

Successor to General Sir Douglas Haig as Commander of First British
Army in France

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

Commander in Chief of British Forces in France and Belgium

(From a Painting by John St. Heller Landor.)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

FEBRUARY, 1916

WORLD AFFAIRS OF THE MONTH

GROWING BITTERNESS

The first month of the new year has brought only a deepening of the great combat and an ever-growing bitterness between the warring groups of nations. It is evident that the struggle must be still fiercer before it can be ended. Over against the recent Teutonic triumphs in the Balkans stand the gathering millions of England under conscription. To the fall of Montenegro the reply of Lord Kitchener and Sir Douglas Haig is: "We now have troops and munitions enough to win." On both sides the inevitable Dead Sea fruits of hatred are ripening.

Is the war about to enter upon a new phase on the high seas? At this writing (Jan. 20) Great Britain is seriously considering a full and absolute blockade against Germany, with the consent and assistance of France, thus legalizing her seizure of all cargoes suspected on grounds of their "ultimate destination."

Ever since the beginning of the paper blockade in March, 1915, this has been a subject of sore interest to American exporters. The United States has never acknowledged the legality of British seizures under the so-called Orders in Council, and in the note of Oct. 21, 1915, Secretary Lansing formally challenged their validity, declaring that "the present British measures cannot be regarded as constituting a blockade in law, in practice, or in effect." Our Government has always been willing to grant the le-

gality of a real blockade, but it must be complete, closing the Baltic as well as the North Sea ports, and shutting off the trade of all other neutral nations as thoroughly as that of the United States.

To try to close the Baltic ports would be to undertake one of the most hazardous naval tasks of the war, involving enormous losses from submarines. Yet unless this be done the United States will continue to have just ground for protest.

* * *

MILITARY EVENTS

In a military sense the outstanding features of the month began with the complete evacuation of Gallipoli Peninsula by the British. The destination of these troops has not been made public, but it is understood that most of them were transferred to Greece. On the eastern front the Russians resumed a vigorous offensive, gaining some ground in Galicia and Bukowina. Severe fighting here, especially around Czernowitz, an important railroad point held by the Austrians, at first gave promise of decisive results; but toward the end of January this vigor seemed to slacken.

The aggressive advance of the Turks in Mesopotamia early in the month created apprehension as to the fate of General Townshend's Bagdad expedition, but the latest news indicates that General Aylmer's relief force has succeeded in saving the situation for the British.

On the western front the nibbling process has gone on without any decisive result. The acceptance of conscription by England, preparations for increasing the British Navy by 50,000 men, and a closer working arrangement among the Entente Allies—these are indications of a strengthened determination to fight to a finish.

The conduct of Italy in confining her activities almost solely to the Trentino has created much unfavorable comment, amounting in some quarters to a suspicion that her attitude toward the Entente is not sincere. The Austrian capture of Mount Lovcen, with the consequent domination of Montenegro and the whole east shore of the Adriatic, is one of the most serious reverses the Allies have undergone, and Italy's neglect to do more to prevent it is as yet unexplained.

Since the sinking of the Persia no sensational catastrophe has occurred in the field of naval warfare. At this writing it is not yet officially known whether the Persia was sunk by a submarine or not. The controversy over the Baralong incident, in which Germany charges British marines with the shooting of German submarine sailors after they had leaped into the sea, has become exceedingly bitter.

* * *

STRENGTHENING OUR DEFENSES

In the United States the discussion of military and naval preparedness has continued to rage on the rostrum, in the press, and in Congress, where an infusion of party politics added a new element of heat. Opinions even in regard to the Administration program ran the whole gamut of praise and denunciation. Thus far the nation at large can hardly be said to have taken the subject very seriously. One of the most noteworthy attempts to awaken men to the importance of a reasonable increase in our defenses was that of ex-Senator Elihu Root. In his address to the New York State Bar Association, Jan. 15, Mr. Root declared that the nation must arm for coming peril, and pleaded for a revival of the spirit of '76. Among his most impressive sentences were these:

The whole business of government in which we are all concerned is becoming serious, grave, threatening. No man in America has any right to rest contented and easy and indifferent, for never before, not even in the time of the civil war, have all the energies and all the devotion of the American democracy been demanded for the perpetuity of American institutions, for the continuance of the American Republic against foes without and more insidious foes within, than in this year of grace 1916.

God knows I love peace and I despise all foolish and wicked wars, but I do not wish for my country the peace of slavery, or dishonor, or injustice, or poltroonery. I want to see in my country the spirit that beat in the breasts of the men at Concord Bridge, who were just and God-fearing men, but who were ready to fight for their liberty. And if the hundred million people of America have the spirit, and it is made manifest, they won't have to fight.

Coming from a man whose calm judgment has been esteemed even by his political opponents for a generation, this address attracted unusual attention. Perhaps it is a milestone along the road to the new and unknown epoch into which the war is driving even the most peaceful nations.

* * *

PERIL FROM WITHIN

No less impressive was Mr. Root's warning of the danger to American institutions at the hands of new citizens nurtured in traditions different from ours. The conflicting ideals now battling in the European trenches are represented among our immigrant millions. We assume that the spirit of American freedom comes with the air we breathe, and that our institutions will endure forever without effort. Mr. Root reminds us that it is not so—that liberty has always been born of struggle, devotion, and sacrifice. There is a peril from within as well as from without.

Our millions from the continent of Europe have been reared to regard law as a thing imposed upon the people by a superior power, not as an outgrowth of the life and will of the people themselves. This great mass of newcomers will change us, said Mr. Root, if we do not change them. It is a truth to give pause to the busiest man. These people who

know not the spirit of Concord Bridge—

Where once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world—
will unconsciously tend to create the very conditions from which they have fled, and which have plunged Europe into incalculable bloodshed. Mr. Root brought the argument home by remarking that 30 per cent. even of the lawyers of New York are either foreign-born or of foreign parentage, and that most of them cannot get away from the traditions of the countries from which they come. Only by getting the spirit of American institutions into them can the European traditions be got out of them. Before that can happen, somebody must attend to it. Somebody must make our ideals vocal, trust in them, exhibit them with loyalty and devotion. Mr. Root laid the task upon the American bar, but it is a duty for all Americans. The war and its incidental plots against American laws have merely emphasized anew the truth which Mr. Root voiced so earnestly.

* * *

FOR A POWERFUL NAVY

Among the many causes that have intensified the discussion of American preparedness against invasion was the belated publication of Admiral Dewey's confidential report of July 30, in which he and the other members of the General Board of the Navy delivered the following radical opinion as to what our nation should do to preserve its rights on the high seas:

The navy of the United States should ultimately be equal to the most powerful maintained by any other nation of the world. It should be gradually increased to this point by such a rate of development year by year as may be permitted by the facilities of the country, but the limit above defined should be attained not later than 1925.

This recommendation, with a building program calling for eight dreadnoughts as a beginning in 1917, involved so far-reaching a change of national policy that it became at once a centre of debate. It would mean the possibility of a future naval competition with Great Britain. German critics were not slow to point out that just such a program—

only smaller—caused the first friction between their nation and the English. President Wilson and Secretary Daniels, after receiving the July report, adopted a five-year building program for the navy, but one vitally different and somewhat less ambitious. The two measures, with variations, are among the most important subjects now before Congress.

* * *

KINGS IN EXILE

The spectacle of European monarchs without kingdoms to rule over is no novelty, as the case of ex-King Manuel of Portugal might illustrate; but the sympathy of the whole world outside the Teutonic battle lines is with King Nicholas of Montenegro, as it was with King Peter of Serbia and King Albert of Belgium. Unlike the two last named, the Montenegrin sovereign has bowed before an overwhelming force, laying down his arms unconditionally and suing for a separate peace on Jan. 13. The news was naturally received with rejoicings in the Austro-Hungarian Parliament when the Premier announced it. The Teutonic hope, however, that this may presage a break in the ranks of the Entente has no visible foundation. Montenegro was not one of the powers that signed an agreement to make no separate peace in this war. It is simply a small but valiant victim of the Teutonic steam roller. The real significance of the Montenegrin surrender lies in the great military and naval advantage gained by Austria on the shores of the Adriatic.

* * *

KING CONSTANTINE'S PLIGHT

Another ruler whose predicament calls for the sympathies of neutral nations is King Constantine of Greece. If the wireless advices from Berlin have any solid basis, Constantine is in danger of losing his throne at the hands of the Entente Allies. After making the usual discount for the comment of an enemy, the fact remains that the British and French are making use of Greek territory much as though it belonged to them. According to German dispatches of Jan. 17 they have landed troops near Athens, and at other points far south of the

Saloniki region where they face the enemy across the Serbian border.

King Constantine recently said to an Associated Press correspondent: "I am pro-Greek, just as your President is pro-American." His actions thus far seem in accord with his words. Though his wife is the Kaiser's sister, he has tried to follow a neutral course, striving apparently to keep his people from being drawn into either side of a war whose primary issues did not closely concern them, but whose results loom large in Greek destiny. It is his firm conviction that after the great struggle is over there will be another bloody Balkan war in which Greece must defend herself, and for this he is training his armies and conserving his country's resources. It is a good and sufficient reason, but it has not availed in the face of the Entente's desperate need.

* * *

GREEK NEUTRALITY

If the descendants of Sophocles quote Shakespeare, they might well remark as they hear the roar of the guns at Saloniki and see the tricolor of France flying on the island of Corfu that their neutrality is more honored in the breach than in the observance. The Allies have blown up bridges that might have been serviceable to the Teutonic forces in their attack on the Saloniki front. The French have landed troops on the island of Corfu, which is to be a haven of refuge for the Serbians while they recuperate their energies and obtain new equipment.

The Allies have assured the Greek Government that they have no intention of occupying any Greek territory, or interfering with the normal activities of the inhabitants. Nevertheless, Greece is placed in an awkward, not to say a humiliating, position. Her intentions, as expressed in the action of the Government, are to keep out of the war, but the continual encroachment of the Allies, even though their violation of her neutrality is only provisional, must give rise to the uneasy feeling that she will find herself a belligerent in spite of herself. This would be a great satisfaction

to the section of the Hellenic people that wishes to join the Allies, and would no doubt bring M. Venizelos back to power. But while Greece pursues a neutral policy, the use of her territory as a cockpit of war must be painful to both her self-respect and her interests.

* * *

MR. FORD'S PEACE PARTY

The main body of Henry Ford's peace pilgrims sailed for home from Rotterdam on Jan. 15 after six weeks in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Holland. Thirty chosen members remained behind at The Hague to organize a permanent peace board which is to be located there or at Stockholm. The expedition is said to have cost upward of \$500,000, and the permanent board has the promise of a possible \$2,000,000 behind it. Thus has the Oscar II. and its cargo of enthusiasts become a part of war-time history.

The practical results thus far are meagre indeed. The expedition went without official sanction or support from its home Government, and even in the neutral countries visited it was greeted with reserve. Stockholm was the most friendly city it encountered. The English press commented upon the movement with covert bitterness. Even at The Hague the atmosphere was chilly, and Germany's reluctance to let the permanent members repeat their journey across German territory to Stockholm indicated a similar lack of faith.

The initial slogan, "Out of the trenches before Christmas," was unfortunate. It created an impression that the members did not understand the nature of war or the essentials of lasting peace. Nevertheless, the episode deserves a niche in the war's annals as an example of irrepressible optimism and as one of the few cheerful by-products of the conflict.

* * *

AMERICAN TRADE IN WAR TIME

Semi-official figures of the foreign trade of the United States for 1915 indicate a prodigious total of \$5,355,579,950, of which the exports were \$3,551,485,164 and the imports \$1,804,094,786. In 1914 the total foreign trade was a little un-

der three billion dollars. In 1913 it was a little over four billion dollars, and in 1912 slightly in excess of four billion; in 1911 three and one-half billion.

At the present rate 1916 bids fair greatly to exceed 1915, though it is probable that if England establishes a form of actual blockade against the Central Powers instead of the Orders in Council now in force, it may somewhat curtail our exports. A study of the figures, however, reveals the fact that our trade is developing in other directions than among the belligerent powers. Our shipments to the South American countries are increasing at a very rapid rate. For instance, in the month of October, our exports to Argentina reached nearly \$5,000,000, as against \$1,695,000 in the corresponding month of 1914. To Brazil our exports nearly doubled in October, and an equal increase is apparent in our trade with China and other neutral countries.

* * *

MURDERS IN MEXICO

The murder of C. R. Watson and his party of Americans on their way back to their mines in Mexico on Jan. 10 added fuel to the "preparedness" discussion and complicated the very unsatisfactory Mexican situation. Nineteen persons, nearly all Americans, were taken from a train by bandits at the way station of Santa Ysabel, fifty miles west of Chihuahua City, and were robbed and deliberately shot to death. The twentieth man in the party escaped by hiding in the underbrush.

All the evidence indicates that the crime was committed by lawless followers of Villa for the purpose of discrediting Carranza's Government and provoking American intervention. Since the recognition of Carranza by the United States the Villistas have publicly threatened Americans with death and destruction of property.

When the bodies were brought to El Paso the excitement along the border ran high, and the demand for armed intervention and an effective policing of the North Mexican States raised a stormy debate in Congress. President Wilson remained firmly determined, however,

that this exasperating incident should not lead us into a war; and in this he undoubtedly represented the sentiment of the great majority of thoughtful Americans.

Secretary Lansing promptly sent an official request to General Carranza for "immediate and efficient pursuit, capture, and punishment of the perpetrators of the dastardly crime." Carranza promised that energetic measures would be taken to punish the bandits, and up to Jan. 20 several of the so-called Villa bandit "Generals" and "Colonels" had been captured and summarily executed.

* * *

A PAN-AMERICAN DOCTRINE

One reward for refraining from Mexican invasion during these troubled years is the growth of a marked entente cordiale between the United States and the South American republics. The new spirit was strikingly in evidence at the second convention of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, which opened at Washington Dec. 27. Though not a political gathering, its attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine attracted world-wide attention. Never before has that doctrine been handled in such friendly fashion by eminent Latin Americans. When John Barrett, Director of the Pan-American Union, openly and eloquently advocated the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine, his words evidently met with the approval of his hearers.

This friendly mental attitude of South and Central America, developed in the ominous shadow of the European war, is significant and gratifying. It is true that Mr. Barrett's horses galloped a little too fast. As both Secretary Lansing and President Wilson stated in their addresses, the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on its own authority and will always be maintained upon our own responsibility. It is a part of our program of defense and cannot be shared or shifted to other shoulders.

With the aid of Latin America's intelligent support, however, the Monroe Doctrine promises to become a more definite bulwark to both continents than

it has been before. President Wilson's Pan-American program should assist materially to that end. His proposition is that all the American nations shall bind themselves to let each other's territory and liberties absolutely alone, to settle all boundary and other disputes by arbitration, and to prevent the outfitting of revolutionists who have designs on neighboring States. The political fruits of the Pan-American Scientific Congress may prove to be quite as important as the scientific results.

* * *

RUSSIA'S VODKA PROBLEM

If the Russian Government ever yields to the temptation to let loose the vodka demon again for the sake of revenue, it will have to take the first step across broken promises. The present Finance Minister, M. Bark, recently concluded a debate in the Duma with the categorical statement that all suspicions of any such intention were unfounded; that the Government would encourage temperance after the war, and that a return to the old conditions was impossible. In proof he cited the fact that the Government was drawing up a bill in accordance with the recommendations of the forty-five members who had investigated the subject.

"This bill," he said, "has already been approved by the entire Council of Ministers, and vodka, in accordance with the Czar's wish as expressed to me, will be totally prohibited forever."

Meanwhile the authorities have an immediate problem. What shall they do with the costly 200,000,000 gallons of vodka left in stock? For fear that some reactionary Finance Minister might be tempted, some members of the Duma favored destroying it. The more practical Ministers, however, have worked out a plan for turning it to industrial uses. Prizes were offered for inventions along this line, and a pamphlet was issued on the use of alcohol mixed with benzine for motor cars. The Government also made a grant of \$150,000 for the erection of a factory to make artificial rubber out of vodka on a system invented by Ostromyslensky.

Applied to the wheels and internal

works of motor trucks the fiery liquid is likely to do more toward moving the world in a desirable direction than it ever did inside the Russian peasantry.

* * *

SIR JOHN SIMON'S SACRIFICE

Sir John Simon's resignation from the British Cabinet rather than acquiesce in the adoption of conscription is a serious interruption to a great career. Among the statesmen who in the course of the next few years might have been in the running for the leadership of the Liberal Party, and for the office of Prime Minister, close students of British politics had gradually come to give Simon a leading place. Without being showy or sensational his parliamentary progress has been brilliant. He is regarded by many as the ablest, most cultured, and most attractive representative in Parliament of what is called the "Nonconformist conscience" in British society. He represents the historical forces out of which modern Liberalism has evolved, among others the pacifist ideal, the passion for freedom and political equality, and again the resolute ardor to improve social conditions.

He has the fervid temperament of those who came over with the Mayflower, with a mind trained as finely as an athlete's body and keenly sensitive to the appalling social condition of the masses in Great Britain. It is said that he was as much opposed to going to war as Lord Morley and John Burns, and that he would have followed them out of the Cabinet had he not been so greatly shocked by the German invasion of Belgium. When the Coalition Cabinet was formed he could have had the Lord Chancellorship, but refused that high position, as it would have meant translation to the House of Lords, whereas as a commoner he remains free to pursue a career, which might have led to the Prime Ministership.

When peace comes and the nation forgives those who have run counter to popular sentiment, as Lloyd George's pro-Boer days have been overlooked, Sir John Simon may once more resume the career which he has chosen to interrupt for an ideal.

Interpretations of World Events

Kaiser Wilhelm's Illness

CURIOUSLY contradictory rumors coming, on the one hand, through Holland, and, on the other hand, evidently sent forth by official Berlin, give gloomy or glowing accounts of the moral and physical state of the Emperor of Germany. He is ill; he is well. He is suffering from cancer; he is in the best of health. He is breaking his heart over the collapse of Germany and the suffering of Europe, social and financial; he is dining and wining his Generals and Ministers of State. So far has it gone with him that the inspired press is already lauding Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, while the Kaiser's brother and sister are summoned to his bedside; he is passing through the streets of Berlin, "joyfully cheered by adoring multitudes." Among all these snow flurries of contradictions what are we to believe? Only time will make that certain; but this we know, that, on the one hand, the father of the present Kaiser, the Emperor Friedrich, died of malignant cancer in the throat, and that from time to time there have been intimations that his son, the present Emperor Wilhelm, has inherited the same dread disease, though in a less malignant form, the seat of the malady in his case being the throat, close to the ear. On the other hand, we know that the Kaiser has always taken extreme precautions about his health, so that in his case a mere boil on the neck may be magnified into an extraordinary peril.

Did the Kaiser Cause the War?

THE bare suggestion that this most prominent figure on the European stage, this most conspicuous actor on the stage of the world, not merely today, but for the last generation, may be drawing near to his last exit, already induces one to attempt to weigh him in the scales of history; and, above all, to ask how far he directly caused and willed this greatest of all wars. Is he, as Pierre Loti would say, the deliberate villain

of the play? Or is he really a national hero, whose country has been forced into war, and who has fought and struggled magnificently to bring that war to a victorious issue? Austen begins his great treatise on jurisprudence by saying that in any State there exists a man or a group of men so strong as to be able to impose their will on the whole State; and that the analysis of forms of government is simply the description of that all-powerful man or group. In accordance with this, is the Emperor of Germany so powerful in fact that his single will and purpose sufficed to plunge half the world into war?

The Prussian Oligarchy

SUCH has been the Kaiser's view of himself: *Sic volo, sic jubeo!* He has written and spoken it in a hundred forms. But is it the truth? A pathetic story came in the early days of the war of the last decisive day at Potsdam, of the since dishonored Moltke's passionate declaration to the Kaiser that Germany must fight now or forever fail; of Moltke's threat, when his Emperor remained obdurate, to commit *hara-kiri* in approved Samurai style if his counsel were rejected; and then of the Kaiser's withdrawal into an inner room; of his hour of agony, praying in passionate indecision for Divine guidance, doubting, fearing, hesitating; he, so long the peace-keeper of Europe, now contemplating with appalled reluctance the crimson chaos of world war; then, at last, his torture become unendurable, he came forth to Moltke, whispering: "Let it be WAR!" And the ultimatum to Russia was dispatched. It may never be known how far this is an exact picture; but it is the kind of picture history seems likely to accept, with the logical inference that not the Kaiser but Moltke and the forces behind Moltke, the Grosser General-Stab and the whole phalanx of Prussian Junkertum, willed and brought about the war. Kaiser Wilhelm will then, if this view be accepted, be deemed a man more sinned against than sinning;

one who, Hamletlike, felt the world out of joint; felt, too, the curse that lay upon him, to strive in vain to set it right.

The Rivalry of England

THE German theory which inspired the upbuilding of the imperial navy—the lifework of Admiral von Tirpitz—and which finds its expression in all of Bernhardt's books, is that it was the slow, steady pressure of Perfidious Albion that brought on the war; that England, directed by King Edward VII., the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Sir Edward Grey, deliberately, and with long vision, built up the Triple Entente, just as Freycinet and Alexander III. of Russia built up the earlier Dual Alliance as a fore-ordained weapon against the German Empire and Germany's growing greatness; and that, until England's dominance was destroyed, Germany could know no true security. We must very frankly admit that events since the war began have given color to this. Germany's chief fear today is the naval dominance of England. Practically, it is the British high seas fleet that holds the early dual allies—France and Russia—together. May it not, then, very justly be argued that the present visible constraint which England is exercising on Germany is but expressing the earlier, invisible constraint which drove Germany to organize and arm; which, in effect, drove her to make war? History will take due account of this. It will not condemn the fact that Germany made war so much as the way in which that war was made; it will say far less of Germany's aggression than of her transgression of international law, which has so many times brought her to the point of an open break with our own Government. But all due credit will be given to the many and great sacrifices made by Germany and by the German people.

Military Compulsion in England

AT first blush the comparison between Germany and England in this vital matter of the willingness to make sacrifices is very favorable to Germany, very unfavorable to England. Only now, after a year and a half of the war, has Eng-

land, with many grumblings and protestations, rather timorously reached a very moderate degree of enforced military service, while Germany has, with a good deal of real enthusiasm, accepted conscription for many years; has even added very ready volunteering to enforced military service. Yet the need of England for more men has been from the outset a crying one. The little army that was defeated and driven back at Mons might, had it been big enough, have turned Central Belgium into a German Waterloo within sight of that historic field. And it has been the same thing from that day to this—at Gallipoli a lack of men; the belated expedition to relieve Serbia failing for lack of men. English arms threatened with disaster in Mesopotamia, again for lack of men, at a point where the repercussion of disaster on India might easily invite calamity. We have been regaled in the cablegrams to exultant accounts of "Kitchener's army"; to high phrases concerning "an extra million men," and "a total of four millions," but it has been patent to any tyro that, in reality, England is hard put to it to throw a single army corps of forty thousand, not to speak of four millions, into the breach where men are conspicuously needed.

Wanted: An English General

THE British Government hesitated from the outset to compel military service, simply from fear of "the British workman"; there is no mystery at all about that. But the German workman, whether on the field or in the factory, has readily given his life for the idea of the empire. Yet England seems to be, perhaps, even more handicapped in another direction: she appears to be almost devoid of genuine military talent, to say nothing of high military genius. But Germany, while having few soldiers of undoubted genius—Mackensen has the best claim there—has shown a very large amount of military talent of a high order; men who, having never been under fire in their lives, in contrast with England's ceaseless "little wars," have, nevertheless, ably handled

divisions and corps and armies, showing at once lucid insight and executive force. Wellington—an Irishman, like Wolseley, Roberts, Kitchener—used to say that the good General is he who can see what is going on on the other side of the hill. But the English Generals seem hardly able to see what has been going on on their own side of the hill, under their very eyes. More, they do not seem always to have seen what their own men were doing; and it is a fair guess that it was the failure of the English armies—the left wing of the allied drive—that checked the great offensive of Sept. 25, and that the realization of this is the true cause for the retirement of Field Marshal Sir John French.

The Pre-eminence of France

IT is unavailing to say that the hanging back of the British workman is accounted for by the fact that England is a democracy where the laboring class has learned to feel and to exercise its power, and so takes very unkindly to compulsion. It is useless to plead that the recent trend of socialistic legislation in England, under the inspiration of the present Minister of Munitions and the late Secretary of the Navy, instilled pacifist ideals into British labor, and that this, too, is a cause of British recalcitrance. Unavailing, useless; because France is not only a democracy but a republic to boot; because France has gone even further in the direction of socialism than England, every conspicuous man in the public life of France today having at least a strong leaven of socialism, from Briand, at the head of the Government, to Georges Clemenceau, the "Man in Chains," of the Opposition. For France, instead of hanging back, has gone magnificently forward. Among the Entente Powers the honors of the war belong, according to the opinion of the whole world, not to England but to France.

The Growth of French Influence

NOT only on the western battle front does France conspicuously lead England; but even more, perhaps, in the Near

East, in the Levant; more notably, because the Levant, the eastern Mediterranean, has been, for the last two generations, one of the strongholds of British ambition and British power. It was England's desire to dominate the eastern Mediterranean that drove her to fight Russia in the Crimean war of 1854-56, and to check Russia in the Turkish war of 1877-78, when Beaconsfield played Bismarck's game and sent the British fleet to menace the Czar. And ever since the influence of England in the Levant has grown, quite recently by the annexation of Cyprus and the establishment of a protectorate over Egypt, which is, in reality, the front door of the enormous British territory of the Sudan. At one time England and France held almost equal power in the Levant and Egypt; from the days when French genius and French capital built the Suez Canal to the days when Captain Marchand threatened, by his advance to Fashoda, to plunge France and England into war. Then France, under some pressure, withdrew, and left England practically supreme in Egypt and the Levant.

The French in the Balkans

GALLIPOLI was occupied not only with a view to opening the door of the Black Sea for Russia, but, at least as much, in order to bring the Turks hurrying home; to lighten the pressure on Egypt and the Suez Canal—in the interest, primarily, of England. But very much of the fighting at Gallipoli was carried out by picked troops of France, under General d'Aumade and his successors. In the same way, the Kaiser's thrust at Constantinople is avowedly a thrust at Egypt and, more remotely, at India; but the bulk of the fighting in Serbia, and the bulk of the work at Saloniki, fell to General Sarraill and the French, not to the English. Without question this will give France an authority and a weight in world affairs which she has not enjoyed for generations; has not enjoyed, perhaps, to the same degree, since the days of the great Napoleon. Should the Entente powers go forward from their present position to victory, France will emerge

as the strongest power on the continent of Europe, one of the dominant powers in the world. And no one who loves and admires France will feel any regret or misgiving at that.

Italy's Equivocal Role

THERE is, in Russian, a rather dry and ironical saying: "A taper for God—and a poker for the devil." Without the least intention of ranging the different belligerent nations under either of these theological headings one may say that there is a certain superficial reminder of this saying in the present position of Italy. At war with Austria, she is still "on friendly terms" with Germany and Turkey. And, while nominally helping the Entente powers in their—so far very ineffective—crusade to liberate Serbia, Italy is, in fact, helping Serbia just to the extent of seizing and occupying the Adriatic ports, like Durazzo and Avlona, which Serbia hoped to get as part of the spoils of the war of 1912, but which are at present a part of that rather fictitious nation, Albania. Italy, here as elsewhere, has the air of helping Italy rather than of giving genuine help to the general Entente cause. One is forcibly reminded of the long months which followed the outbreak of the war, when Italy was dickering and haggling with Austria; and when, from day to day, it seemed quite possible that Italy might either promise permanent neutrality to Germany, or even lend Germany effective aid and comfort; Germany meanwhile, in the person of Prince Buelow, doing all in her power to help Italy to carry through her deal at Vienna.

General Cadorna's Temperament

DURING the days of the Vienna negotiations we were told by those who were supposed to be in the confidence of Victor Emmanuel's Government that, in spite of adverse appearances, Italy was really solid for the Allies; that in reality the Vienna negotiations were all a bluff, under cover of which General Cadorna, the effective head of the Italian Army, was bringing that army up to date, working for high efficiency, piling up munitions, and sim-

ply awaiting the favorable moment to strike—which he did so soon as that moment came in the campaigns against Trent and Trieste. It is now suggested as an explanation of Italy's rather devious course with regard to Serbia that Italy is moved, not by a readiness to see Serbia lose on the Adriatic in order that Italy may fall heir to Serbia's holdings and so turn the Adriatic into an Italian lake, but that the rather narrow working out of Italy's campaign is the fruit of General Cadorna's type of mind. Trained in German General Staff ideas during the days of the Triplice, when Italy was Germany's very good friend and ally, Cadorna has soaked his mind in German military philosophy of the Bernhardt school, with its principle of concentration, of the hammer blow reiterated on a single point; and that he is so bent on smashing Austria along these lines that he will not consent to spare any troops for the aid of Serbia. Baron Sonnino, we are told, has a broader mind, and would be willing to do this; but Cadorna resolutely refuses, and, as head of the Italian Army, his authority is decisive.

The Loss of Cetinje

BE this as it may, the policy of hanging back, which Italy, for one cause or another, so resolutely follows, has brought about an event which is singularly threatening precisely to Italy, namely, the occupation by Austrian forces of the Montenegrin coast line at Cattaro, the port of Cetinje; of Mount Lovcen—the original Black Mountain from which Montenegro takes its name in the Venetian dialect—and finally the complete surrender of the Montenegrins to the victorious Austrians. At this writing (Jan. 20) the Austrian terms have not been announced, but, whatever they are, it means that the Eastern Dalmatian strongholds are lost to Italy and will be under the control or subject to the dictation of her traditional enemy.

The Thrust at Saloniki

TWO or three months ago it seemed certain that Russia was about to cut down on the back of Bulgaria, along that reach of the Danube which flows

due north through Rumania. We were even told of the Czar's promise to have an army actually in the field within a week. But no army came. Two explanations are possible: First, that, at the last moment, Rumania changed her mind, in view of the *débâcle* of the Serbian Army and the failure of the English and French to hold back the Teutons. That would be entirely natural, and in no way open to criticism. Rumania does not wish to invite for herself the fate of Serbia. Or the whole thing may have been a feint, to cover the present campaign in Bukowina. For it is a primary maxim in war to "do what your enemy does not expect you to do"; and, by contraries, to leave undone what he does expect you to do. In just this way, Lord Kitchener, we are told, deliberately concocted, as a *ruse de guerre*, the fairy tale of vast Russian armies carried from Archangel through Scotland, while things were developing for the battle of the Marne; and the fear of this may have hastened, may even have determined, General von Kluck's retreat. And the fear of a Russian thrust along the lower Danube seems without doubt to have drawn away Teutonic forces from Serbia and to have delayed the southward thrust against Saloniki, the thrust which still so unaccountably hangs back.

Russia's Campaign in Bukowina

UNACCOUNTABLE—except on one supposition, and that a vital one: The supposition that the Teutons have no troops. Already we hear of a Turkish army corps in France, of Turks fighting in Bulgaria—though this is not well authenticated—and of Turks to be sent against the Russians. This, taken with the slender and dwindling German force now operating in Serbia, can have but one meaning: that the German sources have begun to run dry. Germany has begun to pay for her preparedness; for her ability, that is, to get vast bodies of men very early into the field. The first blow failed—and the vast bodies of men have been gathered to Valhalla. But it is the very aggressive, very ably planned Rus-

sian campaign against Bukowina that is now most effectively protecting Saloniki, by drawing off German and Austrian troops to the north. And, one may remark, great as were the genius and the past services of Grand Duke Nicholas, who is now gravely ill at Tiflis in the Caucasus, we never hear a syllable of apprehension lest his absence may prove fatal to Russia's arms. Russia has shown her ability to produce a whole crop of very able Generals: Alexeieff, Ruzsky, Ivanoff, Brusiloff, to mention only four, who are thorough masters of the modern art of war, and the Grand Duke's place is very competently filled.

Bukowina and Rumania

THE merit of the present Russian campaign is this: As compared with the earlier planned move along the Danube the thrust through Bukowina has a far better base, the whole of Southwestern Russia, with its good railways, in developing which the late Count Witte won his spurs. This web of railroads handled, and ably handled, large Russian armies in the campaign of 1877 against the Turks, and the trick once learned is not likely to be forgotten. But there is a still greater advantage: The Russian advance southward through Bukowina—which has about the same area and population as the State of Connecticut—will push an effective screen in front of Rumania and cut that timid principality off very effectually from all fear of Teutonic reprisals. Once this is done—and it may only be a matter of weeks—the move along the Danube from Reni and Ismail may be undertaken again under immensely better conditions, and we may see a big army on Bulgarian soil at any moment. For the actual transit is only a matter of hours. From Reni to the Danube bridge, which connects Bucharest with the Black Sea coast at Kostendil, is about the same distance as the run up the Hudson from the Battery to Poughkeepsie, and the Russian armies would be likely to debark not far from the Danube bridge; in any case, three or four hours more, on flat boats drawn by tugs, would bring them to the Bulgarian frontier. The whole thing is

only a night's run for any average steamship, and the Odessa lines have plenty of excellent boats.

The Caucasus and Mesopotamia

ON the Caucasus fronts, too, the Russians are giving a good account of themselves. And this has a very definite bearing on the projected, or at least much advertised, Turkish drive against the Suez Canal and Egypt, for which, we are told, colossal preparations are being made at Aleppo, not so far from Antioch and Tarsus. The Russian thrust southward from the Caucasus has, however, another and more immediately vital purpose: to lessen the pressure on the beleaguered English and Anglo-Indian forces south of Bagdad, where England seems once more to have repeated her traditional blunder: sending a boy on a man's errand, and being then forced to rush an army to the rescue of the boy. It is the characteristic fault of overconfidence; what that very incisive Englishman, Matthew Arnold, caustically characterized thus: Conceit and the laziness arising from conceit. But England is learning; learning to look further ahead; learning to

make sacrifices; learning to have the courage to ask for sacrifices—in the sense of Chesterton's witty saying about the Catholic Church: that over its door these words are written: "Here sacrifices are accepted." Yet we are likely to hear, once and again, of slender bodies of British troops being pushed ahead and then cut off, and of the heroic relief of posts—that should never have been occupied, or should have been occupied by far more considerable forces. One may say, that all reports of grave unrest in India seem to be fancies; campaign stories, in which the wish is father to the thought. On the contrary, the war steadily continues to draw the whole British Empire closer together, to strengthen the bonds of fellowship between its parts.

Note.—Owing to a misunderstanding, Sir Gilbert Parker's article, "England! Whither Now?" appeared in the December issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* with the warning line, "All Rights Reserved." The article was not intended to be hedged in by any reserved rights. It is the author's intention to make it free to the American public.

Requiem

By DAVID A. ROBISON

This rose for our hero's grave
 Lay it with meaning there,
 Symbol of all our hearts deem fair,
 All that he died to save.
 The Father whose loving care
 Fashioned this perfect rose,
 'Tis in His arms our dead repose—
 Lay it with meaning there.

England's Munitions Campaign

By David Lloyd George

Below appear the main portions of the memorable speech delivered in the House of Commons by Mr. Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, on Dec. 20, 1915. In giving an account of his stewardship and stating "the present position of munitions" he used the striking sentence: "In this war the Allies have been dogged by the mocking spectre of 'Too late!'"

IT is now a little over six months since the Prime Minister invited me to take charge of the provision of munitions to the British Army in this war. Although this work is by no means complete, and some of the most important parts of it are still in course of development, I think the time has come to report progress to the House. Perhaps I had better preface my statement by a short survey of the relation of munitions to the problem of war, so that the House should understand clearly why we have taken certain action in order to increase the supply.

There has never been a war in which machinery played anything like the part which it is playing in this war. The place acquired by machinery in the arts of peace in the nineteenth century has been won by machinery in the grim art of war in the twentieth century. In no war ever fought in this world has the preponderance of machinery been so completely established. The German successes, such as they are, are entirely, or almost entirely, due to the mechanical preponderance which they achieved at the beginning of the war. Their advances in the east and west and south are due to this mechanical superiority; and our failure to drive them back in the west and to check their advance in the east is also attributable to the tardiness with which the Allies developed their mechanical resources.

The problem of victory is one of seeing that this superiority of the Central Powers shall be temporary, and shall be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment. There is one production in which the Allies had a complete mechanical superiority, and there they are supreme—that is in the navy. Our command of the sea is attributable, not merely to the

excellence of our sailors, but to the overwhelming superiority of our machinery.

There is another aspect of this question which has become more and more evident as this war has developed and progressed. The machine spares the man. The machine is essential to defend positions of peril, and it saves life because the more machinery you have for defense the more thinly you can hold the line. Therefore, the fewer men are placed in positions of jeopardy to life and limb. We have discovered that some of the German advance lines were held by exceptionally few men. It is a pretty well-known fact that one very strong position held by the Germans for days, and even for weeks, was defended against a very considerable French army by ninety men armed with about forty to fifty machine guns, the French losing heavily in making the attack. What we stint in materials we squander in life; that is the one great lesson of munitions.

In the Ministry of Munitions we have taken the control of supplies gradually. We have only just secured the direction of design. Woolwich Arsenal passed into our hands about three months ago. Inventions came and then went. They came and went, and came back again. Design was intrusted to us by the Prime Minister about three weeks ago.

I should first of all give the House the position when the Ministry of Munitions was first appointed. There was undoubtedly a shortage. That was known. Our troops knew it; so did the enemy. But neither of them knew how really short we were in some very essential particulars. Now I can with impunity give at least one or two figures. I would take gun ammunition. Gun ammunition is roughly divided into high explosive and shrapnel. There is

no doubt that military opinion, at least in this country—I am not quite sure about France—was wedded to shrapnel for reasons which are not unconnected with the events of the South African war. It was supposed that the days of high explosives were numbered, except for siege guns, and that shrapnel was the only weapon for fighting in the field. The developments of this war—many of them unexpected and many of them unexpected by the greatest soldiers—proved that that expert opinion was not altogether correct in its anticipation of the demise of high explosives. We were late and reluctant converts, and, like all reluctant converts, we were very tardy in giving up the old shrapnel.

We came to the conclusion that at any rate a very high proportion of high explosive ammunition was essential to success in the kind of trench warfare to which we had settled down. I think we still have a higher opinion of shrapnel than either the French or the Germans.

Now I will give the House an indication of the leeway we had to make up. The Germans at that time—I have already given the figures to the House—were turning out about 250,000 shells per day, the vast majority of them being high explosives. That is a prodigious figure. The French have also been highly successful in the quantities which they have been turning out. But they have great armies, and their arsenals which were turning out the materials of war for their army were naturally on a larger scale than ours. Our large arsenals naturally took a naval turn, and the bulk of the engineers who were turning out munitions of war were engaged on naval work, so that in the month of May, when the Germans were turning out 250,000 shells a day, most of them high explosives, we were turning out 2,500 a day in high explosives and 13,000 in shrapnel. That was neither right in quantity nor in proportion.

I have already given the House some of the reasons why the supply was so low. One was the lateness at which we came to the conclusion that high explosives were to play a great part in the

war. The other was the fact that the navy—this is a fact which is too often forgotten, not merely in this country, but, if I may say so, abroad—absorbed an enormous number of engineers and a very high proportion of our engineering resources. I have not the figures at the present moment, but, unless I am mistaken, something between two-thirds and three-quarters of the engineers occupied on munitions were occupied in turning out munitions for the navy.

The first step of the Ministry of Munitions was to improvise a great business organization for the purpose of coping with this problem. We had to find a staff, and we drew it from every quarter. Some of the Government departments lent us able civil servants. The War Office placed at our disposal a good many soldiers and other experts. The Admiralty helped, but I think the main feature of the new organization has been that we have had placed at our disposal the services of a considerable number of business men of high standing, who had been running successfully great business concerns.

We had an elaborate and careful census made of all the machinery in every industrial firm in this country, so that we knew what the resources of the country were, especially the resources which had not been utilized up to that moment. We found there were a very large number of lathes capable of being turned to the production of munitions. But this was not enough. There was a good deal of machinery which could not possibly be set aside for the purpose of manufacturing munitions, and we had to look to new sources of supply for machine tools. It was decided then to place the whole of the machine tool trade of this country under Government control. Further, by restricting the export of machinery, the Ministry was able not only to secure fresh sources of supply to meet the new increased program, but at the same time to place machinery at the service of existing contractors who were behindhand with their deliveries. This resulted in an immediate increase in production. It was found that there was very considerable congestion of machine tool im-

ports, owing to the congestion at the ports. This difficulty was overcome by sending down promptly a resident official to expedite the delivery of this machinery.

We sent representatives to America to order new machinery, and, acting in conjunction with J. P. Morgan & Co., they have been able to place there the necessary orders and to insure that the machinery is of the right class. It was also discovered that a considerable amount of machinery had been collected by contractors, who were unable for various reasons to utilize it. This machinery the department was able to distribute among firms who were in a position to utilize it. Steps were also taken to simplify the machinery, and that led to a considerable increase of output. These are steps we took in order to increase the machinery, which is the basis of production, and a considerable improvement was effected in a very short time in that respect. The effect upon production was almost immediate.

The next step we took was in regard to raw materials—metal. At the time of the formation of the Ministry one of the chief difficulties of the contractors was the lack of a regular and sufficient supply of the necessary raw material. Under the system of competition in the open market prices of material were rising to an extent wholly unwarranted by the situation. So we formed a separate metal department to deal with that situation. Steps were immediately taken to place the Ministry in control of the supply of metals of all classes, and arrangements were made for providing the contractors with all the raw materials they required for making good any shortages by tapping fresh sources.

The effect of these efforts has been to effect considerable reduction in the prices of raw materials. There has been a saving in the aggregate of something like £15,000,000 or £20,000,000 on the orders due entirely to the action taken by the metal department of the Ministry of Munitions in securing control of the whole metal market of this country. It enabled us to insure a supply which was adequate to meet not only the immediate fu-

ture but for many months to come all the demands of the various contractors, but also, which is equally important, to provide large supplies for our allies. Indeed, it was only by these efforts that a crisis in the market was prevented and that manufacturers had been able to effect the substantial increase in the output which has actually taken place.

Another step we took was in regard to labor. We took steps to endeavor to increase the supply, more especially of skilled workmen, in the various trades. We also supplied technical advice by experts to help manufacturers to get over their difficulties. It was a very useful step, especially in the case of firms who had not been in the habit of turning out this class of work. We appointed a number of hustlers to visit the works and find out what was wrong and help to put it right where possible and press contracts forward. The effect in itself of calling upon the industries to supply weekly reports was to improve the output. Contractors were very often not aware of their own difficulties until they were forced to face them and give an account of them. The net result has been of all these steps which I have summarized to increase the deliveries of old orders from 16 per cent. on the promises as they were then to over 80 per cent., a very considerable increase, on the promises as they are now. That is in regard to high explosives. We also effected a very considerable improvement in the percentage of the deliveries of shrapnel. The deliveries of high explosives and shrapnel have gone up considerably more than these figures indicate. Promises were increasing from month to month and week to week, and we have succeeded in increasing very considerably the deliveries in both.

With regard to American orders. Since the Ministry was appointed, Mr. Thomas, an old member of this House, went over to America to report on the position there. He went there independent of all agencies, and he came back speaking in the highest possible terms of the services rendered to this country by J. P. Morgan & Co., who have saved many

millions of money to this country by the efforts they made to reduce the rather inflated prices prevailing before they took the matter in hand.

The Ministry of Munitions has endeavored to help the sub-contractors to obtain better deliveries of raw material and machinery and additional supplies of suitable labor. It has given technical and financial assistance in a large number of cases, and with regard to fresh orders it has organized the engineering resources of this country. It has also done a good deal to develop the colonial and foreign markets in the United States of America, Canada, France, Switzerland, and elsewhere. Woolwich has been taken over and some progress has been made by the introduction of modern methods of factory control and manufacture. The problem of relieving the congestion at Woolwich has been dealt with, and the railway congestion has been decreased. As regards the net results of the steps we have taken, all I can say is that the quantity of shells fired during the operations of September was enormous. Battles lasted for days and almost ran into weeks, and there was no shortage. On the contrary, the Chief of Staff assured me that they were satisfied with the quantity of shells. This was the result of four months' careful husbanding, but it will be reassuring to the House to know that the whole of it was replaced in a month, and we shall be soon in a position to replace it in a single week.

Now I come to the question of guns. Large orders for field guns were placed in 1914. In June the deliveries were fair, though not up to promise. Medium guns and howitzers were largely in arrear, but I am glad to say that there has been a good deal of improvement in the last few months. With regard to these guns the House may take it that the position is thoroughly satisfactory. Now I come to the more important problem of the heavy guns. After consulting the Prime Minister on this point, I feel justified in giving the House some information as to our energies in this connection. While it does not give the enemy information of which they are not aware, it encourages our allies, who want to

know that we are putting forth all of our strength. If they are not passed on the enemy comes to the conclusion, not at all unnaturally, that we have not got them. On the other hand, your allies want to know that you are putting forth all your strength. It encourages them, and therefore the Prime Minister came to the conclusion that it was better that the facts should be divulged.

Up to midsummer of this year big guns on a large scale had not been ordered. We came rather late to the conclusion that on that scale big guns were essential to the successful prosecution of the war. I am not surprised. The House will recollect the kind of gun which was regarded as a prodigy in the Boer war; it was just a poor, miserable, medium gun. Now the soldiers are doubtful whether it counts in the least in trench warfare. Some one told me that in the very interesting novel about the invasion of this country by the Germans, which was published about three or four years ago, the big gun which would terrify everybody, as described in that novel, was 4.7. That is nothing compared with requirements now. The heavy siege gun which we had at the beginning of the war is now the lightest, because there has been such a change in the idea of the military, and the facts have forced the conclusion on us that it is only the very heaviest guns that will enable us to demolish these trenches. The trenches are getting deeper and deeper still; there is trench behind trench, trenches of every conceivable angle. There are labyrinths of trenches with concrete casements, and nothing but the most powerful and shattering artillery will enable our men to advance against them, except along a road, which is a road to certain death. Therefore, the War Office came to the conclusion that it was essential to success and victory, essential to the protection of the lives of our soldiers, that we should have an adequate equipment of the heaviest possible artillery. We are erecting great works in this country, and I have no doubt some honorable members have seen some of them; they are mostly associated with the program for the production of these guns and the supply of



BARON STEFAN VON BURIAN
Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs



FREDERIC C. PENFIELD

American Ambassador at the Austrian Court, Vienna

(Photo © by Underwood & Underwood)

adequate projectiles. I am very glad to say that we are making rapid progress with these structures. We have placed at our disposal the services of one of the ablest contractors in this country; I think he is manager to Sir William Arrol's firm; he came to our assistance and gave up his work and voluntarily and gratuitously placed his services at the disposal of the Ministry of Munitions to help in pressing forward the construction of these works. The help which he has given us is one of very conspicuous character.

That is all I can say under that head. I come now to the equally important question of machine guns. The dimensions of the machine-gun problem will be realized if the House will consider not only the increase of the size of the army, but also that the number of guns per division has increased manifold. When the war began our ideas were that each battalion should be supplied with two machine guns. The Germans supply each with sixteen machine guns. There is no doubt that a machine gun is by far the most destructive weapon in the whole of their army; it has destroyed far more lives than their rifles. In fact, I was told the other day that the machine guns and artillery between them are probably responsible for more than 90 per cent. of the casualties, rifles being responsible for not much more than 5 per cent. We were rather late in realizing the great part which the machine gun played in this war. * * *

I come now to a consideration, which perhaps some honorable members will think was the last consideration in my mind—I mean economy. A very able accountant, a member of one of the most important firms in this country, placed his services gratuitously at our disposal. We set him to the task of scrutinizing contracts and examining prices and generally seeking out methods of cutting down expenditure. He gathered around him a staff of experienced business men and accountants, and, first of all, devoted his attention to the question of gun ammunition, because that is incomparably the largest item of expenditure. This new committee came to the conclusion

that prices could be considerably reduced. A new scale had been devised, but of course it is only applicable to new contracts and to renewals of old contracts. Therefore it has not yet come to full fruition.

The cost of the ammunition for 18-pounders, which is a very considerable item, running into tens and scores of millions, has been reduced by 40 per cent. The cost of the ammunition for 4.5 howitzers has been reduced by 30 per cent. since the report of this committee. All the new contracts are based on those prices. We hope to save very considerably—save in millions, in tens of millions—upon the expenditure which we are incurring.

We want labor to man the factories. Beautiful machines of the most modern type for manufacturing machine guns, which our armies and those of our allies are clamoring for, and which are essential for offense and defense, are standing idle and cannot be put up because we have not got the necessary labor. There are some things you must get skilled men for, while there are other operations that you really do not need skilled men for. That was the whole proposition. If you can get the skilled men from the places where the unskilled man or woman could do the work just as well and put him into those factories where you must have skilled men, the problem of the war is solved.

What about the new factories? We require 80,000 skilled men for those factories and 200,000 to 300,000 unskilled. Upon our getting that I think depends our success in the war. But taking the lowest view of that, upon that depends entirely whether we are going to alter the proportion of orders in favor of this country, and consequently reduce the cost of the war by scores of millions of pounds in the course of a single year. It depends upon that whether we can furnish our troops with guns, rifles, machine guns, projectiles to enable them to make next year's campaign a success. I have heard rumors that we were overdoing it, overordering, overbuilding, overproducing. Nothing can be more malev-

olent or more mischievous. You can talk about overordering when we have got as much as the Germans have got, and even then I should like to argue how far we should go. So mischievous is that kind of talk, that I cannot help thinking that it must have been originated by men of pro-German sympathies, who know how important it is that our troops should at the critical moment not be short of that overwhelming mass of material which alone can break down the resistance of a highly intrenched foe. We have as yet, in spite of the great efforts, not approached the German or French production. We have got to reach that first, but not last. France is of the opinion that even her colossal efforts are inadequate.

I have consulted Generals and officers of experience with the British and French armies, and conferences which I have had with the Minister of Munitions of France have given me an opportunity of obtaining the views of the most highly placed and distinguished officers of the French Army, and before I quote their opinions let me point this out. All these Generals up to the present have underestimated the quantity of material necessary to secure victory. I am not surprised; it is so prodigious. I remember one case of a French General who told me that that was the great surprise of the war and every battle that has been fought has demonstrated that one thing, and even now it is an underestimate and not an overestimate.

Take the last great battle. It is no secret that you had a prodigious accumulation of ammunition. There was not a General who was in the battle who does not tell you that with three times the quantity of ammunition, especially in the higher natures, they would have achieved twenty times the result. It is too early to talk about overproduction. The most fatuous way of economizing is to produce an inadequate supply. A good margin is a sensible insurance. Less than enough is a foolish piece of extravagance. Two hundred million pounds can produce an enormous quantity of ammunition; it is forty days' cost of the war. If you have got it at the

crucial moment the war might be won in forty days; if you have not got it it might run to four hundred days. What sort of economy is that? What you spare in money you spill in blood. I got a very remarkable photograph of the battlefield of Loos, taken immediately after. There was barbed wire which had not been destroyed; there was one machine-gun emplacement which was intact—all the others had been destroyed. There in front of the barbed wire lay hundreds of gallant men. One machine gun! These are the incidents that you can obviate if you have enough. Every soldier tells me that there is but one way of doing it—have enough ammunition to crush every trench where an enemy lurks, destroy every emplacement, shatter every machine gun, rend and tear every yard of barbed wire. If the enemy wants to resist he will have to do it out in the open, face to face with better men than himself. That is the secret—plenty of ammunition. I hope all these ideas that we are turning out too much will not enter into the minds of workmen, capitalists, or taxpayers until we have enough to crush our way through.

I want to appeal to labor. You must spend wisely; you must spend to the best purpose; you must not pay extravagant prices, but, for Heaven's sake, if there are risks to be taken, let them be risks for the pockets of the taxpayers and not for the lives of the soldiers. The right path to economy is not to reduce the output, but to reduce the cost, and labor alone can help us here. There are only 8 per cent. of the machines for turning out lathes in this country working on night shifts. We have appealed to the employers, and they say we have not got the labor, and it is true. They have not got the skilled labor.

There is only one appeal to employer and employed. It is the appeal to patriotism. The employer must take steps. He is loath to do it. It is a sort of inertia which comes to tired and overstrained men—as they all are. They must really face the local trade unions and put forward the demand, because until they do so the State cannot come in. We have had an act of Parliament, but the law

must be put into operation by somebody, and unless the employer begins by putting on unskilled men and women to the lathes we cannot enforce that act of Parliament. The first step therefore is that the employer must challenge a decision upon the matter, and he is not doing so because of the trouble which a few firms have had. But let us do it.

Victory depends upon it. Hundreds of thousands of precious lives depend upon it. It is a question of whether you are going to bring this war to an end in a year victoriously, or whether it is going to linger on in blood-stained paths for years. Labor has got the answer. It can be done.

I wonder whether it will not be too late. Ah, fatal words! Too late in moving here, too late in arriving there, too late in coming to this decision, too late in starting with enterprises, too late in preparing. In this war the footsteps of the allied forces have been dogged by the mocking spectre of "Too late," and unless we quicken our movements damnation will fall on the sacred cause for which so much gallant blood has flowed.

I beg employers and workmen not to have "Too late" inscribed upon the portals of their workshops, at any rate, and that is my appeal. Everything depends upon it during the next few months in this war. We have had the co-operation of our allies. Great results have been arrived at. At the last conference we had of the Allies in Paris decisions were arrived at which will affect the whole conduct of the war. The carrying of them out depends upon the workmen of this country. The superficial facts of the war are for the moment against us. All the fundamental facts are in our favor. That means we have every reason for looking the facts steadily in the face. There is nothing but encouragement in them if we look beneath the surface.

The chances of victory are still with us.

We have thrown away many chances. But for the most part the best still remains. In this war the elements that make for success in a short war were with our enemies, and all the advantages that make for victory in a long war were ours—and they still are. Better preparation before the war, interior lines, unity of command—those belonged to the enemy. More than that, undoubtedly he has shown greater readiness to learn the lessons of the war and to adapt himself to them. He had a better conception at first of what war really meant. Heavy guns, machine guns, trench warfare—it was his study. Our study was for the sea. We have accomplished our task to the last letter of the promise. But the advantages of a protracted war are ours. We have an overwhelming superiority in the raw material of war. It is still with us in spite of the fact that the Central Powers have increased their reserves of men and material by their successes.

The overwhelming superiority is still with us. We have the command of the sea that gives us ready access to neutral countries, and, above all—and this tells in a long war—we have the better cause. It is better for the heart—nations do not endure to the end for a bad cause. All these advantages are ours. But this is the moment of intense preparation. It is the moment of putting the whole of our energies at home into preparing for the blow to be struck abroad. Our fleet and the gallantry of the troops of our allies have given us time to muster our reserves. Let us utilize that time without the loss of a moment. Let us cast aside the fond illusion that you can win victory by an elaborate pretense that you are doing so. Let us fling to one side rivalries, trade jealousies, professional, political, everything. Let us be one people. One in aim, one in action, one in resolution, so to win the most sacred cause ever intrusted to a great nation.



Freedom of the Seas

By Albert Ballin

Managing Director of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line

This noteworthy article appeared in the Vossische Zeitung on Dec. 25, 1915:

ONCE again Christmas, the Festival of Love, is drawing nigh, and the peoples of Europe are still engaged in waging the most hideous and stupid war which the world has ever seen, still occupied in turning this old and beautiful land into a heap of ruins—and all for the advantage of the world on the other side of the ocean and to the delight of the yellow race.

That we did not desire this war, as our opponents assert, is most clearly shown by the fact that we were drawn into it without any other aim than the consciousness that we had to fight for the existence of our Fatherland and for a free pathway, by both land and water, for the exercise of our industry and our efforts. Both by land and by water!

As the scope of the war becomes wider and wider the imagination of the nation, stimulated in proportion, seeks ever new goals, and is even ready to exchange the old principles of our national welfare—principles which have enabled us, from our own resources, to bear the financial burden of the terrible conflict—for the new aim of the war: Berlin-Bagdad! A great and beautiful thought, one that we can certainly cherish and follow out—but a task, nevertheless, which should not be allowed to overshadow the immense interests which point us to our great ocean-going traffic and to our trade beyond the seas.

The men who will some day be intrusted with the duty of drawing up the terms of peace will have as their supreme task that of exterminating not only the war itself, which has destroyed whole generations, but also the fever of armaments; or at least of restricting the latter within as narrow limits as possible in a Europe which will remain exhausted for decades. They must also devise some sort of assurance that this bloody war will not be followed by an economic war,

which would separate the nations still further from one another. Hence the demand for the freedom of the seas once more comes into prominence.

It is true, certainly, that in times of peace the seas were always free; but in war, as we know today to our cost, they are governed by the strongest fleet. Means, therefore, must and will be found for assuring the freedom of mercantile traffic by sea, not only in peace but also in war.

The ocean separates nations and yet binds them together! If the peace is to be a good peace it must help to justify the truth of this old saying. To set up a secure route from Berlin to Bagdad as the sole aim of the war, so far as we were concerned, would only bring us back to a purely Continental policy and would deal a heavy blow at Germany's well being by prejudicing the future shaping of her political economy.

Let us today read again with pleasure the Oriental prophecy of our great economist, Friedrich Lisst, who, in a far-seeing moment, held out to us the aim, Berlin-Bagdad. But this prophecy should not be allowed to supersede another prophecy of Lisst's—one that has so profound and luminous an application to our present conditions:

"The sea is the high street of the earth. The sea is the parade ground of the nations. The sea is the arena for the display of the strength and enterprise of all the nations of the earth, and the cradle of their freedom. The sea is, so to say, the rich village common on which all the economic peoples of the world may turn their herds out to graze. The man who has no share in the sea is thereby excluded from a share in the good things and honors of the world—he is the stepchild of our dear Lord God."

Let the men who draw up the terms of peace see to it that Germany, too, does not become "the stepchild of our dear Lord God."

Great Britain's Vitality

By George Bernard Shaw

This condensed report of one of Mr. Shaw's most recent and characteristic speeches originally appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Dec. 19. The address was delivered for the benefit of the work done by the East London Federation of Suffragettes for mothers and babies. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst presided.

YOU must put peace as completely out of your minds for the present as you must put Summer skies and long days, and we may see Summer skies and long days more than once before we see peace in Europe. It is not a question of what we desire to see, but of what is going to happen. What has happened is that Germany, after a very remarkable period of conquest, has finally wiped Serbia off the map of Europe. We cannot leave matters there. If we could suppose that the German Emperor in a fit of inspiration were suddenly to strike on the amazing device of withdrawing his army from the places he has occupied, and, retiring within his own frontier, were to say that he had shown his power, but that nevertheless he did not believe that we should be governed by the sword, and would leave the matter to be arbitrated upon by the President of the United States of America or the Pope, what an extraordinary difficulty that would put us in!

The war is a very curious one, and the conquests and victories are all on one side, and not on our side as yet. They have apparently reached their climax, and even if the way were made easy for us we would be very loath to leave the matter where it is.

There had been a very curious change in public opinion in the last year, Mr. Shaw said. A year ago he got himself into extraordinary trouble and was called a pro-German because he suggested for the first time that all English arrangements were not absolutely perfect and that the Ministers were not all Solons, Cavours, and Napoleons. It was, he said, rather hard that public opinion should now have gone all the other way. Mr. Shaw went on to declare that in fighting the German Army Eng-

land was not fighting a wonderful, infallible, perfect organization. He said:

It is absolutely necessary that the German people should be awakened from that romantic dream. The Germans are the most romantic people in the world, and their imagination has magnified the German Army. German officers would tell us what a wonderful thing the German Army was; every man knew his place in it, and in the civil organization connected with it every woman knew her place, and at a word from the Kaiser the whole magnificent machine would begin to move. Most of us believed and trembled. I did not, because I am in the romantic line myself, professionally, and know how romantic people are. If one had asked an English officer what would happen when war broke out he would say, "God only knows." What happened when war came was that the British Army was mobilized in about a fortnight, the navy proved itself ready for all engagements, and our expeditionary force got across the Channel without the loss of a single man.

The wonderful German Army, which was prepared for everything, made a wild and romantic rush for Paris, which it was to reach in a fortnight. It arrived before the fortifications of Liège. Everybody in Europe, including the German Army, knew perfectly well that to approach the famous fortifications of Liège without siege guns was like approaching them with a pop-gun. The Germans were held up for a fortnight by the little Belgian Army, and that fortnight probably lost them the war. When the siege guns did arrive they were Austrian siege guns and not German.

Then we hear a good deal about the intelligence department of the German

Army, that amazing organization of spies, who collected information that could be found in Whittaker's Almanac and other handbooks. With its perfect intelligence department the German Army was held up at Antwerp by a force of horse marines it could have wiped out in ten minutes if it had known how many horse marines were there.

Mr. Shaw said he mentioned these things in order to show that the fable of the wonderful German Army had collapsed, but not to mislead any one into thinking that the German Army was any the less dangerous because it had awakened from its romantic dream and faced realities. But the German people had to be thoroughly awakened out of their dream. He went on:

These are the grounds upon which we must make up our minds that the war is going on. This is the situation which the popular instinct of the English has grasped. We must, therefore, put out of our minds any hope that we can stop the drain on the nation's vitality by clamoring for peace. We shall certainly have to go on for another year with the drain of war upon the nation's vitality.

Which is the greater—the drain of war or the drain of peace? In an intelligent and well-organized nation the question would be ridiculous, but we are not an intelligent and well-organized nation.

The drain of war is shown by the figures just published. We have lost 100,000 men, killed in the war. If we take for the purposes of comparison the first year of war we had under arms in that period 3,000,000 men. Seventy-five thousand men were killed. It is the military tradition that a country is defeated when it loses 20 per cent. of its men. We have lost only 2½ per cent. That is not very alarming. The drain of war does not seem to be so terrific as it is imagined to be.

Take the other side: If we take the number of babies conceived in this nation and who ought to be born we have 938,000. The number which succeeds in getting born is about 800,000. This is not a good beginning. It means that 138,000 have not sufficient vitality to get them-

selves born; it also means that the mothers were not properly fed and properly instructed. Of the 800,000 babies who do manage to enter the world 100,000 die before they are 1 year old. This means dirty milk or no milk at all—slums, bad food, and ignorance. We lose 100,000 before 1 year of age; we drop another 100,000 before they reach the age of 15, just when they are becoming industrial producers and available for military service, and of the remainder who do grow up we find that another 100,000 have to be rejected for military service because they are unfit; that is 37½ per cent. destroyed in peace for the 2½ per cent. destroyed by the whole German Army firing shot and shell at them.

We have the assurance of Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board, that the infant mortality rate is rising—probably as the result of modern education and organization. Ladies and gentlemen, don't be mean. Don't say these things are inevitable, don't blame God for what is your own fault. Other people have tried to improve the situation and have succeeded. In New Zealand it occurred to the people that babies were worth taking care of, and they got the mortality rate down to 5 per cent. What the New Zealanders can do we could do. Macaulay in a way prophesied the downfall of London in the passage describing the traveler from New Zealand standing on the broken arches of London Bridge sketching the ruins of St. Paul's. In his imagination the New Zealander was a black man, but he will be a man who has simply taken the precaution of looking after the children.

What sort of action can we take to deal with these matters? The sort of action that ladies in the East End of London have taken single handed. The Local Government Board has lately been put in a position to help under the Notification of Births act, and it is possible to begin to organize help for the mothers and babies for which the board will pay half of the expenses. The moral of this is that the expenses ought to be made as large as possible.

But when I consider the sort of lead we get from members of the Government

I am not encouraged. There was a meeting held by Cabinet Ministers at which economy was preached to the workers' representatives. Mr. Asquith spoke for twenty minutes and then left, to resume his important duties as Prime Minister. The consequence was that Mr. McKenna (Chancellor of the Exchequer) immediately got up and gave Mr. Asquith away. Mr. Asquith's speech was an appeal to the workers not to ask for higher wages. It was, he said, unpatriotic to ask for higher wages. Some people expected him to talk about economy. But how could he?

Mr. Shaw said he used to think that Mr. Lloyd George would make a good Foreign Secretary, but added:

In 1911 he went to the Guildhall in shining armor and shook his mailed fist at Germany, who was making trouble about Morocco, and Germany backed down. Sir Edward Grey is too much of a gentleman to talk as a Foreign Secretary must talk, but Mr. Lloyd George is never too much of a gentleman to do anything of the sort. If he had been at the Foreign Office there would have been no war, and if Sir Edward Grey had been at the Munitions Department there would have been no Munitions act. Sir Edward

Grey is an intelligent man and an industrious man, with some democratic instinct. Mr. Lloyd George seems to have no democratic instinct whatever. He is not industrious, and, though eloquent, he never understands anything he talks about. He ought never to be allowed to touch business with the ends of his fingers.

The Munitions act, for which he is responsible, is really a very serious thing. It has brought us almost within reasonable lengths of revolution while the war is going on. The only remedy the Government has had is practically to order the press not to mention the strikes and discontent arising out of the act. Under Mr. Lloyd George's hands the Munitions act had practically broken down. Yet he came before the workers' meetings with a number of perfectly useless amendments, and the Labor men had actually to supply him with pages and pages of amendments to his own act. He is typical of the middle-class professional man and the ignorance of the working class, with a certain susceptibility to the glamour of the aristocratic class. His case shows that it is possible to become celebrated throughout the world without having any genuine ability.

Peace at Any Price

By DAVID STARR JORDAN
Chancellor of Stanford University

Are we "For peace at any price"? Let us face the issue squarely. When we do this, the phrase has no meaning. For when the question really comes up, there is no peace to be had at any price. In this war, no peace was offered at any price to Serbia, to Belgium, to France. It was offered at a price to Austria, Russia, Germany, and England. Should these nations have taken it at the price? This question each may answer for himself. And paying the price, would they have had peace, real peace well worth the cost? All war is a "brawl in the dark," whatever its motive. If real peace is offered at any price, there need be no talk of war.

What could not Europe have afforded to pay to prevent the great catastrophe? What has war cost Europe, and when will it be able to repay?

And for us to whom war is not offered, we would see the price-lists first. With Lincoln, we would count the cost. If we do not, it may stagger us. And will we get peace when we pay for it? Not the armed peace of fear and hate, for that is war only half disguised; but the peace of mutual trust and international confidence. Sooner or later that must come; for as sure as the day follows night, the principle of federation must succeed unbalanced nationalism in the development of the civilized world.

England—Traitor to the White Race

By Dr. Bernhard Dernburg

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, late German Colonial Minister, who became so well known to Americans by his activities in this country in the interests of Germany after the outbreak of the war, made the statements printed below in a lecture on Dec. 10 before a huge audience at Vienna. This was the first public speech made by Dr. Dernburg after his departure from the United States.

YOU will not deem it strange if I feel a certain inclination to talk about the colonial domain in which

I worked so long, and about international relationships across the seas, with which I have become familiar in my extensive travels. Just as the belligerents in Europe are divided by nationality, so people are divided by race in the colonies; and, just as closer ties bind nationalities and nations, so there is also a community of races. Just as in European politics every member of a nation is answerable to every other for the maintenance of his rights, (a relationship which we call the State,) so, in the colonial domain, every member of the white race is answerable to every other for the maintenance of his purity, culture, and prestige of this greater community.

The object of successful colonization among savage natives, wherever the climate does not allow white men to live, is to exploit the soil for its treasures, to make lakes, streams, and, above all, human beings, useful to the colonizing race. The essential thing is to raise such articles as do not thrive in northerly climates and are suitable for rounding out the economic life of the inhabitants of northern lands. This can be done successfully only when the hostility of the natives toward order and regular labor is overcome and their interest aroused in the activities of the colonist. To achieve this, the colonist must realize that the only thing which will justify the imposition of his will—by force if necessary—on these savage natives is that he give them, in exchange, better methods, zealously introduce a higher culture among them, seek ways and means toward the careful maintenance and increase of the subject race. In short, he must consider

colonization as much an ethical as a mercantile task.

This is possible only when no unnecessary attack is made on the peculiar character, organization, and usages of law which exist even in the most savage States of Central Africa. Instead, these must be left alone in so far as this can be done without jeopardizing the objects of colonization and the relationship of motherland and colony.

But as, in the colonies, it is a question of dealing with great masses of undeveloped beings, far superior to the whites in number and not united among themselves, this task of the colonizer can be accomplished only if he succeeds in maintaining the prestige of the white race morally and culturally. If the white man is looked upon as mentally superior, on a higher plane economically, superior in weapons and power, the natives will decide that to render obedience to him is not only necessary, but wise. That is what is called the prestige of the white race. It is based on the native's belief that the will of the white man is good, unshakable, unconquerable.

The above applies to the power of the white race in general, not merely to that of whatever white nation may happen to be known to natives—in short, it applies to all colonizing nations. This is true because, among the nations of the dark continent, there is a constant movement to and fro, a whispering and murmuring; bits of news that trickle into Kamerun travel the most incredible distances, are drummed from place to place by the village drummers. One catches the sounds from the other, and thus, within a few hours, news travels over regions in the French and Belgian Congo which it takes whole days for a man to cross. On the

way, the news becomes either better or worse, according to the amazingly active but illogical whim of the negro. What is big becomes little, what is little big, and the chatter about some deed or plan of the whites is nowhere livelier than in the native villages of Africa.

For this reason what concerns the German concerns the Belgian, the Frenchman, the Englishman, and the Portuguese quite as much. It is, therefore, an axiom that there must be solidarity of all whites as opposed to blacks—at least it was until now. When Cortez, with a handful of Spaniards, captured the City of Mexico, the Mexicans thought that the Spaniards were immortal and their horses sprung from the gods. But when the first horse had fallen in battle and the first Spaniard had been sacrificed on the altars of the Mexicans' god, it was all over with this belief, and the Spaniards were driven to a bloody and terrible retreat.

One can agree with the English when they say that they have carried out their mission of culture in the colonies intelligently and efficiently, after a number of mistakes—though it must be added that they hit upon the right method comparatively late in the day. They have succeeded in dominating and developing under their flag a family of nations which has justified high hopes for the future development of the human race. They have sought successfully to bear in mind the idiosyncrasies of their vassals, to respect their wishes and aims, to allow them as much freedom as was compatible with progress and the accomplishment of the national purpose. In this country of yours, this Austria-Hungary of many races, where the same methods have been applied successfully for centuries, under the leadership of the Hapsburgs, and are still being applied, this may not seem especially noteworthy; it is to be assumed that the Austrians would have made good colonizers, had their destiny led them toward colonization.

Germany turned to colonizing because, both industrially and agriculturally, she was suffering from too great an increase in population; because she is essentially

a manufacturing country which cannot forego a certain control of the raw materials; because she was obliged to forestall schemes to hem her in artificially, and make her suffer from increased prices; because, in order to support her people at home, she had to extend her foreign trade and seek new fields of activity and education for her overflow of young men. I need not point out to you the differences between the Dual Monarchy and the German Empire. A glance at the statistics shows how much larger Austria-Hungary is than Germany and how much less thickly populated, how much less the agricultural yield per capita is in Austria-Hungary than in Germany, how a smaller volume of manufactures suffices to satisfy the population and maintain equilibrium. The war has wrought many changes, so that the development of Austria-Hungary will be more closely akin to that of Germany. The large emigration from Austria-Hungary, contrasted with the almost complete cessation of emigration from Germany to lands not under the German flag, gives a hint as to the consequences of German economic development. As is well known here, Germany has been for many years a country attracting a large stream of immigration.

I have remarked that England has, in general and at times in an exemplary manner, conformed to one of the essential requirements of colonization. But in so far as another is concerned—viz., the maintenance of the prestige of the white race—she has sinned grievously. This was true, first, in the Boer war, when she loosed black Bantu tribesmen against white men. It is true again now, when England is leading all sorts of uncultured colored men against whites, and fighting by the side of such savages. In order to make clear to you what I mean allow me to give you an example:

When I was journeying through Central Africa in 1907 at the head of my caravan of from 500 to 600 blacks, captured by a small band of whites, our only protection was about 20 Sudanese Ascaris, marching ahead of us, beneath the folds of the great black, white, and red German flag. All the rest were

bearers carrying our tents, stools, tables, beds, and luggage, our provisions, even our drinking water, the provisions for the bearers themselves, for our escort, for the muleteers driving our few mules. Behind these came the procession of soldiers' wives, with their little boy servants, for every one of us had one or two black servants or "boys," and the latter, in their turn, would have deemed themselves degraded had they not some little chap to carry their bundles—these little fellows were called by the camp wit "boy-boys." In this way we traveled, hundreds of miles from railway and telegraph, through regions which until a few years ago were absolutely wild, protected only by our national flag, yet feeling ourselves perfectly safe. At night we lay in our tents, pitched in a great circle around a camp fire, behind which glowed the countless little fires at which our bearers warmed themselves, and we slept as securely as in our beds in the Fatherland. Yet there was nothing to protect us but the big flag which waved and fluttered in the middle of the camp, guarded by a lone sentinel. And that flag seemed to say: "Here is law and order, behind me lies the full power of the great German Empire, against which as yet no foe of the black race has prevailed."

I recall likewise a visit to the Sultan Kahigi of Kisenyi on the western shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, where we walked for hours between rows of white-clad negroes holding palm branches, where the women sprinkled luck-bringing rice over us, until at last we reached the Sultan's residence, where, in an enormous courtyard, many thousand blacks welcomed us with shouts of joy. On the terrace of the Sultan's stone house we witnessed the barbaric spectacle of a wild war dance, played by musicians decked with fantastic headgear and tiger skins, which the Sultan called his "concert."

We whites were in a hopeless minority. The Sultan had a large bodyguard, armed with muskets. There we were, in the heart of Africa, cut off from the rest of the world. And the thought of the German Government was not exactly pleasant to that Sultan; he had to pay taxes

and kotow to it. But he had been made a German subject by the prestige of the white race.

On the big flooring behind his veranda he had a museum consisting of several battered coffee cans and pots, a gramophone long ago put out of commission, a half dozen alarm clocks, none of which worked, lanterns, candlesticks, epaulets. But what he prized above all else was a German sabre, the knightly gift of a representative of Germany. And nothing gave this potentate greater pleasure than the big school in which hundreds of children recited their lessons aloud, as do all children of nature, and learned Swahili and Arabic letters, and pointed proudly to the place on the map where the great Sultan of Germany lived, whose most august representatives were no their guests. It was not belief in our friendliness but the absolute belief in the power behind this friendliness, a power guaranteeing them unhindered development, that underlay the rejoicing of the populace.

Every time that we halted in the course of our long marches under some mango or bread fruit tree, some Sultan or other, great or small, appeared, bringing cattle as gifts. He received a generous present in exchange, and discussed whatever grievance was on his mind—usually it dated back to a long time before the German occupation. And late in the night, after we had retired, we could hear the monotonous shuffling of naked feet, the outcries, the songs in minor keys sung for hours by the women, dancing in a small circle with their unfortunate babes bound on their backs, in token of their joy and satisfaction, before the admiring eyes of the black members of our caravan.

It was the same everywhere—now under the stars, in the idleness and pleasure of the camp; now in the German courtroom, almost a temple, where the German district chief, with a black interpreter on his right and the Arabic elders on his left, recited much learned lore, while hundreds of squatting black figures confidently argued their cases, backed up worthily and with moderation by the representatives of their chieftains.

Yes, everywhere there was the same relationship, everywhere the same sense of order, introduced by the white man and recognized by the blacks thousands of miles from the coast, on the Equator, in Darkest Africa.

Upon this foundation rests nearly the whole colonial structure. Yet the greatest colonial power of all, England, is guilty of overthrowing this foundation. For it is England who, in co-operation with France, is leading men of the black and yellow races against the Central Powers; England it is who is transplanting them to Europe, making them familiar with even the last word in modern weapons. Probably they argue in England that this step can have no dire consequences for England if she wins. But suppose England does not win? And even if she does? All who know the minds of the subject races know that those who return to their native land, the men who know how to use the best of the white man's weapons, will tell their fellow-countrymen that they and their brothers saved great England from destruction, that England was forced to summon the black man to save her; that henceforth they must behave differently, make demands, remember that the future must belong to the colored man—Africa to the African, India to the Indian.

Because of this it is that the colored troops in Europe are put in the most exposed positions, in the thickest of the mêlée, for every Englishman shudders at the thought of letting these men return to their homes. For this reason it is that he is waging his war against Germany's colonies and that he cries out, tortured by a guilty conscience, that England is fighting for civilization against the barbarians. In this way he seeks to forget that he is not only waging war against barbarians, but by their side, by means of them.

The consequence will be that a tremendous restlessness will take possession of the entire colored world, that dominion over the colonies must be erected on an entirely different foundation, that what was conquered peacefully must be retained by force, and that much progress and development of the subject peoples must be lost. Never has a world power

so criminally played with great ethical values for its own ends as has England, and never has England so seriously undermined her own existence as when she forgot that 80,000,000 whites must rule over 400,000,000 colored human beings.

Whereas the world power of England is founded, in the eyes of the uncivilized world—or perhaps we should say of the non-Christian world—on the prestige possessed up to now by the English as members of the white race, and now betrayed by them, it is founded, so far as our civilization is concerned, on the strongholds with which England has encircled the seas in the course of the centuries and in pursuance of a policy unhampered by party vicissitudes. For it is not the possession of the most powerful fleet which is the decisive factor in the control of the seas and the blockading of other countries, but far more the possession of naval bases and coaling stations. During the last few months we have seen how Mudros and Saloniki became English naval stations, whether their owners wished it or not, exactly as did Calais and Boulogne. The salient trait of English friendship is that it demands the doorway from its hosts.

In the United States geography lessons in the public schools have been suspended for the present, on account of the changes which the present war will probably work in the map. But this branch of instruction was not even before the war the strong point of the curriculum in these schools. When I lectured before American Chambers of Commerce and learned societies, armed with a big map, I aroused great astonishment when I showed to what extent the United States also lay under the fire of British naval stations. After my lectures were over, this map of mine was surrounded entire hours by numerous persons who kept up a lively discussion of my remarks.

That map showed them that five English naval stations were nearer to the Panama Canal than the nearest American naval station; that the Eastern coast of the United States, between Halifax and Bermuda, is dominated by England; that the route to the Pacific Ocean is barred by the English Falk-

land Islands; that the entire Pacific is menaced and dominated by countless groups of islands as is the west coast of America by British Columbia; that the Northern part of the Indian Ocean is controlled by Wei-hai-Wei, Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, Colombo, and Koweit, the western portion by Mom-basa, Zanzibar, and Durban; that the west coast of Africa is controlled by Cape Colony, St. Helena, and Lagos. Especially did these people understand the situation of Germany and her allies, the closing of the North Sea by the Orkney Islands and the Channel, the cutting off of Austria and Turkey by means of Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, the violation of the neutrality of the Suez Canal by the occupation of Egypt, the Island of Perm and Aden. This map helped more than anything else to make these Americans see the justice of our cause and the necessity for our victory.

For these reasons the demand for the freedom of the seas has found such active support in the United States. After the Americans were taught their theoretical position of vassalage to England the practical realization of it came to them when England proved to all neutrals, including the United States, the existence of this vassalage on the seas. If a big new naval program comes up for discussion in Washington, if the United States Army is to be increased tenfold, it is not, of course, being done avowedly against England, but with the avowed purpose of being prepared against anybody attacking the national and economic interests of the United States. Prussian militarism, with which we have supposedly also inoculated this beautiful land, is achieving its greatest triumph in the United States on account of England's misuse of her power. In the United States they want to build a second largest navy, place a nation under arms. The history of the world is inexorably consistent.

The unthinking way in which a great part of the American people ranged itself against Germany, because, when she was attacked, she was prepared, has caused thinking men to ask themselves how matters stand with the United States and its

pacifist President who within the last year coined the phrase that there were nations too proud to fight and earnestly advocated the doctrine of non-resistance. This man today champions one of the most ambitious naval and military programs, not through apprehension of the alliance supposedly representing militarism, but on account of the attacks of that power which has emblazoned the struggle against militarism on her banners and will in the end arrive at universal military service. Might can be overcome by might alone; that is the unfortunate truth in this world of realities. They knew in England that here, too, the British Empire had feet of clay. It is amusing to hear what Lord Lansdowne—known to be one of the leaders of the Conservatives and now the guiding spirit in England's foreign policy—said recently to an American lawyer, who quotes him thus: "Lord Lansdowne said in a private conversation to his colleagues in the House of Lords that sooner or later the nations must decide to what extent a belligerent power controlling the straits forming great highways of commerce could close these passages in order to facilitate her warlike operations. Touching upon the subject in all its philosophic potentialities, he remarked that, just as public opinion nowhere would tolerate agreements whereby a local dispute about wages might affect the whole industrial life of the land, so also would public opinion in the great nations refuse to allow a local conflict involving only two nations to cause such serious damage and hindrance to the whole commercial world." All neutrals now see that such a situation cannot be tolerated, and they are now ranged with regard to this on the side of the Central Powers, despite the small sympathy which they otherwise have for us and our ways, and despite their powerlessness to cope at present with English encroachments on their rights.

But Sir Edward Grey, who knows better than any one else the weakness of England, has already laid stress on the fact that he will recognize the freedom of the seas after peace is declared as a valuable and proper basis for negotia-

tions. What he means by that he has not vouchsafed to us. But a large part of the strongholds blockading the open seas do not belong beyond dispute to England. Also, she maintains herself in part by means of a power resting on prestige. For this reason English world power is today doubly threatened. One cannot assume that the Spaniards are particularly delighted because Gibraltar is in English hands, and England would just now be comparatively helpless against a determined effort to wrest it from her. Every Italian looks upon Malta as a bit of purloined territory, and recently England wished to get rid of Cyprus cheaply in exchange for Greek aid.

And what of Egypt, always restless and menaced, and the rest of the naval stations lying on the Asiatic side of the universe? And, as for the naval stations on the American coast, they will exist only as long as they are not used for exerting such pressure on America as is now being exerted on Germany and Austria. Englishmen must not deceive themselves: identical interests and similarity of views on life bring American sympathies to England today, and perhaps America will always be better able to tolerate England than military Germany, which strives toward another national ideal. Maybe—but that does not mean much. The Englishman, who usually looks down upon the American with a sort of sovereign contempt and always tries to prove to him his superiority in mind and culture, is generally pretty well hated in the United States. America just now wants to keep out of war, because she can derive no benefit from it and wants to uphold her trade and the activities of her people. For these reasons American interests are identical with English. But to base any calculations for the future on this fact is utterly wrong. The United States will invariably pursue only an American policy.

In the Autumn of 1907 I was, for a short time, a guest of the Egyptian Government in Cairo on my return from East Africa. Among all the wonders which I saw—the graves of the Caliphs amid the smoke and flame of the bundles

of straw lighted in them while overhead the black sky glowed with countless stars; the Pyramids, the extraordinary mixture of peoples on the great canal dotted with the fantastic dahabeeyahs, the tens of centuries into which, so to speak, one can look while going through the great museums—among all these, one moment especially remains in my memory.

My amiable guide took me toward sunset to the citadel, beneath which Cairo, the only city of a million inhabitants in Africa, stretches out right and left. All lay silent, almost dead. Crowning the citadel is a building famous in the entire Mohammedan world, the alabaster mosque, grave of a great Sultan, wonderfully fantastic in construction, color, and form, and, by its side, is a lone guard post, a cannon protruding over the parapet, and an English redcoat, with bayonet fixed on his gun.

It was the day of the Ramazan festival. Throughout that day the Moslem stays at home fasting, observing religious usages. But, after sunset, there is revelry and feasting and celebrating, then the savings of the year are squandered.

And, as I stood there, the upper tip of the sun dropped to the horizon, and the lone English soldier placed a charge in the cannon. And just as the last gold-red glow vanished behind clouds, the shot rang out which told the people of Cairo that the hour of revelry had come.

From where there was before a stillness almost of death, there came a buzzing as of an enormous swarm of bees. The streets became black with throngs of people, and finally there arose a mighty murmur as of a city in revolt.

Ever since I have thought of that solitary English soldier who fired the cannon informing 1,000,000 Moslems that the hour for their religious festival had arrived, as the symbol of how England has up to now exercised world dominion; of how, to a certain extent, she has deserved to exercise world dominion.

I know most of those naval strongholds of England—Zanzibar, the isle of spices, separated from the east African

hinterland; the sunbaked rock of Hong-kong, prescribing to millions of Chinamen in the southern provinces the routes of trade; English Shanghai, under an international flag, by means of which England is now probably trying in vain to defend her dominion over the entire Yang-tse Valley against the yellow races.

Everywhere we have the small minority of the whites against the mighty mass of other peoples; and it is the heritage of the whites which is being uselessly squandered in this war. For now England defends her world empire, not only against her European foes, but also against the natives. She will be ruined sooner or later by her betrayal of both in her present method of waging war, and thus will she pay the penalty of centuries.

This war will put an end to English arbitrary control of the sea, not only because, as we all hope, the European Central Powers will be victorious, but because they have in this struggle the support of all the neutral foreign nations—yes, even the support of England's present allies.

Already English dominion over the sea is crumbling. A year ago the German-Austrian march to the Dardanelles would have been looked upon as a mad dream; today it is a reality. For us Central Europeans the sea route is unnecessary, in abnormal times, as a way to the frontiers of India.

But the immense advantage of the sea is that enormous quantities of goods can be transported at extraordinarily low rates and railways cannot compete with it. Therefore, if I am to tell from my experience how the new constellation of power rising over the world is to develop, I must lay down as an essential preliminary that it must make itself as independent as possible from the sea route, not only in war but in peace. The development of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy will probably be due to the harmonizing of manufactures and agri-

culture. For this, extensive means of transportation will be necessary, which, if possible, should not be railways. This leads to the thought of the completion of the Central European network of canals, and the deepening of rivers not now navigable, whereby the advantages of the sea route will be attained, to a considerable extent, although, of course, not by any means entirely. I am here touching upon one of the most interesting of community problems.

And this brings me to something else: This is the first time since my return from the United States that I have spoken in public. I was there as a delegate of the German Red Cross, and I wish to bear witness here to the admirable manner in which Americans of German and Austro-Hungarian extraction remembered their old country and its troubles. Do not forget the difficult position in which these friends of ours found themselves; nor how they had solemnly sworn allegiance to their new country, an oath which they neither wished then nor will wish in future to break. They must make up their minds as to what they, as Americans, think is for the advantage of America. They will decide as one should decide in a land of many nationalities like America, viz., "to be a good friend to all and allow no partisan taking of sides."

But from the beginning many of them were not equal to the situation. Many had to be told of the incredible slanders heaped upon Germany and Austria-Hungary by our enemies. Then their sentiments were expressed all the more strongly. * * *

So the German world across the sea has at least remained morally a great human community, a community that has deserved to have other peoples and nations group themselves around it, a community which will prove its own worth by what it does for other nations. By human and Divine right we are justified in believing that glorious success awaits our unswerving will to win.

Russia Arraigned

By Count Apponyi, in an Address at Budapest

Count Albert Apponyi of Hungary has been mentioned as a possible successor to Dr. Dumba as Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States; hence his utterances have a special significance. Count Apponyi for forty-five years has been a leading figure in the political life of the Dual Monarchy; he is a former Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament and one of the chief factors in the Inter-parliamentary Union.

WHAT about this universal war which has grown out of a local conflict? Who is responsible for its horrors, for its calamities? The answer to this question is perfectly clear.

Since Austria-Hungary was in a state of lawful defense against Serbian aggression, those are responsible for the greater evil who espoused the cause of that aggression. And this is exactly what Russia did. That country is the great culprit. It is due to her policy that we have this main fountain from whence flows all this blood and all these tears. Her allies have been drawn by her into this awful maelstrom. I do not here wish to extenuate the guilt and the consequent disgrace of supposedly highly cultivated nations like France and England, who in one way or another became the patrons and the associates of a gang of Serbian murderers. But on Russia rests the chief responsibility, and on her head falls the great sin against humanity implied in this war.

It is quite true, in her war manifesto Russia attempts to pose as the chivalrous defender of a weak country against a strong one. The ignorant may believe this, but, as a matter of fact, it is nothing less than pure humbug to make such a declaration. Russia does not wish Serbia to become a decent country and a loyal neighbor; Russia drew her sword to make it possible that the conspiracies against Austria-Hungary's safety and

the plots of murder implied against them should go on undisturbed. Russia stands behind that dark work with all her might and all her power. This is just part and parcel of her intriguing policy. The purpose was exactly to keep Austria-Hungary in a state of constant unrest, to have us experience all sorts of economic difficulties and such a moral decomposition as would make us ready to receive our final deathblow.

The mask finally fell, and it is known today that Serbia was merely the Russian outpost behind which the Russian policy could, unhampered, support those miserable acts that compelled Austria-Hungary, much against its will, to stand up for its dignity and safety against a small neighbor. But Russia is unveiled before human conscience as responsible for the horrors of this universal war. Before peace can be thought of the power of Russian aggrandizement must be broken. Not until then can Europe look safely to its peace.

To bring the whole mass of Slavs under her dominion, or at least under her control; to get the mastery of Constantinople and of an exit toward the southern seas—these have been the dominating motives of Russia's policy since she became conscious of herself. She has never desisted from these motives, but she took care to let them rest so long as she did not feel strong enough single-handed to enforce them.

It was perfectly clear to Russia that her aim could be reached only through war with Austria-Hungary; and it was just as clear that under no circumstances would Germany desert her ally.

The French alliance did not seem sufficiently strong or clearly marked to overcome the combined force of the Central Powers. But matters took on an entirely different complexion when England joined the Russo-French entente. Now Russia began to discern something

that would portend success to her ambitious plans, and at once her policy as regards the Balkans became insolent and aggressive. We need not deny that England's motive for joining the Franco-Russian entente was based on her growing concern regarding Germany's economic expansion and foreign trade. In that sense England's envy of Germany's economic progress may be considered one of the causes of the present world war. Of course, without England's support Russia would not have gone to war.

To repeat, Russia's lust of conquest and England's envious feelings against Germany were responsible for the tendencies that created the war. France's desire for revanche is, of course, another factor entering into the premises.

The German Emperor has been accused unjustly of inciting the war; this I know to be an absolute fact. His chief ambition during his rule has been to preserve peace and to end his days as a "Peace Emperor." He had to prepare for war because his neighbors threatened his peace ideals. Germany, it is true, has the most perfect military in-

strument in existence; she never intended to use it for aggression, but only for the safety of herself and her ally.

Another man to be absolved is our aged King. He has not the slightest responsibility for the war, and only wished to end his days in peace. But we could not, of course, stand quietly by and see Serbia try to force an ignominious division of territory of our monarchy.

I believe the Balkan situation as it is today will bring a solution more quickly than at first anticipated. I predict that a new era of freedom will come to the Balkan peoples when they join the political system of the Central Powers and become emancipated from the thralldom of Russia. Commercial prospects of the greatest purport open for us when Asia Minor and Central Asia are brought into direct communication with Central Europe. Then, and then only, can peace be restored on a basis of fair play. The door will stand open to all. The world is big enough to accommodate every nation and every people aspiring to a place in the family of nations.

Song of the Teutonic Alliance

A new variant of "Deutschland über Alles" appears in *Die Woche*. It goes to the same tune, which, of course, is that of the Austrian national anthem, and is entitled "The Song of Alliance." The first stanza opens with the declaration that:

Deutschland, Ostreich, Seit an Seite,
Ostreich, Deutschland, treu gesellt,
Stehn geeint zu heil'gem Streite,
Bieten Trotz der ganzen Welt.

Translated, this means that "Germany and Austria, side by side, as true comrades, stand united in holy strife and bid defiance to the whole world." This note of defiance is carried on to the last stanza, which opens with the image of

Hand in hand the Kaisers standing,
And the eagles wing to wing.





DR. CECILE GREIL

**The Only Native American on the Ancona, and an Important Witness
as to the Facts of the Tragedy**
(Photo by Campbell Studios.)



ROBERT N. MCNEELY

American Consul at Aden, One of the Passengers Who Went Down
With the Persia

(Photo from International Film Service.)

British Plan to Starve Germany

As the present number of CURRENT HISTORY goes to press there is every indication of more drastic measures on the part of the British Government to starve out Germany by making the naval blockade so complete as to amount to "strangulation." This step was foreshadowed during the debate in the House of Lords on Dec. 20, when the Lord President of the Council said: "The Government has been falsely charged with displaying too great tenderness toward Germany. If we could absolutely besiege and really starve Germany we would do so at the first possible moment. There is no difference from the point of view of humanity in besieging a city and besieging a country."

AN important speech in favor of using the whole economic strength of the British Empire in a policy directed against the enemy was made by Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, in the House of Commons on Jan. 10. He said:

There are signs that at last Germany is beginning to feel the economic pressure of our blockade. Her food supplies are becoming depleted, while ours are increasing. Bread riots in Berlin and in nearly every other big German city do not occur without good reasons. We have deprived the enemy of many necessities of warfare, and possibly some of the necessities of life. Her stocks of raw materials are giving out. Economic pressure, possibly better than any other means, will ultimately persuade Germany of the fruitlessness of continuing the struggle.

We can stand the strain longer than Germany, and if we husband our resources the disaster that will fall upon her will be almost irreparable. We must make it clear, however, that when peace comes we will not permit the outbreak of the economic war which Germany would wage against ourselves and our allies.

I am not prepared to wait for the end of the war to take steps to deal with this matter. It has been all along the policy of the British Board of Trade to capture German trade while the war is still on. In the case

of South America, we have, since the war began, developed a trade which I hope will continue long after the cessation of hostilities. We have completely broken down the German monopolies in optical glass, dyes, electrical apparatus, and certain chemicals, and these monopolies will not again be renewed.

The policy of the Board of Trade is that there shall be no essential article, either for the arts of peace or war, that we cannot produce within either Great Britain or the empire.

We are not yet at the end of our ingenuity in winning the war.

The forecast that the British Government was about to give effect to the policy of trying to starve out Germany was contained in a London cable dated Jan. 12. The British policy was to be carried to a further extent than had hitherto been found possible, in view of the necessity of reconciling it with the preservation of neutral interests. "In other words," said the correspondent, "the naval noose around Germany's neck will be tightened to the point of strangulation."

Mr. Runciman's speech, quoted above, was followed by a controversy in Great Britain as to whether the blockade against Germany was really effective. There existed, The London Evening News declared, "a notable leakage in the ring which our fleet has drawn around the enemy country—a ring which the navy could maintain whole and effective if it were not for Foreign Office interference." The campaign for eliminating "Foreign Office interference" had progressed to such a point that, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, preparations were already being made for the announcement of certain steps which would satisfy even those who held with Sir Edward Carson's view, expressed in the House of Commons on Jan. 11, that "the Government has been swayed hitherto by minor considerations."

The Foreign Office's policy of consideration for neutrals was to a certain ex-

tent regarded as one of the "minor considerations." Advocates of an out-and-out blockade of Germany quoted startling figures to show the importation by Germany of goods consigned to neutral countries, such as Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The solution would be the declaration of a naval blockade of Germany, hampered by none of the judicial niceties which Mr. Asquith once believed would be avoided by the policy laid down under the Orders in Council. Almost at the outset, said a correspondent, "the best American opinion counseled Great Britain to declare an out-and-out blockade rather than have recourse to the policy of Orders in Council.

To what extent the British blockade had already been effective in making Germany feel "the pinch of hunger" is shown in the German press. The Berliner Zeitung is quoted in a dispatch dated Jan. 12 as saying:

It is difficult to imagine that things could grow worse just now without some crowning disaster. The masses of the people are hungry all day long, many articles of food having reached a price wholly beyond the reach of the families of the working class. Hunger renders the people sullen and deprives them of all joy in victories, though all the bells are ringing and flags wave. The children are underfed, pale, and wan, looking like faded flowers. In the meantime we are informed that the military authorities have forbidden meetings convened to discuss the high cost of living.

Commenting on the official exhortations to the poor to economize, Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, says:

For the midday meal one must not arrange matters according to one's wish, taste, or habit, but must select those foods which are most cheaply obtained. One must break the habit of eating bread, butter, and sausage for supper.

During discussions in the Budget Commission and in the Reichstag Food Committee the following utterances were heard:

Deputy Ebert—The bitter dissatisfaction among the people is due to conditions in the potato market. The

Government has bungled the problem. It is a lie to say that potatoes are selling at peace prices.

President Kautz—The potato problem is beset with difficulties. Last year the experts declared that there was no need for Government intervention. Nothing was done. The crop was late. Difficulties of transportation arose; hence a scarcity.

Deputy Behrens demanded higher bread rations for the forestry workers.

At the same time efforts are being made to discover new foods by scientific means. The Berliner Tageblatt says:

A valuable new food has been produced by Veterinary Surgeon Alois Walz, director of the municipal slaughter house at Graz. He has succeeded in extracting from ox blood its albumen in such a manner that both the odor and taste of the blood are entirely removed. It has proved an excellent substitute for chicken. It also yields an admirable beef tea.

Several newspapers publish a letter to the German Crown Princess from a soldier's wife at Essen, who explains how she makes all milk serve not only as milk but also as butter.

Apart from foodstuffs, German science is reported to be discovering substitutes. For example, the Frankfurter Zeitung says:

Almost at the very hour at which the Imperial Chancellor informed the Reichstag that the German spirit of research and invention had succeeded in making artificial rubber a German factory had actually produced a very satisfactory kind of tire made out of synthetic rubber.

In the speech referred to the Chancellor had said that it was absurd to suppose that a great power could be forced to make peace for lack of rubber.

In contrast with the foregoing, the German Chancellor in an official declaration to Parliament on Jan. 13, 1916, declared that the efforts to starve out Germany were entirely futile, and added that the efficiency and economy practiced in the German agricultural districts absolutely insured a plentiful supply of all food necessities for the empire from the soil of Germany alone for many years.

"King Poincaré"

By Dr. Paul Rohrbach

Heading this article as above, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, the well-known German publicist, has contributed to Groessere Deutschland an arraignment of the small group which, led by the President of the French Republic, he says, completely dominates the military and political situation in France during the war.

WHAT I am now writing is largely based on information received by me from a neutral observer, a statesman long resident in the French capital. It is apparent from what I have learned that altogether too much importance was attached at the time to the Ministerial changes in France. My informant, in fact, is certain that in reality there has been no change. The oligarchy made up of Messrs. Aynard, Hottinguer, Mallet, Rothschild, &c., has simply changed about some of its lieutenants. In place of Viviani it is now Briand. Poincaré's old chum, Millerand, the creator of drum-beating as a political factor, is gone. But Combes and Burgeois, who with Briand were responsible for the introduction of the new Jacobinism in the Governmental machinery of France, have kept at their task with a "refinement" worthy of Neroism at its worst.

And "King Poincaré" remains. The small group that has compromised both the military organization and the foreign policy of France is in control. The money autocrats succeeded in effecting a Ministerial crisis, but they saw to it that the system was kept intact. So far as it concerns the welfare of the people the situation is unchanged. Briand or Viviani, Thomson or Clementel, Millerand, or Combes, it is all the same. There remains in control the all-powerful group of financiers that brutalizes Parliament, the press, and the general public. There is nothing whatever to show that this plutocratic clique has lost any influence as Governmental factors. The damage inflicted by this privileged group is in-

calculable. It has centred all power in itself. It has set up King Poincaré as the uncrowned symbol which is meant to represent France and its idealism.

The greatest danger to the French Republic is not to be found in the Royalists, nor in the Bonapartists. Today the actual influence of these groups is quite negligible. On the other hand, look at such newspapers as Action Française, Gaulois, and the Echo de Paris. Readers of these papers have increased enormously since the beginning of the war. And then glance likewise at the official publications, such as Le Temps and Journal des Debats. To a man they support M. Poincaré.

Now, I suppose you will ask why this is so. Well, it is quite natural, since to all intents and purposes all initiative and all power rests exclusively in the hands of Poincaré, who is responsible for the prevalent system. I also wish to remind you that with a shrewd stroke of the pen King Poincaré vaingloriously falsified the origin of the world war.

My informant recalls the proceedings in Paris toward the end of July, 1914. We have, furthermore, the version of The Manchester Guardian in its war history, Vol. XII., where we read: "Up to July 31, the evening preceding general mobilization, the Parisian public declined to believe that France would be drawn into such a conflict for such a reason. * * *

"Thursday, July 30, the Government had furnished to the press a statement quite optimistic in tone, but the hope arose the following day when the Agence Havas announced that the German Government was getting ready to mobilize. But no one knew in Paris that Russia, without informing the French Government, had ordered a general mobilization the day before. Then, when it became known that German troops were concentrated on the frontier, sentiment in France changed."

France did not want the war until it

felt that there was danger of attack. In spite of the threatening situation the pacific sentiment of the French people was still so strongly emphasized that the Militarist Party found it necessary to murder J^aures.

To quote once more from The Manchester Guardian: "If France had not then considered itself in danger of a German attack, an uprising by the people would have followed as a result of J^aures's death. The feeling was general in Paris that the murder of J^aures could only have come about through the instrumentalities of the Militarist Party. It was felt to be essential to get the great apostle of peace out of the way. He was the only man, perhaps, who in France could have prevented the war. For more than a year his life had been threatened by the Royalists and the Militarists, and only fourteen days before his death two newspapers stated that on the day of the general mobilization J^aures would be shot to death."

It is not overstating facts to say that in case, after J^aures's murder, the German Kaiser's telegram to the King of England, on Aug. 1, had been made public in France, the French Government would have found it difficult to make of the war a people's war. The telegram, as all the world knows, said: "If France will guarantee me peace, * * * I will then not look for an attack from that side, but will employ my troops elsewhere. * * * Instructions are being telephoned and telegraphed the troops not to cross the border. * * *"

But Poincaré saw to it that this telegram was not then made public in France.

Every protest of the French newspaper organizations against the unwarranted muzzling of the press by the censor has been in vain. As a matter of fact, almost every protest has gone unanswered.

Then King Poincaré robbed Parliament of its due rights. Did not Clemenceau cry aloud in his *L'Homme Enchaîné* that in England and even in Russia the press enjoyed far greater freedom than in republican France? *Humanité* declared

that every question up in Parliament, if not satisfactory to the powers that were, would instantly be suppressed. For months the *Dépeche de Rouen*, *Humanité*, and *Bonnet Rouge* argued against the absolutism of the Government. The democratic privileges of Parliament—the right to speak openly on public questions concerning Parliament and Government—requests for information on matters of diplomatic and military consequence, are no longer tolerated. The sittings of the two chambers have been reduced to the nice level of a 5 o'clock tea!

King Poincaré reigns supremely and absolutely.

And the Opposition? Clemenceau is now too old and too feeble to any longer count for much. "*La Bataille syndicaliste*" has ceased to exist. *L'Humanité*, once upon a time, under J^aures's peerless leadership, the best political publication in all France, has now only one-half the number of readers as formerly, and, what is still worse, stands for not one-half the democratic purity in principle and convincing power as before.

For money, and perhaps fine words in the bargain, Gustave Hervé has allowed himself to be beguiled by the Government, and it is now some months since he has stood up for the politics and the policies of the bank-autocracy. And the once strong and hopeful elements, the Radicals and the Socialistic Parties, have either come to a sudden stop in their activities or have, in cowardly fashion, withdrawn themselves entirely.

The emblazoning, magnificent democratic spirit of France that reaches from 1789 to 1871, stands today extinguished.

Yes, France may today range itself apparently solid and united behind its uncrowned King, Raymond Poincaré. But he it is who has poured into his own melting pot the capitalistic interests, the anti-religionists of the Third Republic, the military absolutism and the Nationalists. These he has molded into a new system of absolute domination. And all this Poincaré then stamps as democratic idealism; it is his version of liberty, equality, fraternity!

England and Conscription

By an English Parliamentarian

I SPEAK only as a soldier," said Lord Kitchener in the House of Lords, "with a single eye to the successful conduct of the war. I feel sure that every one will agree that the fullest, fairest trial has been given to the system which I found in existence and of which I felt it my duty to make the best use.

"We are now asking Parliament to sanction a change, as it has been proved that in the special circumstances of this utterly unprecedented struggle the existing system without modification is not equal to maintaining the army that is needed to secure victory."

Kitchener dominates England today as England has not been dominated by a soldier since the day of Wellington; Kitchener is, in fact if not in name, the effective head of the British Government, as Wellington came to be in both fact and name, and it is not too much to say that Kitchener's single will and the example of his devotion has won the day for conscription, and for justice, in England, and has set England's feet firmly on the path which she must tread if the Entente powers are to win the war—the path of arduous yet certain victory.

The real purpose of the British bill is not to compel brave men to fight; with the best men of English blood there is no need for that. It is to bring pressure upon the cowards, to compel them to be courageous, to choose sacrifice instead of selfishness. That the English, the most democratic of all nations, have determined to do this by an overwhelming majority gives new hope for the future of the empire, for the future of mankind.

On Jan. 4 Lord Derby presented to Lord Kitchener, as Secretary for War, his report on the result of the splendid recruiting campaign which is so largely the fruit of Lord Derby's genius and inspiring personality. That report showed

that, out of a total of just over 5,000,000 men, approximately 3,000,000 responded to the call of their country's need. Of those who thus responded under half a million were rejected as physically unfit, leaving a total of 2,521,661 who have put themselves on record as ready to fight and to die for the cause of the Allies. More than one-tenth of these enlisted for immediate service.

As the purpose of this recruiting campaign was to raise another million men for the army, giving Kitchener the four million that he deems indispensable, Lord Derby's plan is without doubt a magnificent success. But there is one important point—with the backing of the Prime Minister, Lord Derby gave his pledge that the married men who put themselves on record as ready to answer the call to the colors—who "attested," as the phrase is—would not be called until all the eligible single men had joined the colors, and it is precisely from this point that the present movement for compulsion starts. The final figures show that of some two million single men just over a million have not offered themselves for service. Of these one-third are, for one or another reason, exempt; there remain, therefore, 651,160 available single men who have refused to respond to the call of the nation, and the Government—in its way the best coalition Government England has ever had—is now determined to pass a law to compel these single men to serve their country.

The great weakness of the bill seems to be this—it is a war measure only, and even as a war measure merely supplements something else; the Conscription bill, if we are to call it this, is the tail of Lord Derby's kite, not a substantive, comprehensive scheme. As it is a war measure only, its effect will be, at the close of the present war, to leave England in the same dangerous situation of unpreparedness that she occupied at the

beginning of August, 1914. It is not too much to say that the cost of that unpreparedness has been terrible, and that this cost has been paid, not only by England herself, but by the men—and the women—of Belgium, of Serbia, of Northern France. The refusal to make a sacrifice at the right time bears a more usurious interest than any other form of cowardice or sin. The present bill, therefore, is but "a sop to Cerberus" and leaves England's permanent danger untouched. It is the act of a courage that is still half cowardice. But, for the moment, let that pass.

The opposition to the bill brings into high relief the present dislocation of the English parliamentary system. There are no longer two great parties in the British Parliament—there are four or five. This is an approach to the situation in the French Chamber of Deputies and implies something of the instability which has reigned in that Chamber throughout the whole life of the Third Republic.

The first great breach in the English two-party system was made by Parnell, who showed himself frankly ready to accept gifts from either party; gifts beginning with Gladstone's first Land act and including the Land Purchase acts of Gerald Balfour and George Wyndham, and promised gifts, like Gladstone's two Home Rule bills, and Asquith's bill still pending. The result of these gifts and of the genuine good-will which inspires them is the slow but sure conversion of Ireland from the position of an alien nation to that of an integral part of the empire. But up to the present that conversion is only half complete. In Ireland, therefore, is to be found one of the elements of opposition to the Government's Conscription bill, precisely because Irishmen, as a whole, are not yet fully willing to fight the battles of the empire and, remembering their own past hardships, are not yet fully convinced that the cause of the empire is the cause of human liberty. This is why the Irish, though a warlike nation, has responded far less readily than, let us say, Scotland to the call for soldiers. This is

why Lord Derby's splendid scheme did not include Ireland. Finally, this is why the present Conscription bill, which supplements Lord Derby's scheme, leaves Ireland out.

In one noteworthy respect, among many, France has shown herself definitely in advance of England—she has solved, and triumphantly solved, the great problem which England still timorously faces, the question whether the narrow, selfish interests of certain classes—in this case, the class of organized labor—are to transcend the interests of the nation. It is of excellent omen that it is precisely M. Briand, the present head of the French Government, who, with a courage that Asquith and his friends may well envy, so wisely and effectively solved that question for France in the great fight in which he broke the back of syndicalism and sabotage. And he won it by calling out the reserves of the French Army—which included the syndicalist strikers themselves; by calling on the soldier's valor, which has since flamed so brightly in the heart of every Frenchman. Asquith and his colleagues have not yet found the courage to do that, but they are moving in that direction.

It is noteworthy that the present opposition to Mr. Asquith's Conscription bill comes precisely from those elements in the British Isles which Mr. Asquith's Liberal Cabinet most sedulously favored, at the expense, perhaps, of a stricter justice—the classes whom the Parliament act, the Old Age Pensions act, and the Home Rule bill were especially intended to please; and, further, that the Ministers who have met with the most opposition and adversity are precisely Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, the chief sponsors for recent socialistic legislation.

On Jan. 11 there happened in the Parliament at Westminster one of the decisive events of modern history. Not generously, not enthusiastically, but none the less effectively, Mr. Redmond, the Parliamentary leader of the Irish party, declared that he and his followers would not further oppose the Government's Military Service bill. This declaration

he based, not on principle, not on patriotism, but on mere expediency. The Irish Nationalists had made their protest against the bill. Recognizing that the measure had the support of the overwhelming majority of British representatives in the House of Commons and was, therefore, certain to pass, Mr. Redmond and his colleagues would not take the responsibility of further opposition. * * *

This insures victory for the bill and, if Kitchener be right, the victory of the Allies in the war. It is, therefore, a decisive fact in history.

But what are we to say of the position in which it leaves Ireland? Perhaps we can best answer this in the words of Sir Edward Carson, the leader of militant Ulster:

I welcome Mr. Redmond's announcement, but I regret that the honorable gentleman should not have gone a step further and led his party into the House in favor of the bill. It would have been even better if the honorable gentleman had allowed Ireland to be included. He and I are old opponents, but I can assure him from the bottom of my heart that nothing would be more likely to bring us together on a common platform than that we should find Ireland, together with England, Scotland, and Wales, absolutely unanimous in what we believe necessary for winning the war.

I am profoundly disappointed with the way the Coalition Government has dealt with the matter of Ireland. Is Ireland less concerned with the result of the war than Great Britain? You may go on making sacrifices and we will be prepared to rejoice in and share the result. As an Irishman I say that Ireland should be ashamed to be open to such reproach.

Has Ireland done better than Great Britain in recruiting? She has not done half as well, and it is a great mistake to go on buttering her up, telling her she has done splendidly when she has not.

I make one more appeal to Mr. Redmond. It is that he consider whether Ireland cannot even now be included in the bill.

In my heart I believe that, when the hour of victory comes, as it certainly will come, we who are Irishmen will feel the deepest shame to remember that we expected others to make sacrifices from which we provided our own exclusion.

The opposition to the bill melted away at its second reading, so that only thirty-nine votes were recorded against it. The Irish Nationalists and the Labor members voted affirmatively on this reading. The only Cabinet member who resigned in consequence of the bill was Sir John Simon, Home Secretary, who was succeeded by Mr. Herbert Samuel. The measure is expected to become a law before Feb. 1.

French and English Studies in Germany

Fräulein Dr. Käthe Schirmacher, a well-known authoress, and a prominent worker in the movement for the betterment of the position of women, has been lecturing in Kiel on problems arising out of the war. According to the Kiel Neueste Nachrichten, this lady says:

French and English must no longer be obligatory subjects in our girls' schools; our enemies would feel this blow, for it would prove to them that the times have really changed. Moreover, French and English are really not necessary to an educated German woman. Intercourse with foreigners must be considerably reduced after the war, and our national dignity demands that we should purchase no foreign products. The physical fitness of the German girl must be enhanced by means of long walks, of gymnastic exercises, and by the creation of a corps of girl volunteers. It is only when the body has been strengthened by military drill that the intellectual faculties can be properly developed.

The Ancona Case: Second Phase

Text of Diplomatic Notes That Carried the Affair Past the Critical Point

Austria-Hungary's reply to the first American note in regard to the sinking of the Italian-American steamship Ancona by an Austrian submarine was not regarded as satisfactory by the United States Government, and was followed by a second, even firmer than the first. Ambassador Penfield handed this to Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Dec. 21, 1915. Austria's second reply, which conceded the American demands and practically closed this serious incident, was transmitted on Dec. 29, 1915. The full text of both notes is given below.

TEXT OF SECOND ANCONA NOTE TO AUSTRIA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 19, 1915.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR
PENFIELD:

You are instructed to address a note to the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, textually as follows:

THE Government of the United States has received the note of your Excellency relative to the sinking of the Ancona, which was delivered at Vienna on Dec. 15, 1915, and transmitted to Washington, and has given the note immediate and careful consideration.

On Nov. 15, 1915, Baron Zwiedenek, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Imperial and Royal Government at Washington, transmitted to the Department of State a report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty with regard to the sinking of the steamship Ancona, in which it was admitted that the vessel was torpedoed after her engines had been stopped and when passengers were still on board.

This admission alone is, in the view of the Government of the United States, sufficient to fix upon the commander of the submarine which fired the torpedo the responsibility for having willfully violated the recognized law of nations and entirely disregarded those humane principles which every belligerent should observe in the conduct of war at sea.

In view of these admitted circumstances the Government of the United States feels justified in holding that the details of the sinking of the Ancona, the

weight and character of the additional testimony corroborating the Admiralty's report, and the number of Americans killed or injured are in no way essential matters of discussion. The culpability of the commander is in any case established, and the undisputed fact is that citizens of the United States were killed, injured, or put in jeopardy by his lawless act.

The rules of international law and the principles of humanity which were thus willfully violated by the commander of the submarine have been so long and so universally recognized and are so manifest from the standpoint of right and justice that the Government of the United States does not feel called upon to debate them and does not understand that the Imperial and Royal Government questions or disputes them.

The Government of the United States therefore finds no other course open to it but to hold the Imperial and Royal Government responsible for the act of its naval commander and to renew the definite but respectful demands made in its communication of the 6th of December, 1915.

It sincerely hopes that the foregoing statement of its position will enable the Imperial and Royal Government to perceive the justice of those demands and to comply with them in the same spirit of frankness and with the same concern for the good relations now existing between the United States and Austria-Hungary which prompted the Government of the United States to make them.

LANSING.

Text of the Austrian Reply, Granting Every Demand

Vienna, Dec. 29, 1915.

In answer to your very esteemed note, No. 4,307, of the 21st inst., the subscriber has the honor to lay the following most respectfully before his Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America, Frederic Courtland Penfield:

THE Imperial and Royal Government agrees thoroughly with the American Cabinet that the sacred commandments of humanity must be observed also in war. Just as it has hitherto given at no time and to no person occasion to doubt its respect for these commandments, in like manner also in the whole course of this war, which presents such pictures of confusion of moral conceptions, has it given numerous proofs of humanitarian sentiments toward enemies as well as toward neutral States, and it was not due to this Government that it was a short time ago not precisely in harmony with the Washington Cabinet on a question which it, (the Austro-Hungarian Government,) in harmony with the entire public opinion in Austria-Hungary, regarded principally a question of humanity.

The Imperial and Royal Government can also substantially concur in the principle, expressed in the very esteemed note, that private ships, in so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, may not be destroyed without the persons aboard being brought into safety.

The Imperial and Royal Government is very responsive to the assurance that the Federal Government lays value upon seeing that the good relations which happily exist between Austria-Hungary and the United States of America are maintained. It reciprocates this assurance most warmly, and is now, as heretofore, concerned to render these relations more hearty, so far as lies in its power.

Guided by the same spirit of frankness as the Government of the Union, the Imperial and Royal Government, although it does not find in the note, frequently

referred to, the answer to all the legitimate questions submitted by it, is willing to communicate to the Federal Government the result of the investigation which, in accordance with existing departmental regulations, was begun immediately after the receipt of the fleet report on the sinking of the Ancona, and which was just recently received.

The result of this investigation may be summarized as follows:

On Nov. 7, 1915, at 11:40 o'clock in the forenoon, the commander of the submarine observed, in latitude 38.40 north, longitude 10.08 east, in foggy weather, at a distance, roundly, 3,000 meters and one point to starboard, the outlines of a large Italian steamer. He took it at first for a transport steamer, and turned about and fired from his rear gun a warning shot far from the vessel.

Simultaneously he displayed the signal, "Leave the ship." The steamer did not stop, but rather turned aside and sought to escape. The commander at first remained stopped for some minutes, in order to increase the distance, since he feared that the steamer had a stern gun and would fire at the submarine with it.

When the distance had reached 4,500 meters, he had the pursuit taken up with full power, and fired from his forward gun at a decreasing distance sixteen shells, among which he observed three hits.

During the chase the steamer went zigzag, and stopped only after the third hit. Thereupon the commander ceased firing.

During the flight the steamer had already, while at full speed, let some boats with persons in them fall, which immediately capsized. After stopping, the steamer began launching boats.

From a distance of about 2,000 meters the commander saw that six boats were filled and rowed hastily away from the steamer. Another boat was capsized

and floated keel up. The people held on to the hanging lines and to the cap-sized boat.

During the further approach of the submarine the commander saw that a great panic reigned aboard, and that he had to deal with a passenger steamer, namely, the *Ancona*, from Genoa. Therefore he gave the occupants of the steamer more time than was required to leave the ship in lifeboats.

At least ten lifeboats were still aboard, which would have more than sufficed for the rescue of the persons still aboard. One of these boats hung, full of people, half turned outward on the davits.

Since, however, except for this, no further move was made to lower boats, the commander decided, after a lapse of forty-five minutes, to torpedo the ship in such a manner that it should remain a considerable time afloat, in order that, on the one hand, the getting of the people into the lifeboats should be hastened, and that, on the other, adequate opportunity should remain for rescuing the persons still aboard.

Shortly thereafter a steamer became visible which was throwing out heavy clouds of smoke and headed toward the *Ancona*. It apparently had been summoned by the *Ancona's* wireless.

Since the submarine commander had to reckon on an attack by a steamer, which he took for an enemy cruiser, he submerged, after having, at 12:35 o'clock in the afternoon, had a torpedo fired into the forward baggage hold of the *Ancona* from a distance of 800 meters. The *Ancona* listed about 10 degrees to starboard after this shot.

Thereupon an effort was made to lower the lifeboat which already was half turned out on the davits. It broke loose, however, and fell into the water. The lifeboat floated keel down further, and the people held fast to the gunwale. Of the other boats none was lowered into the water, although persons could still be observed aboard.

The steamer gradually righted itself to an even keel and settled so slowly that the submarine commander at first doubted whether the steamer would sink. Not until 1:20 o'clock did it sink, after

a lengthy parallel settling, with the bow first.

During these further forty-five minutes all persons yet aboard could have been saved without difficulty with the boats still on hand.

From the fact that this, contrary to his expectations, was not done, the commander concluded that the crew, contrary to all seamen's customs, had accomplished their own rescue with the first boats and abandoned to themselves the passengers intrusted to their protection.

The weather at the time of the incident was good and the sea calm, so that the lifeboats could have reached the nearest coast without danger, as indeed the lifeboats actually were damaged only by the unskilled lowering, but not after they had struck the water.

The loss of human lives is in the first instance by no means ascribable to the sinking of the ship, but (and in all probability in a much higher measure) to the rapid lowering (*hinunter werfen*) of the boats during full speed, as well as to the fact that the crew, concerned only for itself, did not rescue the passengers of the capsized boats.

It is also probably ascribable to shots which hit the fleeing vessel, but the death of persons who sank with the steamer is also, above all, ascribable to the disloyal conduct of the crew.

As appears from the above-adduced state of affairs, the very esteemed note of Dec. 9 is based in many points on incorrect premises. Information reaching the United States Government that solid shot was immediately fired toward the steamer is incorrect; it is incorrect that the submarine overhauled the steamer during the chase; it is incorrect that only a brief period was given for getting the people into the boats. On the contrary, an unusually long period was granted to the *Ancona* for getting passengers into the boats. Finally, it is incorrect that a number of shells were still fired at the steamer after it had stopped.

The facts of the case demonstrate further that the commander of the submarine granted the steamer a full forty-five minutes' time, that is, more than an adequate period to give the persons

aboard an opportunity to take to the boats. Then, since the people were not all saved, he carried out the torpedoing in such a manner that the ship would remain above water the longest possible time, doing this with the purpose of making possible the abandonment of the vessel on boats still in hand.

Since the ship remained a further forty-five minutes above water, he would have accomplished his purpose if the crew of the Ancona had not abandoned the passengers in a manner contrary to duty.

With full consideration, however, of this conduct of the commander, aimed at accomplishing the rescue of the crew and passengers, the Imperial and Royal Marine authorities reached the conclusion that he had omitted to take adequately into consideration the panic that had broken out among the passengers, which rendered difficult the taking to the boats, and the spirit of the regulation that Imperial and Royal Marine officers shall fail in giving help to nobody in need, not even to an enemy.

Therefore the officer was punished, in accordance with the existing rules, for exceeding his instructions.

The Imperial and Royal Government in the face of this state of affairs does not hesitate to draw the corresponding conclusions respecting the indemnification of American citizens affected by the sinking of the prize, but in this regard it makes the following statement:

The investigation into the sinking of the Ancona could naturally furnish no essential point to show in how far a right to an indemnity is to be granted American citizens. The Imperial and Royal Government cannot, indeed, even according to the view of the Washington Cabinet, be held liable for damages

which resulted from the undoubtedly justified bombardment of the fleeing ship.

It should just as little have to answer for the damages which came to pass before the torpedoing of the ship through the faulty lowering of lifeboats or the capsizing of lowered boats.

The Imperial and Royal Government must assume that the Washington Government is in a position and disposed to give it (the Austro-Hungarian Government) the required and certainly not unimportant information in this respect.

If, however, because of possible lack of material proofs, the particular circumstances under which American citizens suffered damage should not have become known to the Union Government, the Royal Government, in consideration for the humanely deeply regrettable incident, and by a desire to proclaim once again its friendly feeling toward the Federal Government, would be gladly willing to disregard this gap in the evidence and to extend indemnities also to those damaged whose cause cannot be established.

While the Imperial and Royal Government may probably consider the affair of the Ancona as settled with the foregoing statements, it reserves to itself at this time the right to bring up for discussion at a later period the difficult questions of international law connected with submarine warfare.

The undersigned has the honor to request most respectfully that his Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America will be pleased to bring the foregoing to the attention of the Federal Government, and takes advantage of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency an expression of his most especial esteem. BURIAN.

Germany's Pledge of Safety in the Mediterranean

During negotiations looking toward a final settlement of the Lusitania affair—after a visit of Count Bernstorff to the State Department on Jan. 7, 1916—Secretary Lansing issued the following statement, comprising the text of new written guarantees given by the German

Government as to vessels in the Mediterranean:

THE German Ambassador today left at the Department of State, under instructions from his Government, the following communication:

“(1) German submarines in the Medi-

terranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

"(2) German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

"(3) All cases of destruction of enemy merchant ships in the Mediterranean in

which German submarines are concerned are made the subject of official investigation, and, besides, are subject to regular prize court proceedings. In so far as American interests are concerned, the German Government will communicate the result to the American Government. Thus, also, in the Persia case, if the circumstances should call for it.

"(4) If commanders of German submarines should not have obeyed the orders given to them they will be punished; furthermore, the German Government will make reparation for damage caused by death of or injuries to American citizens."

Berlin Yields in New Note on Sinking of the Frye

Secretary Lansing made public on Jan. 8 the text of a German note of Nov. 29, 1915, offering redress for the sinking of the William P. Frye. It contained the important admission that the mere placing of human beings in an open boat at sea does not satisfy the requirements of international law. The vital portions of the note are given below.

The German Minister for Foreign Affairs to Ambassador Gerard.

Berlin, Nov. 29, 1915.

THE undersigned has the honor to inform his Excellency, Mr. James W.

Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of Oct. 14, F. O. No. 5,671, relative to indemnity for the sinking of the American merchant vessel William P. Frye, as well as to the settlement by arbitration of the difference of opinion which has arisen on this occasion, as follows:

With regard first to the ascertainment of indemnity for the vessel sunk, the German Government is in agreement with the American Government in principle that the amount of damages be fixed by two experts, one each to be nominated by the German and American Governments. The German Government regrets that it cannot comply with the wish of the American Government to have the experts meet in Washington. * * *

Should the American Government insist on its demands for the meeting of the experts at Washington or the early choice of an umpire, the only alternative would be to arrange the fixing of damages by diplomatic negotiations. In such

an event the German Government begs to await the transmission of a statement of particulars of the various claims for damages accompanied by the necessary proofs.

With regard to the arbitral treatment of the differences of opinion relative to the interpretation of certain stipulations of the Prussian-American commercial treaties the German Government has drawn up the inclosed draft of a compromise which would have to be worded in the German and English languages and drawn up with due consideration of the two alternating texts. * * *

Until the decision of the permanent court of arbitration, the German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband, when the pre-conditions provided by the Declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crew and passengers of a vessel to be sunk. Consequently, the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into her lifeboats except when the general conditions,

that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coasts afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port. For the rest the German Government begs to point out that in cases where German naval forces have sunk neutral vessels for carrying contraband, no loss of life has yet occurred.

The undersigned begs to give expression to the hope that it will be possible for the two Governments to reach a complete understanding regarding the case of the William P. Frye on the above basis, and avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the Ambassador the assurance of his highest consideration.

VON JAGOW.

Belgian Bishops' Appeal to Teutons Supported by Pope Benedict

A dispatch to The London Chronicle from Milan, Jan. 10, made the following statement as to the result of the Papal Commission of Inquiry in Belgium:

I am informed on good authority that as a result of the voluminous evidence placed before the Vatican by the Papal Commission of Inquiry especially appointed to investigate the subject of the alleged German atrocities in Belgium, his Holiness Benedict XV. has finally overcome all hesitation and has firmly resolved that on no account will he be a party to any peace overtures unless based on the restitution of Belgium in its full national rights.

The Pope judges that this will be the minimum reparation which Germany is obliged to give by the moral law of the Catholic Church. Further, she must provide compensation for the restoration of all public monuments and the reconstruction of all industrial establishments, together with the restitution of a fair indemnity for all private property confiscated or destroyed.

To this end the Pope has approved a joint epistle, which the Belgian episcopate has addressed to the collective Roman Catholic episcopates of Germany and Austria-Hungary, setting forth the results of the particular inquiry which each Belgian Bishop personally carried out in every town and village in his own diocese at the instance of the Holy See.

In this historic letter the Belgian episcopate solemnly pledges its conscience that the outrages, perpetrated by the German soldiery against the unarmed civilians of both sexes and every age and also against members of the secular and regular clergy and the cloistered sisterhoods, far surpassed those registered in the eighteen special reports published by the Government.

The commission of Bishops proceeds to lay these newly ascertained facts before their Austro-German colleagues, inviting them, should the slightest doubt remain in their minds respecting the cases cited, to agree to the establishment of a supreme tribunal, constituted of four Belgians and four Austro-German Bishops under the Presidency of a prelate of some neutral country, chosen by common consent.

The Bishops' moving indictment and appeal were delivered through a Papal Nuncio on Nov. 28. So far no reply has been vouchsafed, though its transmission was arranged for through the agency of the Vatican.

Mgr. Heylen, Bishop of Namur, is now in Rome in connection with this matter, and should this collective appeal remain unacknowledged after a certain lapse of time, it is said that he will seek the Pope's authority to publish the full text.

Dr. Greil's Story of the Ancona

By Dr. Cecile Greil

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This graphic pen picture of the tragedy that brought about an international crisis is written by the most important witness on board. It contradicts the Austrian official version at several points.

WE left Messina at 6. The memorable morning of Sunday, Nov. 7, dawned. The date sticks in my memory. I may forget the date of my birth, but not that. The sea rolled sullenly and heavily about the ship. One could feel, rather than see, the vastness of the blind gray welter all about.

On deck I felt ill at ease and more apprehensive than ever. I now guessed what was the matter with me. I was the only woman in the first cabin, an American-born citizen, and alone. An odd idea came to me—perhaps in the second cabin I might be able to find some American girl or woman whom I might bring up into the first cabin with me, to keep me company. It might be arranged, by my making up the additional fare. I discovered that I was the only native-born American on the boat.

The bell for luncheon rang at 11:30. As we sat at the table, still without the Captain, we joked and laughed together, to hide our lack of ease. We spoke of trivial things. We were through with lunch now; the others were going out; I was rising from my seat, at the same time drinking the remainder of my coffee. Then the thing came upon us that we had all, strangely enough, felt coming, in our hearts.

A terrific vibration shook the ship. I was thrown back into my seat. I knew that the ship must be stopping. I heard a running and scurrying about the deck outside. Looking out, I saw, through the dining saloon window, six or ten stewards in white whirling out of sight around an angle.

It was evident that something had gone wrong with the ship, though, by some queer process of mind, at that moment nobody thought of a submarine.

But hearing the next moment a sharp, quick crash, as of lightning that had struck home close by, at the same instant I both thought of the possibility of a submarine—and saw one!

The fog had lifted slightly. There, in full view framed in the window with a curious, picture-like effect, lay a submarine with its deck out of the water. It was long and flat, horribly longer and bigger than the mental conception I had formed of what such a thing would be like. There was a gun mounted in front, and another at back, and both had their muzzles leveled directly at the Ancona.

The submarine stood out in clear, black outline against the white background of mist. The fog seemed only to make it more distinct, as it always does with objects near by. From a staff in the back broke a red and white drapeau. Afterward I learned that this was the combination of colors that made the Austrian flag. I was ignorant of it, then, though I remembered the exact colors.

So far, I could find nothing tragic or terrible in the situation. Possibly we would be in danger of considerable exposure in open boats, before other ships, summoned by wireless, would pick us up. I did not rush out as the others had done. I stood quite still, in order to calm myself, to give myself time to think what would better be done. The Ancona had come to a stop. Of that I was certain. I also knew that the ship was doomed.

But now there came another terrible crash, and another, and another, in different parts of the ship, followed by explosions and the sound of débris falling into the water and on deck. Well, they were merely destroying the wireless. Still there was no fear of death.

But now I was aware of a terrible shrieking. Everybody was in a frightful panic.

Well, as for myself—to get excited wouldn't help. I went to my cabin as calmly as I could, determined to save what I could of my valuables. I put them in my lifebelt. I took a receipt for 20,000 lire, which I had left with the purser. I went toward the bow of the ship. I descended the staircase to the second cabin, on the way to the purser's office. A large part of the staircase had been shot away—and the horror of what I saw at the bottom of it made me instantly forget what I was going for. There lay three or four women, four or five children, and several men. Some of them were already dead, all, at least, badly wounded. I made sure two of the children were dead. The purser sprawled limply across his desk, inert, like a sack of meal that has been flung down and stays where it lies. He had been shot in the head. The blood was running bright like red paint, freshly spilt, down his back, and his hair was matted with it.

The first series of shots had wrecked this part of the ship, breaking through and carrying away whole sections of the framework. I tried to get back up the stairs. But in the slight interval of time I had consumed, enough additional shells had been discharged to finish the wreck of the staircase.

I saw that this was not what the nations call, ironically enough, "Legitimate warfare," but wholesale and indiscriminate massacre. Seeing my exit that way cut off, I started through the second cabin to go up the central stairway. The sight that I ran into there was indescribable. All the passengers from the third cabin had rushed up into the second. They had altogether lost their wits. The only thing that was left them was the animal instinct for self-preservation in its most disastrous and most idiotic form. Men, women, and children were burrowing headforemost under chairs and benches and tables. I saw one man, his face pressed close against the floor sideways, heaving a chair up in the air with his back, in an effort to efface himself.

All the while the detonations, like con-

tinuous thunder and lightning, increased the panic. Women were on their knees in mental agony, each supplicating the particular saint of the part of the country from which she came to save her from death. I pushed and shoved them by the shoulders. I took them by the legs and arms and clothes, and urged them, in Italian, to get up, to put on lifebelts, to get off the ship. I told them that, at least, they would find no security from shells under chairs and tables.

I found a poor old woman at the foot of the stairs, huddled in prayer. Her thin, gray hair straggled loose over her shoulder. I recognized her as a woman I had got acquainted with in my search for a fellow-citizen to join me in the first cabin. She was 65 years old, she had told me. She had seen two sons off to the war, and was now going to a third who had emigrated to America and lived in Pennsylvania. It was the first time she had ever crossed the ocean. She was sick of the thought of war. In the New World she would find peace and comfort for her old age, with her "Bambino," as she still called the grown-up man who was her son. So when I saw her lying there I was possessed of but one idea—to get her off alive. I told her to come with me, that I would protect her. She acquiesced, but her fright was so great that she hung limp as if she had no spine while I half-dragged her to the first cabin deck.

A boat was being lowered. It had been swung out on the davits. It already seethed full of people. And more men and women and children were fighting, in a promiscuous, shrieking mass, to get into it as it swung out and down. The men, with their superior strength, were, of course, getting the best of the struggle. Age or sex had no weight. It was brute strength that prevailed.

At the sight before her the old woman grew frantic with unexpected strength. She suddenly jerked loose from me, and before I could prevent her, ran with all the agility of fear and jumped overboard. Others flung their bodies pell-mell on the heads of those already in it. Some, in their frenzy, missed the

mark at which they aimed themselves and fell into the sea. To make the horror complete, the boat now stuck at one end, tilted downward, and spilled all its occupants into the sea, ninety or a hundred at once. They seized each other. Some swam. Others floundered and sank almost immediately, dragging each other down. Some drowned themselves even with lifebelts on, not knowing how to hold their heads out of the water.

I tried to speak with the passengers still on deck. It was useless. Everybody was talking in his own particular dialect. Then I realized the predicament I myself was in. An utter foreigner, whom they would sacrifice in an instant for one of their own nationality. Perhaps if only I had some of my jewelry I might be able to bribe my way to safety in some such crisis.

I made my way back to my cabin again. There were people dead and dying on the deck. I saw one man who had started to run up the gangway to the officer's deck come plunging down again. He had been struck in the back of the head. Somehow or other, I just felt that my time had not yet come. This conviction enabled me to keep my wits about me.

In my cabin I flung up the top of my steamer trunk. As I was searching for my valuables my chambermaid appeared in the doorway; half a dozen times I had met her rushing frantically and aimlessly up and down.

"Oh, madame, madame—we shall all be killed, we're all going to get killed!"

"Maria," I advised as quietly and soothingly as I could, still stooping over my trunk; "don't be so mad, get a life-belt on, and get up out of here."

Before she could speak again she was a dead woman. A shot carried away the port-hole and sheared off the top of her head. It finished its course by exploding at the other side of the ship. If I had not been stooping over at the time I would not have lived to write this story.

I snatched up my little jewel-basket, with a few favorite trinkets in it. I put on my cap and sweater. When I

got up on deck I saw the submarine carefully circumnavigating its victims and deliberately shooting toward us at all angles. I ran along the deck. The sea was full of deck rails, parts of doors, and other wreckage, and dotted with human beings, some dead, others alive, and screaming for help. There was another boat in front that tilted and dumped out its frantic load into the sea. Peering over the side of the ship, I saw a boat that had already been lowered to the water's edge. In it I recognized the two ship's doctors, and two of the seamen. There was also an officer in the boat, Carlo Lamberti, the chief engineer. He sat at the helm. I called out to them to take me in.

"Jump!" they shouted back.

I threw my basket down. I had a good twenty-foot drop. I have always been a good swimmer. Furthermore, I saw that if I jumped into the boat, crowded with people, sails, water-barrels, and pails for bailing, I might cause it to capsize. So I told them to push the boat away and then they could pick me up out of the water.

I escaped with a ducking.

An immigrant girl who followed me flung herself down wildly and broke both her legs on the side of the ship.

Then the torpedo was discharged. It whizzed across the ship, drawing a tail behind it like a comet. It plunged beneath the Ancona as if guided by a diabolical intelligence of its own. There followed a terrific explosion. Huge jets of thick black smoke shot up, with showers of débris. Our boat rocked and swayed in the roughened water. The Ancona lurched to the left, righted herself, shivered a moment—then her bow shot high in the air like a struggling, death-stricken animal. She went under, drawing a huge, funnel-like vortex after her.

The Captain and some officers were the last to drop astern, in a small boat. Passengers were still to be seen, clinging forward, like ants on driftwood, as the ship was drawn down. There were many people wounded, so that they could not get off unaided. They were left to die.



EX-SENATOR ELIHU ROOT

Who Recently Discussed the Injury to International Law Caused by
the War

(Photo © by Harris & Ewing.)



GENERAL SIR PERCY LAKE
Chief of Staff in India, Who Succeeded General Nixon in Command of
British Forces in Mesopotamia
(Photo from Bain News Service.)

[A TEUTONIC INTERPRETATION.]

Military Operations in Europe

From Dec. 15, 1915, to Jan. 15, 1916

By Kurt Wittgenstein

First Lieutenant in the Austrian Army

I. WESTERN FRONT

EVER since the breakdown of the Allies' famous "big offensive" in Flanders, Artois, and Champagne, in the late Fall of last year, absolute deadlock has prevailed all along the western front, from Nieuport to Alt-kirch. What few actions have taken place, during the last two months, aside from artillery duels and skirmishes, are of a merely tactical or, to express myself more popularly, local nature and importance. This holds good equally of the fighting around the hotly contended

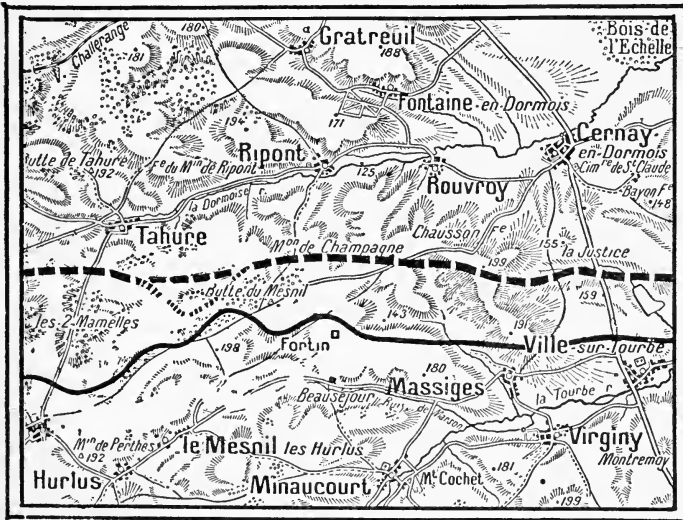
On Jan. 3 the Germans succeeded in exploding a sap under the English lines, blowing up a row of first line and reserve trenches of vast extent. Those of the defenders not killed or otherwise disabled by the explosion fled and were brought down by the pursuing Germans.

II. AUSTRO-ITALIAN FRONT

Official reports of the fighting in the mountainous regions of the Trentino are meagre and monotonous, the Italian General Staff as a rule blaming the bad weather and the cold for their inability

to achieve anything like a victory against the numerically vastly inferior Austrians. Here, too, activity has been limited chiefly to long-range artillery duels.

On the Isonzo, after what is officially called the "Fourth Battle of the Isonzo," (the more appropriate expression used in official Austrian reports being "Battle of the Parliament" — Parla-



Scene of German Drive in Champagne

for Hartmanns-Weilerkopf in Alsace, where the Germans, at least for the present, are masters of the situation, a recent diversion by the French against the Hirzstein, with the purpose of counter-acting German successes on the first-mentioned point, having failed.

Mines played an important rôle in most of these actions, notably at La Bassée.

mentsschlacht—its chief aim having been to impress the Italian Chamber of Deputies, convoked for the beginning of December, favorably toward the war,) when during the last days of November Victor Emmanuel's troops made another desperate but fruitless effort to storm the bridgehead of Goritza, not much worth mentioning has occurred either.

It is significant, though, that after their last failure to capture that place integrally, the Italians, recognizing their own weakness, decided to reduce Goritz to ruins. For more than a month now, that old and venerable town has been undergoing a systematical and continuous bombardment from land and air. All that the Italians can expect to get for their enormous expenditure in men, material, and ammunition before Goritz is a heap of débris, but they have not come any nearer to it for months, in spite of their untiring efforts.

The sending of about 40,000 Italian troops to Albania may similarly be construed into a confession of impotence on their home battlefields and the endeavor to obtain a cheap apparent success somewhere else and calm the alarmed and excited minds at home. It sounds like a good joke to hear Italians talk of their "relief expedition" to Serbia! Rome has no more interest in relieving the Serbians than has Vienna. The real and much less disinterested aim of Italy's intervention in the Balkans is the realization of her dream of dominating the Adriatic, and one of the first things to happen after this war, if the Entente powers should win, would be an Italo-Serbian clash over Albania. But even if they intended to help the hard-pressed Serbians, the Italian troops now in or around Durazzo and Avlona would

be wholly unable to do so, Albania being a barren, mountainous country, practically devoid of means of communication.

III. BALKAN FRONTS

Middle of December witnessed the withdrawal of the Allies' last troops from



The New Balkan Situation

Macedonian soil, and, consequently, the end of the Serbian campaign. With the remnants of King Peter's army scattered and the belated Anglo-French relief expedition beaten back into Greek territory with considerable losses, the Teutonic powers are at last—and, most probably, for the duration of the war—beyond all danger from that particular section.

The Montenegrin Army and part of

the Serbian forces, having been pushed back into Montenegro, are actually reduced to the alternative of surrender or starvation, wedged in as they are, in those resourceless regions, between the Austro-Germans on the Tara and Lim, and a smaller Austrian force along the Herzegovinan and Dalmatian border, the only source from which they might get supplies, namely, the narrow strip of coast on the Adriatic, being constantly patrolled by Austrian submarines in wait for hostile supply ships. As I mentioned above, Albania cannot be counted upon as a means of supplying those troops.

The capture by Austrian forces of Mount Lovcen, Montenegro's mighty natural stronghold ("the Gibraltar of the Adriatic") dominating the Austrian seaport of Cattaro, toward the middle of January, dealt a decisive blow to the Montenegrins. At the same time, Italy's prestige in the Balkans is badly hurt, her troops in Albania are in grave danger, and her dreams of ruling the Adriatic may remain dreams forever.

Let us now scrutinize the military situation in the area of Saloniki. What plans may the combined General Staff of the Entente be forming there? An offensive of their troops stationed around that seaport and numbering about 150,000 against the Bulgarians, firmly intrenched along the Greek border, is wholly out of the question. If need be, the entire Bulgarian Army, numbering about 500,000, could be spared for the defense of that 240-mile line. Reports from the Balkan front indicate, in fact, that there are no more German or Austrian troops on the Graeco-Serbian frontier. Mackensen's army, about 400,000 men, is said to have been shifted weeks ago toward North Rumania, with the twofold aim of forming a reserve in the event of the long foreseen and recently started Russian offensive, and of intimidating the Rumanian Government, in case it should feel like joining Germany's foes. As highly significant for an apparent change of mind in Bucharest, in favor of the Central Powers, it must, however, be stated that the Rumanian Government has at last granted the permission of exporting wheat to Austria, a

permission which up to now had been strictly refused.

In order to have the slightest chance of a success in an offensive against those 500,000 Bulgarians, thoroughly trained and acquainted as they are with the peculiarities of the country, the Entente powers would have to send to Saloniki at least 750,000 of their soldiers less used to mountain warfare, in addition to those already there. It is hard to conceive from where they can spare such an army for a secondary scene of action.

IV. RUSSIAN FRONT

Had not the Teutons been able to foresee the offensive which Russia at the present is pushing vigorously along the Bessarabian frontier and in East Gilicia, they were warned in time against such an event by their very enemies. When Mackensen's victorious army, after crossing the Danube, irresistibly invaded Serbian territory, ex-Premier Viviani calmed the stormy waves in the French Chamber by the prophetic words: "Demain les Russes combattront avec nos troupes!" ("Tomorrow the Russians will be fighting together with our troops.") But, again, the unreliable steam-roller was slow getting started and, as a result, Mackensen was able to clear Serbia thoroughly from allied troops before shifting his army toward North Rumania, as I have mentioned before.

With her present offensive, Russia is pursuing a twofold aim: Its strategic purpose is to cut off the Austrians, in positions south of the Kowel-Sarny railroad, from the German troops to the north of that line. Its political objective is to win Rumania as a member of the Entente. The first plan has failed up to the present, owing to a German counter-offensive from Czartorisk (on the Kowel-Sarny line) in the general direction of Sarny. As for the second purpose, nothing decisive concerning Rumania's intentions can yet be said.

Reports concerning the numbers engaged in the struggle along the Stripa and in Bukowina are very vague; it is generally admitted, however, that Russia has massed at least one million men on that comparatively narrow section of her lines. As to the fighting qualities and

the equipment of those troops doubts are well justified. Half a year ago, when the Czar's soldiers were being driven back along the entire front, in the Carpathians and in Poland, the Russian General Staff laid the blame for their reverses on the lack of ammunition. It is hard to conceive how the Government may have remedied that evil in such a comparatively short time. Labor conditions in Russia can hardly have improved in the last months. As for the aid Japan is known to be giving to Russia in the way of guns and ammunition, it must be considered a somewhat uncertain item in the Petrograd household, as long as conditions do not improve on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, known for the present as being a most unreliable means of transportation. Neither can ammunition from the west (particularly from the United States) reach the Slav empire at present, the White Sea being frozen over during seven months of the year.

The want of experienced leaders for her millions of soldiers, because of the amazing percentage of officers lost in the Carpathians last year, may prove to be an equally serious drawback to Russia in the present offensive. Troops, to be victorious, must be led, not pushed, into action; German reports putting the Russian losses, from the start of the new offensive to the end of the second week of January, at more than 60,000, indicate that the Czar's troops are being hurled in close formation against the Austro-Germans. In spite of these enormous sacrifices, the Russians have as yet been unable to make appreciable headway on any point of the front.

North of the Kowel-Sarny line, as far as the Bay of Riga, there has been an absolute deadlock.

V. OTHER FRONTS

The final evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula by the British and French forces, in the first days of this year, put a sudden and inglorious end to the Allies' Dardanelles campaign, begun eleven months ago with boldest anticipations. The Entente powers, according to their own statements, have sacrificed, in that disastrous adventure, about 200,000 of their finest men, six battleships, several

smaller craft, and enormous quantities of ammunition and other material; the total costs of the failure are said to amount to more than a billion dollars. It is poor comfort for the English people to be told by General Sir Charles Monro, Commander in Chief of the campaign, that Gallipoli was evacuated "under the eyes of the Turks, quietly and practically without losses, only four men having been wounded." In order to give that obviously untrue report a color of credibility the English allege that their withdrawing troops "caught the Turks napping." Why, then, for Allah's sake, did not General Monro take advantage of that rare opportunity?

As the immediate result of the abandonment of the Dardanelles campaign, Turkish forces estimated at more than 300,000 men are now released for use in other theatres of war. Their next task will probably be to clear Mesopotamia quickly and finally of the British. Already, General Townshend's forces, numbering about 30,000, having after their defeat by the Sultan's soldiers at Ctesiphon, 50 miles southeast of Bagdad, retreated 100 miles further southeast to Kut-el-Amara, are in grave danger of being surrounded there. If the Turks succeed in springing the trap, this may mean the end of the Mesopotamia expedition, undertaken by the English with the political purpose of seizing Bagdad, and, by so spectacular a performance, keeping in awe the North African tribes for the event of a German campaign against Egypt.

Speaking of Africa, Italy's painful loss of Tripoli, only wrested from Turkey a few years ago with enormous sacrifices, cannot remain unmentioned.

SUMMARY

Looking over the military events of the last month, it can be said that Germany and her allies have, as in the case of Serbia and the Dardanelles, cleared vast territories from their foes. They hold their own everywhere else, and whenever the Allies tried to break through the Teutonic lines, as, for instance, in France and in Galicia, they paid dearly for their venture and their achievements were nil.

[AN AMERICAN INTERPRETATION]

Events at All the Battle Fronts

From Dec. 15, 1915, to Jan. 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant, Eleventh United States Cavalry

VIEWED from the standpoint of territory gained or occupied, the operations of the month past have beyond doubt resulted to the distinct advantage of the Teutons and their allies. Of these operations the effect of the British withdrawal from Gallipoli will be most far-reaching.

It was a foregone conclusion that the retirement from the Suvla Bay and Anzac regions presaged a general retirement from the entire peninsula. The enterprise was, as a matter of fact, doomed to failure at its inception. Even in the minds of the British public hope died with the retirement from the Anafarta position. Coincident with this the Turks opened heavy attacks, which they continued without cessation, on the Achi Baba line, as if realizing the approaching withdrawal and with the intention of making it as costly as possible. Claims of Berlin and of London are absolutely at variance as to just how costly it was. However great the loss may have been, the one uncontroverted fact is that the retirement has been made, so that today there is no allied force on Gallipoli.

The effects of this frank acknowledgment on the part of the British that they have failed to make any serious impression on the Turkish field forces will be hard to estimate. Certainly not the least effect will be moral—the effect on British pride and British prestige. The statement of the British Ministry which is still fresh in the minds of the world—that in siding with the Teutons the Turks were ringing their own death knell as a European power—will be looked upon in the Orient as a piece of vain boasting, and the strength of Britain's power, belief in which has been one of the

strongest forces that held together the empire in the East, will be questioned in a quarter in which it is most essential it be regarded as unquestionable. Against this is the great relief that London will experience in feeling that there is no longer any cause for the nightmare of depression which lack of progress at the strait had produced. England is at least able to devote her strength to what must be in the final analysis her one great task—fighting the Germans.

Of the concrete, tangible results the most important has to do with numbers—the redistribution of both Turkish and British forces. It is not definitely known how many men the Allies had on Gallipoli, nor how many remained to hold the tip of the peninsula after the Anafarta position was evacuated. It is not far amiss, however, to state that at least 200,000 Turks and 100,000 British are now available for service elsewhere. The British can be used to great advantage in several fields—in Flanders, in Saloniki, in Mesopotamia, about Suez. The latter three points are all more or less dangerous.

In summing up the effect of the Gallipoli failure it is fair to say that it is readily susceptible of great exaggeration. It must be remembered that the British never held very much in the strait. Had they taken Constantinople the war would certainly have been much shortened. Having failed to take it, the war will follow the course it would have followed had the Dardanelles movement not been attempted. This entire theatre is subsidiary, a side issue. The movement was designed to help Russia, not because there was any decisively inherent value in Constantinople itself.

There were engaged not more than 3



Franco-British Line of Defense at
Saloniki.

per cent. of the Allies' forces, and but a slightly larger proportion of the Teutonic allies. When it is realized that wars are only decided by the decisive defeat of main armies the comparative insignificance of the British failure is apparent. It is the other 97 per cent. in France and in Russia that we must watch for decided results.

The Turkish force of 200,000 men now available for other service will be able to exert a much more positive influence than that of mere defense due to the situation in Mesopotamia. Some months ago the British sent into the East an expedition which, to quote from Mr. Asquith, had for its objects to protect the oil fields at the head of the Persian Gulf, to defend the mastery of the gulf itself, and in general to maintain the authority of the British flag in the Orient. The advance was made up the Tigris River,

where one position after the other was taken until Ctesiphon was reached. Here the British were defeated and forced to fall back on Kut-el-Amara.

This place was in a semi-fortified condition when first taken, and in the interim between the advance on Ctesiphon and their defeat the British completed their defensive preparations, apparently with the idea of using it as a basis for an advance further east. In this they were foiled completely. The Turkish force at Ctesiphon was much more numerous than the British had been led to believe, and promptly surrounded the British and invested their stronghold.

Early in January a strong relief column was sent out to effect a junction with the 10,000 British trapped at Kut-el-

Amara. This force, under General Aylmer, also advanced up the Tigris and, after a series of minor successes, was halted at Sheik Saad, about twenty miles from Kut-el-Amara, apparently by a superior force of Turks. This information, received on Jan. 12, had not been amplified at the time of going to press. If any material part of the Turks released at Gallipoli can be sent to the Tigris the result would readily be complete disaster to all of the British forces in this theatre.

Fortunately for the British the transportation of the Gallipoli forces to Bagdad will be a tedious and difficult problem. The railroad from Scutari on the Bosphorus to Bagdad is broken by a short, uncompleted stretch in the Taurus Mountains in the vicinity of Adana. With this exception it is continuous, and from the town of Mosul parallels the Tigris River throughout its length. The break, however, occurs in a particularly difficult country and will greatly delay any force moving eastward. Nevertheless such a large force as the Turks now have available, especially a force composed of veterans of a successful campaign, is an exceedingly dangerous factor to be loose, and whether it be in Mesopotamia, Egypt, or Saloniki, the British will feel its force.

It is possible that the pressure may be applied against Suez. Thus far, however, there has been no tangible evidence that the Teutons intend to launch the threatened campaign against the canal. There are three obstacles in the way: First, the break at Adana in the only railroad line that can be used for transport of men and guns while the British have the open sea route of the Mediterranean; second, the ease with which this railroad line can be cut at Tripoli, Beirut, or Haifa; third, the Sinai Peninsula, over which there is no railroad at all. Without railroads modern armies cannot operate on any large scale. Modern defensive is terrifically strong; it can only be broken down by an almost inexhaustive supply of shells, in which there is a considerable proportion of shells of large calibre. Without railroads these cannot be transported, particularly over a desert where the only prac-

tical means of movement of either men or munitions are camels.

Seriously affecting any previously planned campaign in the East is the recent Russian offensive, which is still under way, along the Styr and Stripa Rivers, and against Czernowitz on the Pruth. The Teutons have used every means in their endeavor to turn the attention of the Russians from this very uncomfortable section of their front. The Rumanian border is too near for comfort; the Rumanian desire for Bukowina and Transylvania too ever-present to be ignored. But the Russian recuperation was too decided to be set aside. Having, to their mind, proved conclusively that they were able to beat back all attacks against Riga and the Dvina front the Russians prepared to emerge from the marshes of Pinsk, and proved their preparation by the most determined offense they have attempted since they swept through Galicia over a year ago.

Their retreat last Spring had carried them across the Styr, where the Teutons halted, presumably content with their success and intending merely to hold this line while turning attention elsewhere. The line of the west bank of the river was therefore thoroughly fortified. Its fortifications, together with the natural defensive possibilities of the terrain, make their position almost impregnable. This line the Russians elected to break in the region of the fortified town of Czartorisk. From the Pripet as far south as the Galician border the Styr runs through a broad marsh, but flanked by hills. Czartorisk is located on one of these hills. In spite of the difficulties of terrain the Russians have succeeded in forcing the river line from Rafalowka, a fortified town on the east bank, to and including Czartorisk, and now hold the west bank over the distance—about twenty kilometers.

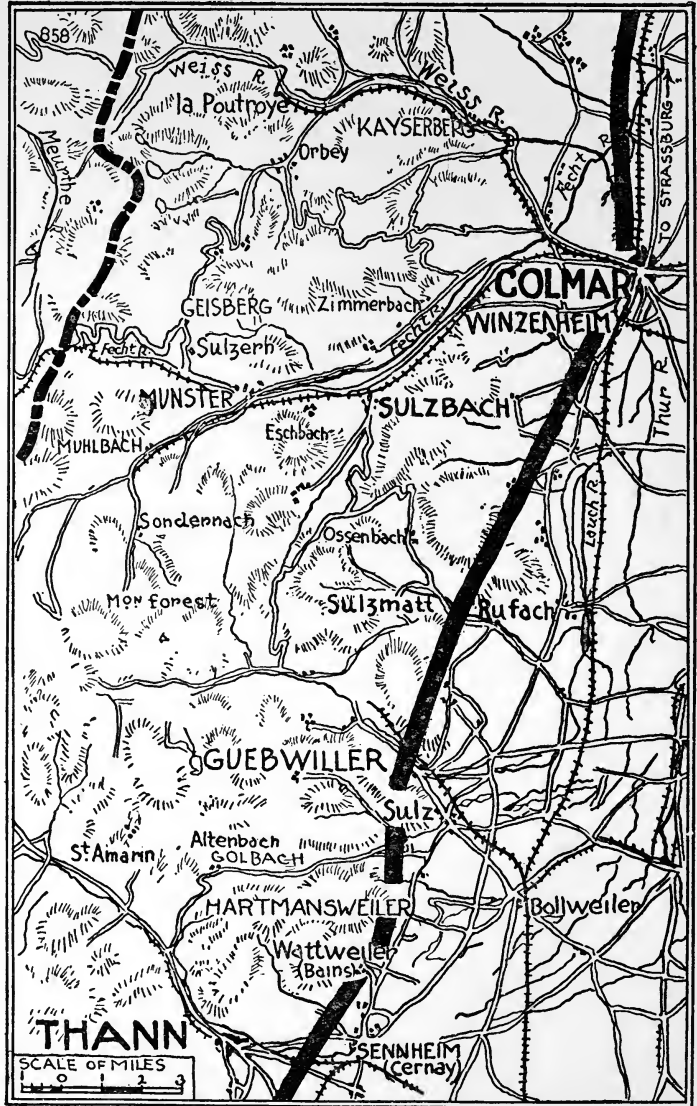
In Galicia they have completely cleared the east bank of the Stripa, and by the capture of the heights northeast of Czernowitz have placed the Bukowina capital in great danger. If this movement is pressed to success it must have a serious effect on Rumania, for just as soon as this State realizes that there is nothing

to fear from the Teutons their intervention on the side of the Allies is almost a certainty. Whatever other results this movement may accomplish, it has inflicted a loss on the Teutons which the Vienna press admits will amount to 75,000 men, and has caused a postponement of any operations in other fields. Thus it will influence any contemplated campaign against either Egypt or Saloniki.

Another noticeable event of the month was the German offensive in the Champagne. The query rises in connection with this, Was it really an offensive or a defensive? The French offensive in September carried them well within artillery range of the Bazancourt-Chalrange Railroad. The German military critics at the time pronounced this drive a failure. At the same time the new French positions must have interfered most seriously with the connection between the German army in the Argonne and that in the Champagne, since with no strategic point to be gained the Germans have, at a heavy cost in men which they can ill afford, launched an attack in force. The only object seems to be to drive the French back from the railroad. The net result was

the reduction of Germany's already declining effectives by some 20,000 men.

The most marked success of the month was the Austrian occupation, first of Lovcen, and later of Cettinje, and the consequent complete domination of



Battle Lines Around Hartmanns-Weilerkopf.

Montenegro. The Teuton hold on Serbia has thus been markedly strengthened. No matter which way the Allies move in the attempted restoration of Serbia their line of march will be flanked.

The Tragedy of Gallipoli

General Ian Hamilton's Story of the Dardanelles

Official announcement was made Jan. 20, 1915, that the British forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula at Anzac and Suvla Bay had been withdrawn, and that only the minor positions near Sedd-el-Bahr were occupied. The full extent of this most disastrous British failure, which cost more than 100,000 men, was revealed in General Sir Ian Hamilton's report of his operations at the Dardanelles, made to Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, and published in The Official Gazette of Jan. 6, 1916. The report describes the fighting from the beginning of May to the middle of October, when General Hamilton was recalled. Following is a summary of its main passages:

THE operation at Suvla Bay began on Aug. 6. The climax was reached at daybreak on the 10th, when the Turks made a grand attack from the summit of Chunnuk Bair Hill upon a short front held by two battalions of the Sixth North Lancashire and Fifth Wiltshire Regiments, which General Hamilton describes as weakened in numbers, though not in spirit. (A battalion at war strength is composed of twenty-nine officers and 995 men of other ranks.)

"First our men were shelled by every enemy gun," he says, "then assaulted by a huge column consisting of no less than a full division plus three battalions, (about 25,000 men.) The North Lancashire men were simply overwhelmed in their shallow trenches by sheer weight of numbers, while the Wiltshires, who were caught out in the open, were literally almost annihilated.

"The ponderous mass of the enemy swept over the crest and swarmed round the Hampshires and General Baldwin's brigade, which had to give ground and were only extricated with great difficulty and very heavy losses.

"Now it was our turn. The warships and the New Zealand and the Australian

artillery, an Indian mountain artillery brigade, and the Sixty-ninth Brigade Royal Field Artillery were getting the chance of a lifetime. As successive solid lines of Turks topped the crest of the ridge, gaps were torn through their formation and an iron rain fell on them as they tried to re-form in the gullies.

"Not here only did the Turks pay dearly for their recapture of the vital crest. Enemy reinforcements continued to move up under a heavy and accurate fire from our guns. Still they kept topping the ridges and pouring down the western slopes of Chunnuk Bair as if determined to gain everything they had lost. But once they were over the crest they became exposed not only to the full blast of the guns, naval and military, but a battery of ten New Zealand machine guns, which played upon their serried ranks at close range until their barrels were red hot.

"Enormous losses were inflicted, and of the swarms which had once fairly crossed the crest line only a handful ever struggled back to their own side of Chunnuk Bair.

"At the same time strong forces of the enemy were hurled against the spurs to the northeast, where there arose a conflict so deadly that it may be considered the climax of four days' fighting for the ridge. Portions of our line were pierced and the troops were driven clean down the hill. At the foot of the hill the men who were supervising the transport of food and water were rallied by Staff Captain Street. Unhesitatingly they followed him back, where they plunged again into the midst of that series of struggles in which Generals fought in the ranks and men dropped their scientific weapons and caught one another by the throat.

"The Turks came on again and again, fighting magnificently and calling upon the name of God. Our men stood to it

and maintained by many a deed of daring the old traditions of their race. There was no flinching; they died in the ranks where they stood. Here Generals Cayley, Baldwin, and Cooper and all their gallant men achieved great glory. On this bloody field fell Brig. Gen. Baldwin, who earned his first laurels on Caesar's Camp at Ladysmith. There, too, fell Brig. Gen. Cooper, badly wounded.

"Toward this supreme struggle the absolute last two battalions from the general reserve were now hurried, but by 10 in the morning the effort of the enemy was spent. Soon their shattered remnants began to trickle back, leaving a track of corpses behind them. By night, except for prisoners or wounded, no live Turk was left upon our side of the slope."

Two lesser attacks were made by the Turks the same day. General Hamilton continues:

"By evening the total casualties of General Birdwood's force had reached 12,000, and included a very large proportion of officers. The Thirteenth Division of the new army, under Major Gen. Shaw, had alone lost 6,000 out of a grand total of 10,500. Brig. Gen. Baldwin was gone, and all his staff men and commanding officers, thirteen, had disappeared from the fighting effectives. The Warwicks and Worcesters had lost literally every single officer.

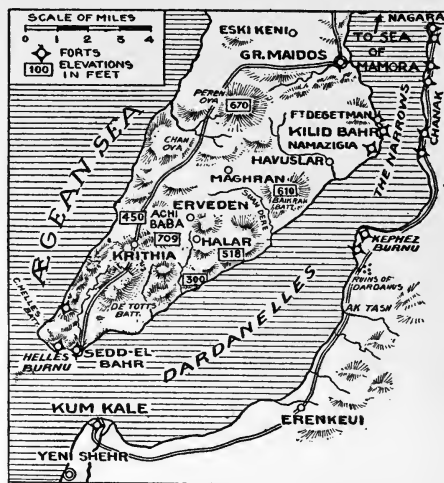
"The old German notion that no unit could stand the loss of more than 25 per cent. has been completely falsified. The Thirteenth Division and the Twenty-ninth Brigade of the Tenth Irish Division had lost more than twice that, and in spirit were game for as much more fighting as might be required."

The British held all they gained except two important salients, one a hill, momentarily carried by the Gurkhas, and the position on Chunnuk Bair, which had been retained forty-eight hours.

"Unfortunately," says General Hamilton, "these two pieces of ground, small and worthless as they seemed, were worth, according to the ethics of war, 10,000 lives, for by their loss or retention they just marked the difference between

an important success and a signal victory. The grand coup had not come off; the Narrows were out of sight and beyond field-gun range, but this was not the fault of General Birdwood or any of the officers or men under his command."

The first operations in the Anzac zone appeared to have been carried out with comparative success. The Suvla Bay expedition, which has been the subject of



Gallipoli Peninsula.

the greatest criticism, suffered various misfortunes. Elaborate plans were worked out by the army staff with Vice Admiral de Robeck.

During the night of the 11th a division consisting of the Thirty-second and Thirty-fourth Brigades was brought from Imbros to Suvla. Three brigades with three batteries were landed in the darkness. The Turks were completely surprised. The division made good its position ashore. Most of the supporting force, consisting of the Irish Tenth Division, were brought from Mytilene. General Hamilton compliments highly the navy for landing the first of them at dawn from a distance of 120 miles at the psychological moment when they were most needed.

The remainder of the story of Suvla consists largely of misfortunes. General Hamilton explains that the senior commanders lacked experience in the new trench warfare, and in the Turkish

methods and appreciation of the paramount importance of time. On the 15th General Stopford was relieved of the command of his division corps and General Delisle succeeded him.

The accounts in the report of the suffering of the soldiers from lack of water are graphic. An enormous quantity was secretly collected at Anzac, where a reservoir holding 30,000 gallons, with distributing pipes, was built. Oil tins, with a capacity of 80,000 gallons, were collected and fitted with handles, but an accident to a steamer delayed part of the supply at the time of landing.

Describing the operations on Aug. 10, General Hamilton explains why all the reserves were not available.

"At times," he says, "I thought of throwing my reserves into this stubborn central battle, where probably they would have turned the scale. But each time water troubles made me give up the idea, all ranks at Anzac being reduced to a pint a day. True, thirst is a sensation unknown to the dwellers in cool, well-watered England, but at Anzac, where the mules with water bags arrived at the front, the men would rush up to them in swarms just to lick the moisture that exuded through the canvas bags. Until wells had been discovered under freshly won hills, the reinforcing of Anzac by even so much as a brigade was unthinkable."

The distribution of water from the beaches failed to work smoothly. The soldiers cut the hose to fill their water bottles, and lighters grounded so far from the beach that they had to swim to them to fill their bottles.

In the middle of August, General Hamilton estimates, the Turks had 110,000 rifles to the British 95,000. The Turks had plenty of ammunition and reserves, while the British divisions were 45,000 below their nominal strength. General Hamilton wanted 50,000 fresh rifles. He sent a long cablegram asking for reinforcements and munitions, believing that with them furnished at once—he under-

lines "at once"—the troops could clear a passage for the fleet to Constantinople.

"It may be judged how deep was my disappointment," he says, "when I learned that essential drafts of reinforcements and munitions could not be sent, the reason given being one which prevented me from further insistence."

In referring to his own retirement General Hamilton added that the evacuation of the peninsula was a step which to him was unthinkable at the time of his recall.

Great Britain's loss of officers and men at the Dardanelles up to Dec. 11 was 112,921, according to an announcement made in the House of Commons to-day by H. J. Tennant, Parliamentary Under Secretary for War. This figure is the total of killed, wounded, and missing, and includes the naval lists. Besides these casualties, the number of sick admitted to hospitals was 96,683. The losses were distributed as follows: Killed, officers, 1,609; men, 23,670; total 25,279; wounded, officers, 2,969; men, 72,222; total, 75,191; missing, officers, 337; men, 12,114; total, 13,451.

The final abandonment of Sedd-el-Bahr and the remaining positions was announced Jan. 9, 1916. The British official communication follows:

"General Sir Charles Monro reports the complete evacuation of Gallipoli has been successfully carried out.

"All the guns and howitzers were got away, with the exception of seventeen worn-out guns, which were blown up by us before leaving.

"Our casualties amounted to one member of the British rank and file wounded. There were no casualties among the French.

"General Monro states that the accomplishment of this difficult task was due to Generals Birdwood and Davies, and invaluable assistance rendered in an operation of the highest difficulty by Admiral de Robeck of the Royal Navy."

Tactics of the Dardanelles Fighting

By a Military Expert

AT first the allied fleet made rapid progress. After a bombardment lasting about a month, the fleet attempted to force the channel, believing that it had silenced the forts. It had, but only for a time. Silencing a fort and destroying it are two separate matters, and each fort was reoccupied as soon as the firing ceased. In their attempt to force the channel three battleships—the French *Bouvet* and the British *Irresistible* and *Ocean*—were literally blown out of the water and destroyed by mines, and several other ships put out of action by shell fire of the land forts. This was enough to indicate the vital mistake the Admiralty had made, and the lesson had been cruelly driven home by the naval losses sustained. The naval forces practically withdrew, being content with long-range firing, and putting the matter squarely up to the army.

The function of the army was in its elements exceedingly simple, though the task was most difficult. It was to take *Kilid Bahr* by land, with the assistance of the guns of the fleet, turn the strength of this fort against the fort on the Asiatic side, and so clear the Narrows. Just as in the original naval operations, the land forces were at first successful. In a comparatively short time an advance was made from the point of the peninsula, of about four miles to their position south of *Krithia*. Their line, with very small variations of a few hundred yards here and there, extended from the Dardanelles at the mouth of *Chomak Dere*, across a plateau about 300 feet high, south to the town of *Krithia*, and thence to the Aegean shore at the point near *Gurkha Bluff*. And here they were held for months, unable to advance in spite of the most heroic efforts on the part of the Australian colonial and the French troops, which had been landed from *Lemnos* and *Tenedos*. The losses suffered in these attacks were great. Great Britain alone has reported over 100,000 in killed, wounded, and missing.

Frontal attacks against the Turkish line having been carried out for some months without having produced any result except a great expenditure of shell and a heavy loss in effectives, the Allies' methods changed and a threat was made against the Turkish line of supply. This took shape in the landing of forces at *Suvla Bay* and at *Anzac Cove*. From these points, particularly from the latter, the way to the German base at *Maidos* is through comparatively open country. Just inland from *Suvla* or *Little Anafarta Bay* is the *Salt Lake* lying low in a sea level plain. There are several roads, none of them particularly good, traversing the plain, all of which, directly or indirectly, connect with the main road from *Bulair* to *Maidos*.

It was apparently the object of the British to advance along one of these roads and cut the Turkish line of communications. This is indicated by the landing at *Anzac Cove*, from which there is an absolutely flat passage to the strait, the distance to be traversed not being more than five and a half miles. The valley through which the advance would have to be made, however, is flanked by hills. Either side would, of course, have to be cleared before the line could be extended across this part of the peninsula. Every indication was that the eye of the British was on the line connecting *Gaba Tepe* with *Khelia Bay*. But the *Anafarta* line was no more successful in its progress than that at *Krithia*. Both were, and for some time had been, absolutely at a standstill when the Teuton-Bulgar drive on *Serbia* was inaugurated.

Nish, the Serbian junction of the Oriental railroad from *Berlin* to *Constantinople*, fell in a short time after the Serbian invasion began, and both the *Danube* and the *Oriental* railroad were thrown open to Teuton traffic. If the Turks' ammunition had got low there was now in sight a full replenishing of the supply. The last British hope of a real *Gallipoli* success had vanished.

Significance of Events in Mesopotamia

THE "political results" that would follow the capture of Bagdad, to which the Marquess of Crewe alluded in the House of Lords on Dec. 7, invest the situation in Mesopotamia with a great deal more importance than is suggested by the scale on which military operations have so far been conducted. The fighting at Ctesiphon and Kut-el-Amara is an episode on which, however, much may depend. Linked with the campaign are such events as the anarchy which has been brought about by German and Turkish agents in Persia, with its effect on Afghanistan and India, on one side, and on the other the threatened attack by a Turco-German army on the Suez Canal and Egypt.

The British expedition under General Sir John Nixon, which landed at the head of the Persian Gulf in April last, was a necessary countermove, and if successful would have not only eased the situation which was threatening the British Empire, but would have also been a blow at Germany's most cherished scheme of colonial expansion, the building of the Bagdad railway and the commercial occupation of Mesopotamia, with its area of 143,250 square miles, embracing the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

But after reaching a point only eighty-eight miles from Bagdad and winning the battle of Ctesiphon there, the Anglo-Indian force under General Charles Townshend was driven back by the greatly superior forces of the enemy and their powerful armament of artillery. When he reached Kut-el-Amara, which is ninety-five miles from Bagdad, and lies in a bend of the Tigris River, where it is joined by the Shat, only 10,000 men were left to hold the position until reinforcements could come to the relief. Subsequent reports from Kut-el-Amara indicated great activity by the Turks, who on Christmas Day were driven off only after a fierce struggle. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, stated in the House of Commons on Jan. 10 that the British reinforcements

under General Aylmer, moving up the Tigris to the relief of General Townshend, had fought another Turkish army trying to check his advance, and defeated it. This engagement apparently took place at Sheik Saad, twenty-five miles east by northeast of the beleaguered town. Mr. Chamberlain, making his statement, said:

General Aylmer left Imam Alligarbi on Jan. 6 with troops, marching to the relief of Kut-el-Amara. On the same day General Townshend at Kut reported that the previous night the enemy had opened a heavy fire on the northwest front and on the village opposite Kut, but had made no attack. On the night of Jan. 7 General Aylmer reported heavy firing on the south bank of the Tigris. On the right bank General Campbell's column carried the enemy's position, taking two guns and 700 prisoners, and then intrenched. Meanwhile the main attack on the left bank was retarded by an enemy outflanking movement, and General Aylmer reported that he was apparently opposed by three Turkish divisions. On the evening of Jan. 8 he reported that, owing to fatigue, the troops had been unable to make any progress that day. On the 9th he reported the enemy in retreat and that he was pursuing, but that heavy rains hindered the pursuit. From later telegrams it appears that the enemy has reached Khora.

Mr. Chamberlain made a further statement in the House of Commons on Jan. 11 to the effect that General Aylmer's force was still halted at Sheik Saad owing to weather conditions and the necessity of removing the wounded by river, and that cavalry had located the Turks six miles to the east of Kut-el-Amara, in the same position from which the Turks had originally been driven by General Townshend in the battle of Kut-el-Amara. Almost simultaneously Turkish reports asserted that General Townshend's army at Kut-el-Amara, numbering 10,000 men, had been entirely surrounded and that the relief force had been repulsed with a loss of 3,000 men.

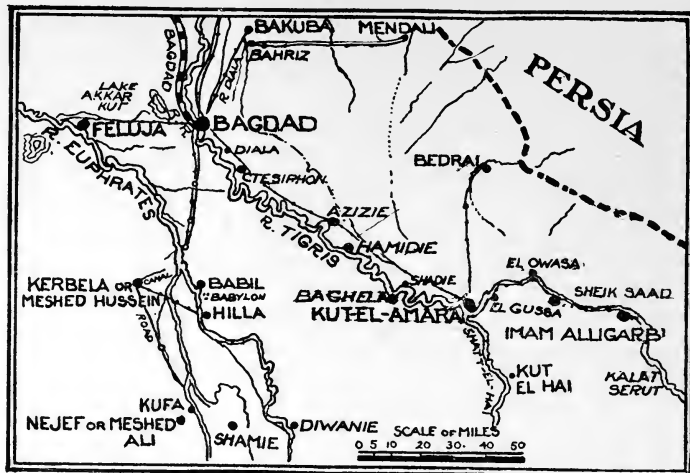
British anxiety about the change that

has come over the situation in Mesopotamia found expression in an editorial in *The London Times* of Jan. 11 in which the British Government was asked to define the ultimate object of the military operations in Mesopotamia. No conceivable military object, that journal declared, could be gained by exposing the British forces in an advance beyond Kut-el-Amara. But this subject had already been dealt with when the Marquess of Crewe, on behalf of the Government, in the House of Lords on Dec. 7 replied to the criticism that the British expedition was a "rash military adventure." He said that two misapprehensions were prevalent. The first concerned "the impropriety of advancing to take a great city like Bagdad with only a single division, General Townshend's division, as it was called." The force under General Townshend, however, was considerably larger than the division of which he was the actual commander.

The second misapprehension was that the advance had been taken solely on the initiative of the General in command and had not been properly thought out and perhaps not even fully authorized. That, said Lord Crewe, was a complete error. The advance to Bagdad had been contemplated some months previously and a sufficient force collected to carry out the operation. The whole proceedings were thought out by the Commander in Chief, Sir John Nixon, and intrusted to General Townshend. It was clear to everybody that the early capture of Bagdad, if it could be effected, would be a great stroke in the war, not merely as a military move, but from the political results which would follow. The task, however, proved to be a heavier one than was anticipated.

An important development depending partly on the success of the British forces in Mesopotamia and partly on the operations of the Russian Army of the Caucasus is the cutting off of Persia, and thereby Afghanistan and India from the influence of German and Turkish propaganda. If the Russians and the British are successful in their respective spheres of action, it is apparently their intention

THE CONFLICT IN MESOPOTAMIA.



Scenes of British Expedition's Battle with the Turks.

to join forces and form a battle front extending from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf. When Russian troops occupied Hamadan in Persia they discovered that the enemy was spreading rumors of a forthcoming march of the Turks and Germans on India by way of Bagdad and Persia. So far the Russian campaign has been of a desultory character owing to the absence of sufficient forces. There has been a good deal of irregular fighting in the Lake Van region, and also to the south of Lake Urmia in Northern Persia. The object has been not so much to secure the effective occupation of territory as to suppress the disturbances fomented by German and Turkish agents, who have been, according to the British Government, trying to draw Persia into the war.

The seriousness of the position was made clear during the discussion in the House of Lords on Dec. 7, when state-

ments were made by Viscount Bryce and the Marquess of Crewe.

Lord Bryce said that there had been attempts to drag Persia into the circle of the war, the movement seeming to have been organized by Prince Reuss, who belonged to one of the most famous houses in Germany. Apparently robber bands had made anarchy in Central and Northern Persia. They had seized Shiraz and been warded off Teheran only by the presence of considerable Russian troops. By striking with vigor a decisive blow might be dealt at the hostile propaganda that extended as far as India itself.

Lord Crewe, in reply, said:

Skillful and unscrupulous propaganda has been carried on also in Afghanistan right up to our frontier, and also in such parts of Arabia as will admit those who are prepared to pursue it. It is evident that the German agents and the agents of the committee at Constantinople have both proved skillful at this work. The object of these agents has been to force Persia into the conflict on the side of the Central Powers. Bribery has been most freely used on a most lavish scale. It must be remembered that this propaganda has been distinctly and definitely opposed to Christianity, involving an appeal to the fanatical elements in Persia.

The next stage in the proceedings was the arrival in Persia of an armed party, composed largely of Germans, some presumably German officers, perhaps more German ruffians, assisted by a number of Turks, and forming an obvious nucleus for the bodies of brigands and outlaws who are only too numerous in Persia. Then proceeded the campaign of attempted assassination. The position of Persia was seriously threatened by these events, and that being so a new Government was formed at Teheran, containing some stronger elements than that which had preceded it. As soon as that new Government was formed, or very soon after, the German Minister and the Turkish Ambassador fled from Teheran to a place some sixty or seventy miles to the south, where they joined the turbulent elements.

British officials affirm that Great Britain has no desire for more territory in Asia, but she is deeply concerned in preventing any other power from obtaining a footing on the Persian Gulf. That would, in the words of the late

Admiral Mahan, "imperil Great Britain's naval situation in the Further East, her political position in India, her commercial interests in both, and the imperial tie between herself and Australasia." It now remains to be seen whether the British Government will renew the attack in the direction of Bagdad, where General von der Goltz is reported to be in command of the German and Turkish forces, or whether the occupation of the Euphrates and Tigris delta will be considered sufficient to bar the way to the Persian Gulf.

If the British do not renew their advance to Bagdad, they will give their enemies a chance of driving in a wedge between Egypt and India. Djemal Pasha, commander of the Turkish forces in Syria, is reported to have declared in reply to repeated demands upon the Turkish Government to begin war against Egypt that he would not initiate an attack before having placed at his disposal 25,000 German soldiers, as well as a strong Turkish army, well officered and provided with all necessary equipment. Apparently the British operations in Mesopotamia have diverted from Egypt the troops that Djemal Pasha requires for his campaign, although a British army in Mesopotamia cannot itself intercept a hostile force moving against Egypt on the other side of the Syrian Desert. With the appointment of Sir Percy Lake, Chief of the General Staff in India, to the command of the British forces in Mesopotamia in place of Sir John Nixon, who has been compelled to retire by ill-health, and the arrival of further reinforcements, the campaign on the Euphrates and the Tigris promises to be prosecuted with new vigor.

Thus it will be seen that the fighting at Kut-el-Amara has more than a local significance. The war will be ultimately decided on the battlefields of Europe, but what happens in Asia must inevitably have its bearing on the readjustment of world power there as elsewhere. The fate of India, of British and Russian interests in Persia, and of German colonization schemes in Asia Minor is yet to be settled equally with the future of Belgium, Poland, and the Balkans.

Col. Roosevelt on Lack of War Spirit

A paper written by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt on "Social Values and National Existence," read before the American Sociological Society in Washington, Dec. 29, contained the following characteristic passages:

INFINITELY the most important fact to remember in connection with the war and militarism in relation to moral and social values is that if an unscrupulous, warlike, and militaristic nation is not held in check by the warlike ability of a neighboring non-militaristic and well-behaved nation, then the latter will be spared the necessity of dealing with "moral and social values" because it won't be allowed to deal with anything. It seems to be positively comic to fail to appreciate, with the example of Belgium before our eyes, that the real question which modern peace-loving nations have to face is not how the militaristic or warlike spirit within their own borders will affect these "values," but how failure on their part to resist the militarism of an unscrupulous neighbor will affect them.

There are well-meaning people, utterly incapable of learning any lesson taught by history, utterly incapable of understanding aright what has gone on before their very eyes during the last year or two, who nevertheless wish to turn this country into an Occidental China—the kind of China which every intelligent Chinaman of the present day is seeking to abolish.

There are plenty of politicians, by no means as well meaning, who find it to their profit to pander to the desire common to most men to live softly and easily and avoid risks and effort. Timid and lazy men, men absorbed in money getting, men absorbed in ease and luxury, and all soft and slothful people, naturally hail with delight anybody who will give them high-sounding names behind which to cloak their unwillingness to run risks or to toil and endure. Emotional philanthropists to whom thinking is a

distasteful form of mental exercise enthusiastically champion this attitude.

If the man who objects to war objects to the use of force in civil life, his position is logical, although absurd and wicked. If the college Presidents, politicians, automobile manufacturers and the like, who during the last year or two have preached pacifism in its most ignoble form are willing to think out the subject, and are both sincere and fairly intelligent, they must necessarily condemn a police force or a posse comitatus just as much as they condemn armies, and they must regard the activities of the Sheriff and the Constable as being essentially militaristic, and, therefore, to be abolished. When we have discovered a method by which right living may be spread so universally in Chicago and New York that the two cities can with safety abolish their police forces, then, and not until then, it will be worth while to talk about "the abolition of war."

The Sociological Society meets at Washington this year only because the man after whom the city was named was willing to go to war. If he and his associates had not gone to war there would have been no possibility of discussing "social values" in the United States, for the excellent reason that there would have been no United States. If Lincoln had not been willing to go to war, to appeal to the sword, to introduce militarism on a tremendous scale throughout the United States, the sociologists who will listen to this paper, if they existed at all, would not be considering the social values enumerated above, but the social values of slavery and such Governmental and industrial problems as can now be studied in the Central American republics.

At present, in this world and for the immediate future it is certain that the only way successfully to oppose the might which is the servant of wrong is by means of the might which is the servant of right.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

With this issue the survey of the world's leading magazine features has been extended to cover the field more fully than ever before. The excerpts that follow represent the most interesting articles of information and comment found in the current periodicals of Germany, Austria, Russia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States.

Rudolf Eucken on the Tasks of German Idealism

Report of a speech by the famous Jena Professor of Philosophy in the Urania, Berlin's popular science institute, printed in the North German Gazette of Nov. 26.

BY contrasting German idealism with Indian and Grecian idealism Professor Eucken brought out in a few clear words its real characteristics. The philosophy of India, with its ideal of eternal calm, has made India defenseless, and in the present war her soldiers are forced to serve a foreign cause. Greek idealism, with its ideal of the artistic view and conduct of life, with its "harmony of the soul," which at the same time dangerously neglected human pain, promoted neither creative activity nor the impulse to form a new life.

How different is German idealism! It aspires to create in man a new life of freedom and cordiality as the upper story of an edifice based on the purely material life. This new world of the spirit, of mental labor, of freedom, and of intellectuality, by no means consists in fleeing from the world, but is victorious and heroic enough no longer to fear the opposition of the world. Through this, the world becomes the workshop of the spirit and the consciousness of this gives one the joy of life, as one feels himself to be a part of the great organization of humanity and can co-operate as an active spirit in the work of elevating and shaping the world.

Professor Eucken showed that this genuine German sentiment—the idealistic philosophers are the real interpreters of the German character—is able to solve the great problems of the present time.

The nineteenth century has shown us the great significance of the visible world and a great change in ideas already had

begun to take effect when the war began. Nevertheless, idealism would again have its great task to fulfill. Eucken disputed the opinion that idealism, with its cheerful faith in the human character, had been shipwrecked. Of course, many of our fanciful beliefs had been shattered.

The idea that peace would be assured when the peoples could express their opinions has proved illusory. In the future we will no longer say, with Rousseau, "The voice of the people is the voice of God." But idealism, remarked Eucken, did not believe in mere mankind alone, but in mankind after it had accomplished something in self-development. It turned from the ill-advised to that which was better counseled. History is not a reasoned-out journey, but reason develops in the course of history, and this is the only value the latter has.

Therefore, Eucken remains with Kant and Fichte in his "cheerful faith." He directed attention to some points where idealism should be particularly applied. For instance, in the criticism of our culture. Idealism should insist upon a drastic sifting of our civilization, strip off its historical associations, and test everything upon the base of imperishable qualities.

In the relations of man to man the war has also brought new problems. Idealism represents the German idea of freedom, which accepts the great general object and subordinates itself to duty. Idealism also shows us the way in the relation of the nation to mankind. It strengthens our feeling of proper dignity, so that our

nation, as the representative of a certain mental attitude, can perform her tasks in the real interest of world civilization.

The multiplicity of our tasks need not frighten us. Idealism strengthens men with its higher aims.

Saint-Saëns Cannot Compose While France Suffers

The Dagens Nyheder of Copenhagen printed the following article, descriptive of how the war has affected some of the leading composers and musicians of the French capital:

A SHORT time ago there was started in Paris a new musical publication with the title "Music During the War." In the introductory article of the first issue it was announced by the publisher that the aim of the newcomer would be to act as a link between artists—composers, players, singers—serving in the armies and those who on account of advanced age or for other reasons were unable to join the colors. "Those who fight," the announcement ran, "must make sure that they are not forgotten by those at home."

The publication interviewed numerous personalities prominent in the musical world. Foremost among these was the famous Saint-Saëns. The old master expressed himself in the following manner: "You ask me what I have been doing since the war began, and I shall answer you by saying that I have refused to prepare the score to the ballet that I had obligated myself to write for the scene at Monte Carlo. While France suffers, I cannot compose. So far as I am concerned, France comes first, music afterward. If it were possible, by declining to write another note, to make France victorious in this war, I would gladly break my pen in pieces. As for your publication, it is my opinion that in preference to spending money on such an enterprise the amount should be utilized for the benefit of the wounded."

The interviewer replied that he was of the opinion that the new journal would occupy a certain place, not only as a link between the two elements—the one on the

front, and the other at home—but that furthermore it would tend to spur musical activity, which ought not to be stilled while the war lasted. Saint-Saëns was reminded that he himself had been contributing to the *Echo de Paris* a series of articles dealing with various aspects of the music question. The composer insisted, however, that the contributors of the new enterprise should rather have sought out the great dailies as avenues for their ideas.

No sooner had the interviewer reached the stairway than the octogenarian composer called him back to tell him once more that he hated modern German music and all who championed it. Saint-Saëns declared that it was the duty of every loyal Frenchman to hate Germany.

Gustave Charpentier, the composer of "Louise," one of the operas that have met with the greatest success in recent years, declared emphatically that not for a single moment during the war had he thought of composing anything.

One of the younger composers, Paul Dukas, believed that the new enterprise deserved success and support. Despite the fact that the conditions were so unfavorable during the stormy period of the war, he thought it a praiseworthy purpose to keep the musical atmosphere charged with action.

The young musician André Gedalge supplied the following characteristic statement: "I am through with making plans. I am thinking of no music whatsoever. For more than a year I have figuratively listened to the roar of the battle in the distance. If it were possible for me to think of anything else but those who, more fortunate than I, are on the battlefield, then I would have written the 'Marseillaise.' Unfortunately for me, the

'Marseillaise' has already been written. Nevertheless, as concerns music, I hear only the national air, can only understand

this. I admire those capable of tearing themselves away from this state of mind, but I am unable to do so."

The Regeneration of Russia by the War

By Marcel Barinère

These extracts are taken from an article printed in La Revue de Paris, Nov. 15, 1915.

THE cause of Russia's inadequate preparation was due originally to the vice of its political régime. On the day on which the lines of Dunaïetz were broken, public opinion unanimously declared: "The Government has neglected its task; it is responsible for the disaster." And then, while the troops, scarce armed, struggled against the German offensive, an extraordinary transformation occurred in the political régime of Russia, dating from the beginning of July to the middle of September, a transformation marked successively by the strengthening of the hands of Goremykine, the convocation of the Duma, and, finally, its adjournment when the chief work of restoration to health and union had been accomplished, a work carried out under the personal direction of the Emperor. * * *

After nine months of struggle, a revelation of almost sudden danger was necessary before the Russian people, through the imperious voice of the Duma, carried its feeling into action, and the Czar, long vacillating between two currents of opinion, the one of old date, and having its source in feudal Germany; the other, wholly new, springing from the heart of Slavism, allowed himself to be irrevocably carried forward by the latter. * * *

The Ministerial readjustment which followed marks a long step toward the radical transformation of the Russian State; it would not be possible to calculate in advance the total effect; but it must result in the end of absolutism. * * *

The most remarkable feature in the war session of the Fourth Duma was the

complete understanding which was established between the National Assembly and the Government. On Sunday, Aug. 1, the first session was consecrated to the solemn declaration that the Russians, united by one purpose, would admit of no ending to the war save victory. "There is only one program to be proposed," said Count Goremykine, "that of decisive victory." And later, Mr. Adjemoff, in the name of the Constitutional Democrats, declared:

"It is the whole country which must furnish munitions to the army. All Russia must be organized as a single factory, a single machine. The vital thing is that the Government should at length realize that, without the people, it cannot achieve victory. Today it has recognized this truth. That which has been established in the past must be transformed by us. This is our victory, the victory of public opinion, a lesson, alas! which only these terrible times availed to teach us. Mr. Lloyd George recently said, addressing the Chamber of Commerce, that, in watering our troops with shells, the Germans broke the chains of Russian society and the Russian people. It is strictly true. The Russian people, liberated from today will organize for victory." * * *

The Duma has established its supremacy over the "bureaucracy," and the last hold of autocracy by the establishment of a committee of munitions, a departure from an industrial government in the direction of a political government. Its opinion and its action have become indispensable to the Ministers and to the Emperor himself. It is, moreover, a trustworthy safety valve for the possible violence of popular outbursts. Resting upon it, and, thanks to it, Russia has but one thought, vic-

tory, and one sees the Russian peasant read not only the newspapers, of which there is an increasing number, but also consult topographical charts, on which he follows the operations of the army. And one may say that Russia, by means

of this struggle against Germany and against oppression, instigated and sustained by the hated "Old Guard," is insured against the horrors of a revolution which might be even more destructive than war.

Using the Religious Scarecrow Against Italy

By Luigi Luzzatti

In view of the fact that there has been a revival of late in a certain part of the Teutonic press of the talk that the Central Powers wished to increase the power and prestige of the Pope, as one of the results of the war, the following article by Signor Luzzatti, the veteran Italian statesman and economist, which appeared originally in *Nuova Antologia*, is timely.

THE Minister of Justice has done well in defending the ecclesiastical policy of the Italian Government and the correctness of its attitude toward the Holy See with a few well-chosen words that answer the last allocution of the Pontiff, whose speech, as may be foreseen, will fill the German and Austrian newspapers with joy.

A more irreligious argument could not be imagined than that which these reviews and newspapers are now using against Italy.

They are worried about the liberty of the Holy Father, they are pained, they mortify their flesh and their souls because of the tyranny under which he is groaning; both Catholic and Protestant, they promise that after the war they will free Rome and restore it to the Pope.

In those sorrowful years when France fought against Italy, after 1870, the reactionary party that then ruled at Versailles and in the Government was also filled with sadness over the fate of the Holy Father, and, although it is not so well known, one of the "principal" reasons that induced Italy to join the Triple Alliance was the guaranteeing of the integrity of the kingdom, with Rome as the capital.

At that time the French Catholics wept, while those of Germany were dry-eyed. The Austrians hardly shed a tear, except on some solemn occasions. Today the tears have passed to the other side

of the Rhine and to the banks of the Danube.

Even the Frankfort Gazette, half Protestant and half Rationalist, feels the necessity of regulating the position of the Pope, who is no longer independent because he hasn't the diplomats of Prussia, Bavaria, and Austria-Hungary with him. No doubt he would be independent if the diplomats of the enemy States were absent! Now, the German diplomats departed on their own initiative, nor were they detained in Rome by any spiritual sign, but the Italian Government always respected them.

These idle preoccupations are growing stronger in the German press not so many months after the dignitaries of the Catholic Church, including those belonging to the belligerent States, among them Belgians, French, English, Austrians, and Germans, gathered in conclave in the Vatican on the hospitable soil of Rome, were able to carry out the greatest act of spiritual independence, the election of a Pope. The exercise of that right has never been interfered with since 1870, and it has been disturbed only once, and that was when, by the express order of the Emperor of Austria, an Austrian Cardinal voted against the election of Rampolla.

Ecclesiastical history is full of dramatic and tragic attempts against the liberty of the conclaves in the days when the Pope was still a temporal sovereign,

whereas the three elections that have taken place since 1870 have been free from any stain of violence, direct or indirect.

What better guarantee is needed than this? And in the carrying out of this supreme act of the Church is found the greatest and freshest proof of the perfect sincerity with which the law of 1871, confirming the prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff, has been put into effect!

But the German dailies, especially those of Bavaria, forget that this world war, unchained by their authorities, "if the Pope still had been weighted with the temporal power," would not have spared him. As when his territory was under the protectorate of France, from 1849 to 1870, so it would have been invaded by one side or the other and ravaged by rival influences. This has happened many times, provoking the flight from Rome of the conclaves and even of the Pontiff himself, or bringing serious offenses against his personal dignity.

The inviolable hospitality of Italy saves him from the otherwise inevitable injuries of this infernal war, and here, in Rome, he is seated as upon an unscalable rock.

But some of these newspapers answer us by declaring that it is not a question of re-establishing the temporal power, but of adding a genuine international guarantee to the law of 1871, just as if international law had not been shown to be "without sanction," i. e., without effect, by those who violated (and in what a way!) the neutrality of Belgium.

And if we also suppose (an impossible hypothesis) that the Catholic States, after defeating Italy, succeed in attaching an international pledge to the law of the guarantees, how long would it last? It would be fought over on worldly grounds by the very Governments that signed it, and at the first sign of a war or of a spiritual conflict they would tear up the contract. And the Germans would have accomplished their object,

which is to humiliate Italy, not to guarantee the independence of the Pope.

Out of homage for the Pontiff, because of the prestige which Rome gives her in the world, for the repose of her Catholic people, and because of the very suspicions aroused by the Governments which wish to fight us for "temporal" ends, Italy is more jealous of the spiritual independence of the Supreme Hierarchy than are his pretended protectors, who, on the contrary, change their names according to political exigencies, the most shifting and varied things in the world.

And, although it was not provided for in the law of the guarantees, through indirect accord between the Government and the Vatican, the Church authorities instituted the special arrangements for the camp which are functioning regularly and affording consolation to so many souls, which, radiant with love for their country, also wish to live and die at peace with their God.

These agreements, inspired by the purest religious feelings, were made by the two powers which the German newspapers represent as being at swords' points.

And now we should like to look up again in our records, so systematic in the midst of apparent disorder, certain articles which the Frankfort Gazette, the present interventionist bearing guarantees to the Vatican, wrote against the French supporters of the temporal power when they were attacking Italy.

The Holy Father had better beware of these dangerous friends, who are worse than open adversaries!

And what deductions will be drawn from his recent words by the political enemies of Italy, who care even less for religious ideals than for Italy herself!

It is impossible that this misuse of the name of God will continue, of him who is the father of all the peoples, not merely of those who wish to "monopolize" him and who have the historic responsibility of this horrible war!

Bravo, Churchill!

This ironical address to Winston Spencer Churchill, apropos of his speech made upon resigning his position as First Lord of the Admiralty, is from the *Revue de Hongrie* of December, 1915, a Hungarian monthly published at Budapest.

MR. CHURCHILL, we salute you by reason of your speech in the House of Commons. You have revealed yourself as an apostle of the famous theory of war by attrition, which will end infallibly with the melting away of Germany. According to you, noble descendant of the Dukes of Marlborough, there is no need to conquer the enemy, for he is condemned to defeat by your arithmetic. Arithmetic, of course, also is pro-ally.

England's power, you say, is increasing as fast as that of Germany is waning, and you have only to wait patiently in order to obtain "the final victory." If you had marched into Berlin after the first year of hostilities, you and your glorious allies, the Serbs, Montenegrins, Russians, and Frenchmen—you have not mentioned your recently bought allies, the Italians, who are the most glorious of all—the enemy would not have been conquered so completely as he will be if you enter Berlin during the second or third year of the war. So you have said, Mr. Churchill, and the whole British Chamber applauded. Permit us to applaud you, too, O great prophet, inspirer, apparently, of numerous articles which we have long been reading in the Ententist press. * * *

You are right, Mr. Churchill, in preaching a war of attrition. To tell the truth, however, we fear it may last a few years, for if the Germans and their allies have taken fifteen months to invade Serbia, Belgium, a part of France, Poland, Courland, and certain other Russian provinces, it is hardly probable that they will be able to push their offensive as far as Paris, Calais, and St. Petersburg in less than a good few months. This will give time for the total wearing out of the Austro-German forces, and, in consequence, the complete victory of the Entente will be adjourned to a very distant epoch. For, if we are correctly informed, the Allies will have to drive the enemy from the occu-

pied countries before making a triumphal entry into Berlin.

The resources of the Quadruple Alliance are inexhaustible, their reserves of men are far from being utilized; but the Minister of War has declared in the French Chamber that it was absolutely necessary to call out the class of 1917, adding that these young men constituted the last reserve of France. The Russians also are far from having attained the culminating point of their efforts, though they have already been obliged to send the class of 1918 to the front. These are mere bagatelles. Likewise no importance need be attached to the junction of the Central Powers with Bulgaria (the traitor!) and Turkey, for the two or three millions of men which they can draw from those nations will not suffice to prolong the war more than a few years.

And then have you not said, Mr. Churchill, that England was the last reserve of the Allies? The English are only waiting until all the belligerents are in a state of exhaustion. When that moment comes, the English, whose spirit of sacrifice knows no limits, will have recourse to the *ultima ratio*—to compulsory service, which will have nothing in common, of course, with the abhorred system of Prussian militarism. And then one sweeping blow will break everything; the Russian avalanche will be resuscitated, likewise Serbia, Belgium, Poland, and the rest.

In vain, therefore, do the Austro-Germans fly from victory to victory; it is a deceptive mirage, for it is precisely from this series of their victories that your "definitive victory" will be composed. It is only the Austro-Germans whose limited notarial intelligence is incapable of seizing the logical connection between the continual defeats of the Entente and the victory that is going to result for you.

Long live the war of attrition! Long live eternal war! Bravo, Churchill!

The Inner Front in Germany

By Fedor von Zobeltitz

This article, by a noted German novelist, is from *Die Woche*, Berlin, Dec. 4, 1915.

ABOUT five weeks ago two articles appeared in two Paris newspapers—on the same day, strange to say—dealing with the life and attitude of war-time Berlin. The tenor of the first article was sufficiently shown by its title, "The City of Death." Its author said that the life of Berlin had practically died out, that trade and movement just managed to drag along, that most of the bigger stores were closed, also most of the theatres, and that the town lay in darkness during the night, as there was no coal to be had. It told how, in the workingmen's quarters of the city, there were no longer food riots, "as there were a short time ago," because the inhabitants had lost all their energy and typhus was sweeping them away daily by thousands.

The second article was of quite a different nature. It pictured Berlin as a new Babylon, plunging to immoral ruin; nights spent in carousal and revelry, while the police looked on powerless; orgies behind closed doors, depreciated currency, an increasing wave of crime. It declared that two churches had already been burned to the ground by the godless multitude.

Of course the two crazy articles had one and the same purpose—to give the credulous French public the idea that Germany's end was approaching, that the steel wall of "fighting it out" was a hoax, that the "inner front" was shaken to its foundations.

I was talking a few days ago with an officer, just returned from the eastern front on a short furlough, regarding these journalistic aberrations. This led to a discussion of the Berlin of war times. The officer said to me:

"I must confess that the daily life of Berlin annoyed me when I was first back. I asked myself whether the Berliners understood that I and the rest of us on the battle front were engaged in a continuous bitter fight wherein lurked

death and destruction. No, I told myself, they know nothing of the war here. Their household expenses have been curtailed, possibly, on account of the general increase in prices, but the restaurants are as full as ever, there is scarcely an empty seat in the cafés, the streets are all movement, every theatre is going full blast, everywhere one hears lively music. It seemed to me that this was not fitting at such a serious time—at least so it seemed to me at first.

"But I must admit that I changed my views after a while. There was I, returning home from a tragedy, yet enabled to become gay again. And this gayety served to impart even greater strength to my confidence, which had never weakened. In this manifestation by Berlin that it still lives there is astonishing strength.

"In Berlin people do not oscillate, as they do in Paris, from depths of depression to premature celebrations of victory, nor, as in London, from suffragette madness to indifference, nor, as in Rome, from martial tumult to secret apprehension of the future. No, the Berliners go ahead with their life, adapt themselves skillfully to the necessities of the hour, do not allow their heads to droop in discouragement. They find an outlet for their spiritual excitement in life itself. The Frenchman has a phrase to describe this—'élan vital'—the Berliner translates it into reality."

These remarks certainly had a good deal of truth in them. Berlin has become neither a city of death nor a Babylon. When the war broke out we in Berlin doubtless acted pretty much as people did in the capitals of the other belligerent nations. Tumult was paramount. But little by little the din subsided, a calmer attitude ensued, nerves calmed down, realities were looked more resolutely in the face, and life returned to its practical grooves.

In a time of excitement the educa-

tional power of work increases. It was so with us. Berlin was always an industrious town, but it never stood so completely under the iron law of reality as in this time of war. The feeling of duty in all classes rose to a height of ethical dignity, and ethical conscience led to spiritual exaltation. What was said at the last General Synod to the effect that the Church had not failed was true. And, judging by the numbers of people attending church in these times, it is right to maintain that religious feeling has become decidedly stronger. * * *

I can well understand that the officer whose words I have quoted should feel somewhat annoyed at first at the gayety of Berlin life, and it is likewise psychologically comprehensible that he afterward underwent a reaction. His feeling of annoyance vanished when the joy of life was reawakened within himself, when he saw about him his comrades whose hunger for enjoyment impelled them to drink in the fleeting pleasures of the moment, after having looked during months, by night and by day, into the icy eyes of death.

Another officer from the front, who had spent nearly half a year in the trenches of France, said to me: "I go out on the streets a great deal, I go out evening after evening, I must see people and gay faces." Out there in the trenches he had nothing before his eyes but dark hostility; here the bright light of existence shone upon him once again.

I do not for a minute fail to realize that war-time Berlin has also its dark side. It would be foolish to shut one's eyes to truth and harp only on the feeling of power that enables us to keep alive our enjoyment of life during these days of trial.

Among the stay-at-homes are many who remain callous to the great problems of our time, or find in them merely a keener sensation, a new form of excitement. And the eternal street loafers are still with us, the bane of our men of creative energy, and we still have our

carpers and grumblers. Mean and small minds are ineradicable; they slink about now as always, and low, self-seekers are at work, eddies on the surface which stir up the mud at the bottom. For, in every great city, extremes rub elbows and good and bad go side by side.

But when we read in the papers of neutral countries what life is in the cities that have become our enemies, we have reason to be satisfied. Not even in the early days of tremendous nerve-tension did Berlin witness anything like the mad turmoil of the Italian cities, nor the foolish street farce played in England when the drum of the recruiting party sounds, nor could the fear of air-bombs ever arouse in us the tragic-comic terror of Paris and London. We need no vilifications of our foes to keep alive in us the belief in victory nor theatricalism for preserving our enthusiasm.

We "keep on living," not in an ideal way never attained by man since his creation, but, with a few exceptions, we live on in a search for common sense. Common sense tolerates no impatience nor pessimism. In order that the bitterness of the present time, with its cares and troubles, may not lead to dulling of our feelings, life must continue to exercise its upholding and compensating influences. And this zest of life also includes within itself the willingness which we need to make sacrifices.

An oppressed nation, ground down by the iron fist and hard discipline, could never have risen to such a height of useful achievement. That we undergo without complaint the tremendous economic upheavals of today is due, to no small extent, to the fact that our enjoyment of life has not decreased.

It is not necessary to be a Pharisee, of course, in order to deplore certain manifestations of this life, a certain distortion and exaggeration, inner contradictions and perversities. But the fact remains that the unconquerable, youthful strength of our "inner front" gives to it the firmness which it needs.

Polish Legions on the Battlefields

The weekly publication *Polen*, issued at Vienna in the interests of a united Polish Nation, in its issue of Nov. 26 devoted considerable space to the work of the legions organized for defensive and offensive purposes. The extract printed below is indicative of what these soldiers, recruited from all the former divisions of Poland, are accomplishing.

THE collective Polish newspapers announce with satisfaction that, thanks to the foresight and solicitude of Archduke Frederick, the various brigades of the Polish legions are once more united. In view of this pleasant event, the commander of the legions, Field Marshal Lieutenant von Durski, issued the following order of the day:

"Soldiers of the Legions: It is with heartfelt pride and satisfaction that I today address myself to the three brigades of the Polish legions, which now for the first time are gathered together in one section. After the eventful fifteen months, in which you have worked so hard to improve the future of the entire nation through sanguinary battles, today writes finis to a chapter in the history of national import.

"A tried defender of the legion ideal, a splendid representative of Polish military training and deeds in war, the Second Brigade of the Polish legions has arrived here from the borderland of Bessarabia. After having covered the sword of Poland with glory in the distant frontier sections, the brigade has come to pursue further the enemy together with the other divisions of the legions.

"The physical separation between us has disappeared, and today and in the

future we are not only one in heart and spirit, but stand shoulder to shoulder under the folds of our proudly waving legion standard.

"The uniting of our military strength occurs along the frontier of Poland's future territory, and at a moment when the divisions of the legions stand in the fullness of their development. It comes also on the anniversary of the victorious battle at Nadwórna. These coincidences in dates and circumstances, which bespeak a powerful symbolism, should spur us with prophetic insight to move forward to our military tasks ahead.

"The heroes of Nadwórna, Molotkow, Pasieczna, Rafajlowa; the splendid participants in the more recent fights at Somosierra—the attack on Rotikna—offer you the position of honor in the family of the legion, and, utilizing your rich experiences, we will together go forward to victory and fame.

"Constantly growing and becoming more powerful, our military organization is also ever widening the scope of its appointed task. The legions, while not yet at the zenith of their victory over the enemies, will complete their labor in line with their historic mission and duty.

"Forward, united legion soldiers, to victory and fame! DURSKI FML."

Iron Industry in War Times

By Dr. E. Schrödter

Dr. Schrödter is executive officer of the Düsseldorf Association of German Iron Foundrymen. This article is taken from a booklet published by the "Kulturbund deutscher Gelehrter und Künstler (Culture Association of German Savants and Artists) at the building of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences.

EVERYWHERE in German territory one sees the same favorable appearance of calm, everywhere is increase of work and adaptation to the conditions caused by the war. German mines and foundries are not only able

to deliver all needed raw materials for the war—which is the most important thing—but can even provide these in the huge quantities required by the recent war operations in a manner which has astonished even military experts,

and, in addition, meet the demand for peaceful purposes, which, naturally, has been somewhat limited. But we cannot deny that some factories have not been able to adapt themselves and must struggle against adverse conditions.

A certain shortage in some quarters, which has caused loss of valuable time, but seems to have been eliminated by the strong general desire to help the Fatherland to the uttermost limit, must not hinder us from acknowledging the marvelous achievements of our Governmental authorities. The documents turned over to the Reichstag regarding economic measures brought about by the war show about 130 laws and ordinances, some of them deeply affecting the operation of our plants and marketing of our wares. We have all set to work to obey them, with the motto: "All, all, for the Fatherland."

The military authorities behind the front have done exemplary work of wide scope. The Prussian soldier plowing in the fields of Northern France, a few kilometers behind the front-line trenches—now he is to have motor plows—or driving teams of six horses hauling manure wagons, with the Cathedral of Laon in the background, makes a wonderful picture. As I contemplated it I felt the unshakable trust of our military commanders in the strength of our positions, as well as that of our commissariat officials in the certainty of our food supply.

We know that we must be sparing in our use of certain raw materials, on account of England's selfish contraband policy. According to the English note to the United States of Jan. 12 of this year, this policy is based entirely on national security, for which reason it is obliged to seize all articles suspected of being destined to the enemy. This applies especially to the copper imports of Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland; it was stated that the urgent necessity of safeguarding the nation as long as it was at war compelled the English Government to do all in its power to hinder the importation of copper not actually intended for neutral countries.

How England can assign to each neutral land its quota of copper, by means of unreliable statistics, is England's affair. The fact remains that Germany, also for the sake of her national security, must get copper wherever she can find it. In other words, if we cannot produce enough ourselves, and our not unimportant stock on hand should be exhausted, we must take from the hostile territory occupied by us—of course, with due payment—everything made of copper—electric wiring, metal machine and furnace parts, caldrons for sugar refineries, and every kind of household article.

When we take into consideration the hundreds of thousands, nay, millions, of tons of copper which have been used in manufacturing during recent years, it is self-apparent that we can endure a war lasting thirty years. So what does England gain by such measures? Certainly they do not achieve the purpose aimed at, so far as Germany is concerned, but affect most disastrously the crippled manufactures of Belgium and Northern France. This effect is rendered all the more serious by the action of the French Government in spurring England on to severer measures, thus putting out of business for years the French factories which have up to now escaped almost unscathed from the terrors of war.

What is true of copper applies also to other raw materials. Though, for some, more than adequate substitutes have been found, there is nowhere fear of any appreciable shortage. England thought that the lack of certain raw materials deemed hitherto indispensable would, in the long run, seriously hurt us, but our scientific and technical knowledge, now so despised in England, has been so successful in finding substitutes that Germany is on the road toward independence of foreign countries for these articles and may look without anxiety into the future.

These proud victories will unquestionably be of great permanent value to our home industries and they give us a chance at the same time to smile at the petty attempts of the English to annihilate our foreign trade. In view of our technical progress the many dozens of

reports enviously issued by the "Board of Trade" and the "Chambre de Commerce" fall to the ground like packs of cards.

The men who have won these great victories in the most varied quarters deserve the warmest thanks of the nation. More detailed information regarding them cannot be given now for reasons easily understood.

In conclusion, I wish to compare the figures of crude steel production of the belligerent nations in 1913. According to statistics published in these countries, it was as follows:

	Tons.
Germany	19,000,000
Austria-Hungary	2,700,000
England	7,800,000
France	4,400,000
Belgium	1,900,000
Russia	4,500,000

giving a total for Germany and Austria-Hungary of 21,700,000 tons, as against 18,600,000 tons for the others.

Now that German armies have taken over all the Belgian and three-quarters of the French output of crude steel, the figures are as follows—disregarding the small advantage accruing to us from Russian territory:

	Tons.
Germany and Austria-Hungary.....	21,700,000
Belgium	1,900,000
France (occupied territory).....	3,300,000
Total	26,900,000
as against	
England	7,800,000
France	1,100,000
Russia	4,500,000
Total	13,400,000

In other words, our victories, in addition to strategic and military results, have also brought to us the economic

advantage that, in the place of our excess production of crude steel before the war over that of the Entente powers of 3,000,000 tons, we now can show an excess of more than 13,000,000 tons, and we are now twice as strong in this province of industry as our allied foes.

Our actual product of steel per year at present is about 10,800,000 tons, so that, despite all the limitations imposed by war, it exceeds by more than 3,000,000 tons the production of conservative, backward England.

But far more important than such superiority are the immense intelligence, the powerful intellects, and the familiarity with hard work which, in the case of German foundrymen, stand behind these figures—qualities which had victoriously overtaken the English before the war.

It is the same spirit that animates our troops, from the highest commander to the humblest volunteer; it is the unflinching will to win, the strength of will of which Paracelsus wrote: "The human will can become so strong that one man may overcome another, without drawing the sword, merely by the mind alone, by mere inner willing so to do."

In the course of time the road to this splendid quality has been lost to some degree, but the earnestness and seriousness of the present day reawakened these powers throughout Germany, and, by no means least of all, among those in its iron industry. They will make all the weapons needed now and achieve that goal of which my friend, Dr. Beumer, has written:

Grasp, O German youths, the home-forged
sword in your hand,
Strike down the foreign foe, protect the
Fatherland!

Internal Conditions in Germany

The London Spectator of Dec. 18, 1915, gave its readers the following summary of a Swedish traveler's observations in Germany:

AN exceptionally informing series of articles on the condition of Germany by a Swede, who has just visited many German towns, has

been appearing in *The Times*. The Swede, who was educated in a German university and spent ten years in Germany, is frankly pro-ally in his sympathies, though he still counts many Germans among his friends. He is so reasonable in his comments and so quick to pick out what is significant that we

have no hesitation in saying that his diagnosis of the state of German feeling is as near the truth as any neutral writer is likely to bring us.

The moral of all that he says is very plain. Germany is not being "starved" yet, and it would indeed be difficult to starve her in the strict sense of the word, but it is evident that the one thing above all others which is making an impression on her is the blockade. She fears it. When it relaxes she rejoices; when it tightens its grip she becomes alarmed. If the blockade should be weakened, says the Swedish observer, the war "may continue almost indefinitely." What madness, then, to relax it by any deliberate concession! Maddest thing of all to do it in the name of humanity, when a relaxation means not only a prolongation of suffering, but a jeopardizing of the liberties of the world for generations!

On evidence collected in all directions, the correspondent was convinced of the reality of the German intention to try to conquer Egypt. Camels and mules are being bought in large quantities and railways are being laid in the desert. There is no excuse for any one who does not accept the warning. If we take the necessary precautions, we shall have nothing to fear and probably something to gain. But the Germans mean business. The correspondent, in spite of the universal confidence, was not unduly impressed by it. He knows Germans too well not to remember that, in spite of the traveling habit which has been fashionable in recent years, the vast majority of them know extraordinarily little of the resources and temper of other countries.

Although Berlin outwardly has been changed hardly at all by the war, the correspondent came across evidence of doubts, anxieties, and even of riots. Accidentally he lighted upon the information that, in the belief of one statistician, Germany could not hold out for more than twelve months unless she could maintain her supply of fat-matters—among which, we may say, copra is not the least important. In November there was a riot of some magnitude in Berlin, and there has been another since then.

These food riots—for such they are—appear to be originated by women. In a very curious and enlightening passage the correspondent says that the spirit of German women is giving out before that of German men. He does not mean that they do not work splendidly. They do. They are untiring in their hospital work, and even in hard manual labor such as navy jobs on a Berlin underground railway, but their grumbling at the cost of necessities grows louder and louder. They have no idea of accepting privation or—not to put it too strongly—inconvenience in their domestic economy quietly. Here we may congratulate ourselves that Englishwomen have nothing to learn from Germany.

By decree there are two meatless days and two fatless days every week. That is to say, on two days no meat may be sold in shops or restaurants, and on two other days no fat. The law does not touch whatever may have been stored in private houses. Bread, flour, and milk can be bought only to the quantity for which the purchaser holds a ticket. Paraffin oil is almost unobtainable. An interesting point is the cultivation of fresh water fish—carp, tench, pike, and so on. The Government, contrary to some accounts, have not yet called up the copper supplies. An acquaintance of the correspondent had been instructed to send a list to the Government of all copper articles in his works, but he had heard no more of the matter. The Government have drawn up an inventory, in fact, and have not yet made use of it. Butter varies greatly in price with the locality, but this is true of nearly all forms of food. Butter reached 3s. a pound at one time in Berlin, but has since dropped to 2s. 3d. On the other hand, in one small town in West Prussia visited by the correspondent the maximum price of butter had been fixed at 1s. 6d. a pound. One of the most conspicuous shortages is in rubber. India-rubber tires may be used but rarely and taxicabs are disappearing. Motoring for pleasure is unknown.

The almost universal confidence is, of course, reflected in any discussion of possible terms of peace, though we do

not imagine for a moment that the statesmen of Germany really deceive themselves when they make such statements as that of the Chancellor in the Reichstag last week. The authorities assert what they wish the people to believe, and no doubt they also hope to bluff their enemies to some extent. At all events, the correspondent thinks that the German terms of peace as at present formulated are something like this: First and foremost there must be what is called a "Free Rhine." For that reason the Germans will fight for Antwerp to the last. They mean to persuade or intimidate Holand into abandoning her rights

at the mouth of the Scheldt. Possibly this might be done by the extension of the German Customs Union. Belgium would be treated to the Alsace-Lorraine system. The correspondent came across no anti-annexionists, though they are said to exist. He calls the notion that Germany will be persuaded, except by force, to evacuate Belgium "ridiculous." She has spent vast sums of money, both there and in Poland, on reorganization and on what she fancies is a tactful treatment of the population. Whence is she to recover this money? She is not rebuilding Belgium for love of the Belgians.

Longing for Peace?—Answers

By Maximilian Harden

This article by one of the ablest journalists of Europe appeared in *Die Zukunft* of which he is editor.

THE change in the Russian Ministry, announced by the leading newspapers of Europe during the last weeks of October, has not yet occurred.

A sudden change of opinion in the high imperial circles?

Fear that the rough surface of the Duma would soon rub the new men raw?

Only Mr. Krivoshein has gone, (with the postscript, it is said, that his early return to an even higher post is not impossible.) Mr. Kvostof, the strongest, and, as Minister of the Interior, the most important man in the Cabinet, has not yet got rid of old Goremykine, Ambassador Shebeko, or Mr. Sazonoff.

Old or new, it is all the same to us.

The unexampled freedom of criticism in Russia, Mr. Privy Councilor, is a sign of strength, not of weakness.

The public discussion of the failings and dirty acts of the administration, the censuring of the military doctors, (particularly by Menschikof,) and the expositions of the advantages due to German organization and technique should teach us how far Russia is from believing the

end of the world is at hand, as is thought by many in our "foolish zone."

The man who bares his wounds in the market place, and allows remedies and the possibility of a cure to be discussed before the ears of the crowd, seems, to the impartial, stronger and less in need of overnice consideration than the man who never lifts the bandage and who answers every question with: "Everything is in the finest condition. Besides? Nothing new of importance."

The Russian hears that his army in the field still numbers almost 7,000,000 men and that 8,000,000 men have been drafted and are being trained back of the front, that the railroad to the ice-free ocean being built by the busy host of prisoners of war is nearly finished, and he hopes, with the confidence swiftly following this news, that the fresh troops will be armed and equipped and sent to the front in the Spring. His slogan is:

"In March, or in April, at the latest, the offensive will begin, with ten or twelve million well-equipped troops, who, with the best of guns and projectiles,

made at home and in America and Japan, will drive the enemy from our extreme outer works."

Alexeieff, Chief of the General Staff, says so, and General Russky declares:

"We have, at last, as much ammunition as we need against the Germans and we stamp on the boxes this notice: 'Don't be stingy with the cartridges!' Our war is just beginning."

Eighty thousand workingmen and women (who have received the right to vote) have sent representatives to the committee for war industries.

Now there must be a change. In Russia's favor? Since her last fairly convenient connecting road through Serbia is barred, her hopes may prove deceiving. In the meantime she is alive, raises her head through the fog and snow, and wisdom advises us to take her into consideration.

Revolution? Not yet the slightest sign in sight.

When Japan pledged herself in November not to enter into peace negotiations alone, but only together with her allies, it was looked upon by the "association" as a still greater promise of salvation.

"The cunning yellow men will only take part when it comes to the end. If they don't join us on the western front, after the cession of French Indo-China, they will certainly do so in India, Egypt, and on the Persian Gulf, perhaps even at Alexandretta, or on the Turkish, Albanian, and Bulgarian coasts; there where they could take part more effectively and under more favorable conditions and release white fighting units for use upon other battlefields. Not only because their prestige, in case they should decide the European war, would rise enormously on the Pacific Ocean and in the New World, but also because a loss of power in Europe would force us to return to Asia and thereby endanger Japan's predominance, as happened after the peace of Shimonoseki and before the quarrel over Port Arthur and the Yalu." These are the words on the lips of politicians and diplomats.

They fear nothing from Sweden, as they know that the Finns will not be-

come Swedes and that the Swedes do not wish again to have a common Government with the Finns. The belief that is still floating around, and not entirely in the corners, either, that Sweden will draw the sword tomorrow against Russia in order to obtain the bagatelle of the Oeland Islands and to forestall an attack by Russia in the dim future, is silly, even if our enemies did not have powerful friends in the most enlightened and powerful of the Scandinavian kingdoms, equal to and above the Socialist leader, Branting. They have not been able to prevent the polite but firm repulse of English attempts at supervision and guardianship, (first the French language was chosen as the medium of negotiations, then the British emissaries' binding authority was wrested away, and finally acquiescence in London's demands was refused,) but they at once would have become the mouthpieces of the entire country if they had had occasion to protest against any German interference.

We should say to the Swedes, loudly and in unambiguous words: "We are glad of your German pride and of your stand for inflexible justice, and we have no intention of mixing in your internal politics, nor of imposing upon you the wanton outrage of a grievous war without a great object simply because it might suit our plans to do so. We have never intended that, because some day the Russians might threaten you, you should now force the struggle upon them. Whoever indicated such a conclusion did not speak for Germany's brain."

A separate peace between Germany and Russia?

For months I have been warning my readers against such irrational fabrications. That the pious single-mindedness of the peasants would never forgive even the Czar, the head of the church, the father, for breaking a covenant, that he would lose his divine attributes and become almost brutish in their eyes, if he tried to slip out of the iron-clad agreement which he has signed, is known to every one who is acquainted with the Russian's soul.

If Nicholas Alexandrovitch should abandon his comrades of the September treaty to conclude a peace unfavorable to the empire, the mujiks would rise against him and he would have revolution in the empire, and not, as ten years ago, mere city riots. He would not be able to find support in the army and he might as well pack the trunks of his child of trouble, Alexis, too. He doesn't need any Rasputin to tell him that.

Would you rather, in a time of crisis, deal with the oppressor alone, or in company with powerful partners? Neither can you expect that an autocrat of all the Russias, whose army is defeated and whose border provinces are under foreign rule, for fear that the stock of his empire may go still lower, will sit down

alone with the enemy at the council table where he might have England, France, and Japan as neighbors.

Even a weakling heeds the call of honor when there is advantage in doing so.

I have never believed in the possibility of individual treaties of peace. That such a thing is more unlikely to happen with Russia than with any of the other great powers is plain to a politician.

To the ash heap at last with the dead stick that has made too many believe it was a vine capable of developing life!

The people of Germany demand the truth from writers, too, and protest scornfully against the illusion that has delighted the drunken toppers in their swinish ecstasies in Auerbach's cellar.

Facing the Possibilities

By the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M. P.

Below we print part of the leading article in the latest issue of *The Contemporary Review*, in which Sir Joseph Compton surveys the war situation and discounts the worst possibilities confronting the Allies.

LET us take things at their worst. Assume that the Austro-German-Bulgar-Turk combination is quite successful, and that the road is opened to Constantinople. Although the Allies keep a firm grip upon Saloniki they decide upon the evacuation of the Peninsula of Gallipoli. The troops so released would avail for Egypt if we had not otherwise provided for its defense.

Our fleet would still command the seaboard of Asia Minor, and with Saloniki as a base we should be on the flank of the German advance. Let worse follow and we evacuate Egypt because our troops can be better employed upon the offensive elsewhere. This would injure our prestige for the time, but it would bring no decision for Germany nor relieve her from the tension of a Winter's war. With Egypt and the Suez Canal in the temporary possession of the German-Turkish armies, what could follow? The Suez Canal would be closed by the allied fleets. We should throttle the Red

Sea effectually at Aden. Our possession of the Sudan would be secured by our naval hold on the Red Sea, and we should retain a direct communication with India as our military and naval base. An advance overland to Khartum would be impossible across the "belly of stones," the desert which separates Egypt from the Sudan. Our mercantile marine would go around the Cape to the Far East and to the Southern Hemisphere. In these days of powerful steamers, running at higher speed than formerly, the difference between the two routes is not so marked. This is particularly so in war time when we take into consideration the risks of the Mediterranean, the delays of the Suez Canal, and the slow passage of the Red Sea, which always bristles with dangers to navigation. Our empire would remain intact, and there would be no interruption in communication between the British Islands, India, or far-away Australasia.

Who imagines that Germany would at-

tempt an enterprise so impossible as a movement to India across thousands of miles and with Russia upon her flank? None of these things are likely to happen; but at the very worst our supremacy at sea would carry us safely through the crisis as heretofore.

The war will not be settled by "tourist trips" into Mesopotamia, but by our success at last in overpowering a weakening Germany, and the progress of the Anglo-French arms in the west and of Russia in the east. The real strength of our great adversary lies in her geographical unity, that solid body of the German race massed in Central Europe. Austria only holds together by the stiffening given to her by her ally, and Turkey again is a "geographical expression." The best of her fighting force today is found for her by races European in blood, whose ancestors were forced to accept the Mohammedan faith. When these races fail her she has little to hope from the pure Asiatics of her distant provinces. We have yet to test the Turk in the open against the class of European troops which France and Britain will direct against her. In all this we have left out of calculation the contribution of Russia. It may be that an advance from the Caucasus may prove the best diversion, or a landing on the shores of the Black Sea, or even a continued advance into Galicia and into Prussian Poland.

There is a question, however, which is as important as any of those which we have already discussed—the question of the terms which we are prepared to give to a defeated enemy. We may deprive Germany of her colonies, compel her to disband her armies and to surrender or to destroy her fleet to prevent its falling into our hands. We may even impose a war contribution upon her, but she will survive. Her defeat, however complete, will be attributed by her to the malevolence of Great Britain, whom she hoped to have kept out of the present struggle. Just as she recovered from the victories of Napoleon she will begin again to assert herself, to build up her industries, and to arm once more.

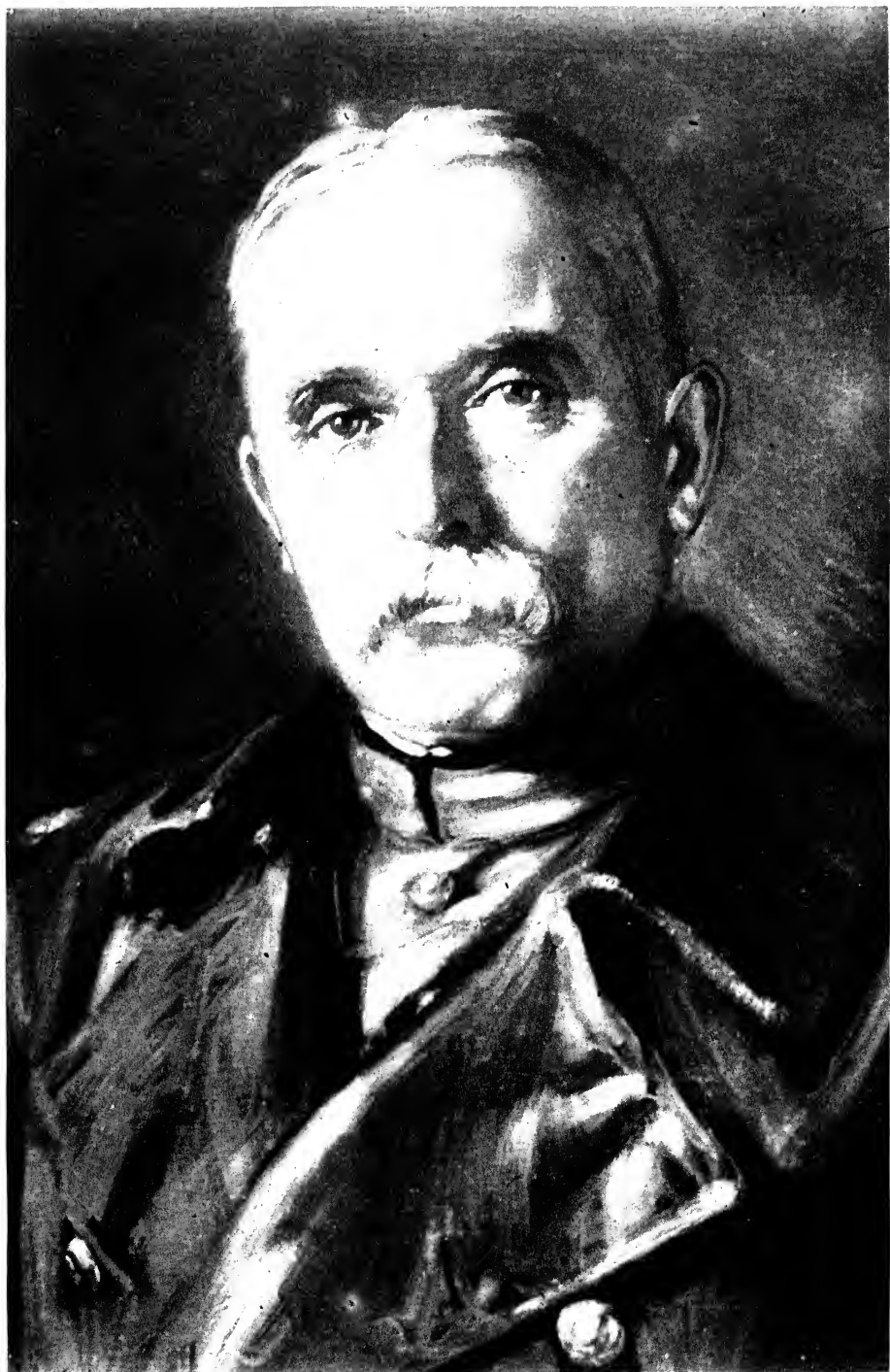
Catastrophe, if it overtakes her, will be attributed to ill-fortune, failure of preparation, or to the unlimited resources of her malignant enemies. The judgment of war may not bring moral conversion, and the old difficulties will then reappear. Her enlarging armaments will threaten Europe, and our children or our children's children, as the generations move on, will return to the same deadly crisis as before.

If she could be persuaded that Central Europe ought to suffice for her, and that her intelligence and energies were given to her for the peaceful penetration of less favored peoples, then there would be hope of future peace. For whatever may be the value of her culture it cannot for one moment be compared with that of Ancient Greece, whose political power counted for so little, but whose influence has so sensibly affected the whole course of European civilization. Unfortunately, this is not likely to be the case. She has tasted the forbidden fruit of world power, and the poison still runs in her veins. Unhappily, this means that we dare not trust her. It may be necessary for the allied nations to impose a peace which will involve a strategical command of Germany until they see what the future will bring forth.

No one desires to deprive the German race of their right to self-government, but we are bound to emancipate those peoples who have suffered from her dominance and whom Germany has failed, after years of occupation of their territories, to reconcile or to assimilate. We may have to secure the safety of the North Sea by intrusting the German seaboard to a new federation of little States and retain for ourselves a naval station, Heligoland or another, in order to command the Kiel Canal. It may be that the effect of the war will separate Germany once more into a north and a south, while the non-German people of Central Europe are gathered into new States which will guard the approach to the southeast. The problem is highly complicated, and cannot be settled by a denunciation in general terms of the evils of militarism. Germany must pay the



GENERAL SIR HORACE SMITH-DORRIEN
Commander of the British Expedition Against German East Africa
(Photo © by American Press Assn.)



VISCOUNT FRENCH OF YPRES

General French, Now a Peer, Is in Command of All Armies in the
United Kingdom

penalty for her lust of conquest, but in some way we must restore her to the company of civilized nations. We can

only hope that, chastened by suffering, she may at last rise transfigured into newness of life.

Reflections of the War in Germany

The passages which follow are taken from a very able and interesting article, by M. Lourier, in the Vyestnik Evropy, (the Messenger of Europe,) published at Petrograd:

IN August there was unveiled in Berlin a colossal statue to General Hindenburg—between the Reichstag and the Siegesallee (the "Avenue of Victory")—a wooden image as tall as eight men standing on each other's heads, to render everlasting the features of the present army commander, the former professor. Kaiser Wilhelm ordered that the battle cruiser launched in July should be called the Hindenburg. A pretty, fluffy little animal (of the kangaroo family) which was discovered in what was then German New Guinea, and successfully brought to Berlin, is also called the Hindenburg, by the unanimous vote of explorers and scientists. This long-tailed Hindenburg has been placed in a separate cage in the Zoological Garden and "attracts even more attention than Missie," as we are informed by a patriotic reporter. Missie is a large chimpanzee of the gentler sex, dear to the hearts of Berliners.

Zabrze, a town of 63,000 inhabitants, is to be called Hindenburg; and the whole district of Zabrze (in Silesia) is also to take the same name. The larger German towns have collected more than 10,000,000 marks, to be intrusted to the learned General, and to be spent by him according to his discretion. The Government of Saxony has published in its organ an amusing circular, appealing to the people of Saxony not to bombard the General with picture postals; the Commander in Chief cannot use his dining room, because it is filled to the ceiling with postals; the General has no chance to get at his private correspondence because in the daily wagonloads

which are delivered to him no one can divine which letters are important and which simply inform him that "a toast in his honor was drunk in such and such a restaurant, in the presence of so and so"; and the Saxon organ even calls the great warrior "a subject for sympathy and pity."

The heroes of the beer halls call their new-born sons Hindenburg; a newspaper announces that a little girl has been named Hindenburga. All these patriots are at war against all foreign words and names, insisting that the famous Hymn of Hate directed against England shall be made obligatory in the children's schools and incumbering the mail sacks of the army with postals that jeer at the nations which are at war with Germany. * * *

It is only just to add that public indignation against these beer-hall heroes was strong enough to compel the German Government to intervene. A whole output of postals especially offensive to the Allies was confiscated. This was done after many organs of the press, both Radical and Moderate, had printed innumerable protests against the lack of dignity and artistic worth that these postcards showed, and especially after the publication of many indignant protests from officers and soldiers at the front, who were wroth at being "disgraced by the heroes of the beer tables." The efforts to propagate the Hymn of Hate in the schools has also called forth many protests; and here the press did not miss the opportunity to point out the hypocrisy of the party especially interested in sowing animosity between England and Germany, which so rapidly changed front as soon as interest dictated.

An amusing instance of this: The central organ of German industry, the Mit-

teilungen des Kriegsausschuss der deutschen Industrie, in an editorial article, calls for a complete break in all intercourse with England, but in the very next number of the same periodical we find the following advertisement: "Business messages for England: A well recommended wholesale neutral mer-

chant, well connected in English official and business circles, who resides in Berlin, but visits England frequently, offers to transmit business messages for those who desire it. Detailed information may be had at the Commercial Department of the War Committee of German Industry."

Americans Disliked in England

By James Davenport Whelpley

Following is a condensed version of a surprising article by an American correspondent in England, which appeared in The Outlook, New York, Jan. 12, 1916:

AT the end of this war Englishmen will be liked better than they were in some parts of the world and more hated in others, and they will be as indifferent to these changes of feeling as if there had been none. At the end of this war Americans will be more heartily and generally disliked everywhere, except possibly in Belgium and Serbia, than they were in that peaceful year of 1913 which now seems to belong to a remote past. Also they will care more than ever. They will feel hurt and resentful, for they will believe that it should be quite the contrary, for good and sufficient reasons.

There will be many causes for this dislike, none of which will seem reasonable to an American, but the fact will remain. In the first place, we are, and probably will remain, neutral to the end. Neutrality means treading on every one's toes. The Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians do not like our form of neutrality, for under the circumstances it favors their enemies. The English, French, Russians, and Italians don't approve of us because they think we have failed to protest sufficiently against German methods, have been too patient with German and Turkish outrages, and that we have profited enormously in a financial way from the misfortunes of others.

The Belgian relief work, the rebuke

to Germany for her submarine methods, the vast American contributions to all forms of assistance for the wounded and otherwise stricken among the warring peoples, the enlistment of several thousand Americans in the war on the side of the Allies, the unselfish labor of official and unofficial Americans for the relief of distress, the loans and credits given to warring nations in large amounts—none of these things, nor all of them, will prevail to make America or Americans popular with other peoples after this war.

We may reasonably be expected to ask why this is so. The answer lies in the domain of psychology and not of reason, and it is rather difficult to analyze.

At an English social gathering not long ago the discussion ran to America's part in the war. An American present, well versed in current events, analyzed and explained the position of his country in the various crises which have arisen since Aug. 4, 1914. The assembled company accepted the explanations in good part, and apparently all was harmonious, when an Englishwoman present, whose mind reflects that of her soldier husband and his friends rather than her original thought, suddenly dropped a bomb by saying, in almost spiteful tone, "You Americans feel so beastly virtuous because you are not in this war," and in the momentary silence that ensued before the topic of conversation was changed the atmospheric condition resumed the normal state which

generally prevails in an Anglo-American gathering in England in these times; the barometer suddenly dropped from "set fair" to "changeable."

"Remember the Lusitania!" is the challenge of one of Lord Kitchener's recruiting posters which is displayed in every English village. I went into a little shop in a small English town one day recently to purchase something. On a wall opposite this shop was one of these posters. The woman behind the counter, while attending to my wants rather absentmindedly, as they all do these days, began to talk of the war. Noting that I was an American, she said, in a very anxious tone, "Do you think America will soon come into the war against us?" I expressed my astonishment at her question, and she added, "Oh, lots of people around here expect that." I did some missionary work right there, and left her apparently much relieved in her mind, but her question haunted me, and still does.

Whence come these impressions of America and the attitude of her people toward the war? One can only theorize about it because of lack of definite knowledge, for no one is ever able to give any exact reason for his impressions or any exact information as to the stories he hears.

I have almost given up going to one of my clubs in London, where nearly all the members are military or civil servants of the British Government, because of the atmospheric change which has taken place in the past few months. On the club bulletin board is posted a "Roll of Honor." On it, the last day I saw it, were the names of forty members who had been killed in action and sixty who had been wounded. In the big smoking room, now half deserted, nearly every one is in khaki; even the old dodderers are doing something that entitles them to wear it or they are going on what they have done in the past. An American enters the club. A few glance over their papers at the unusual sight of mufti. His nationality is recognized at once. Men who are talking together, look around, a remark is made sotto voce or

conversation stops altogether. It is not a personal thing, it is national, and, while the American's own state of mind may exaggerate the effect through hypersensitiveness, still it is unmistakable.

"Why?" you ask yourself again, and the question remains unanswered.

"Will America sit at the council table when peace is to be arranged?" I can hear the indignant shouts of "No!" from men and women of every and any class in these British Isles. What would they have America do at the present moment other than is being done? They do not know. They think we should at least have made formal protest against the invasion of Belgium, and many of us Americans agree with them. They admit that there is no real cause for us to go to war as yet, and that we are wise and right in keeping out of it—that is, the intelligent Britishers do—and here their argument or talk trails off into sarcasm or growl which leads to no statement of definite program that they would lay down for us to follow. I can't help feeling at times that there is a great deal in the peppery outburst of the uninformed Englishwoman who said, "You Americans feel so beastly virtuous because you are not in this war."

How Americans will stand in England when the war is over depends somewhat upon the outcome of the conflict. A complete victory for England and her allies, with America neutral to the end, would, of course, dispose of all the stories current in rural England as to America siding with the Germans. The defeat or the partial defeat of England, or a draw between the nations at war, would unquestionably perpetuate a feeling of bitterness which has shown itself in the oft-heard remark that in a sense England is now fighting America's battles. The theory upon which this is based is that the principles for which the Allies stand and are fighting are those under which the American Nation conducts itself, and also that a world-victorious Germany would mean shortly either a humiliated or a war-ravaged America. Should England fail to win a complete victory, it will be felt by Englishmen that America

had it in her power at the critical moment to insure an allied victory and

failed to do it, notwithstanding a professed sympathy for the allied cause.

Religion During War

By A. N.

Translated from an article appearing in a recent issue of *Russian Thought*.

IT was damp, and a cold and strident wind was blowing. We were in the midst of a long march in hilly country. The roads were horribly muddy after the rains. The wheels of our heavy cannons and munition cases stuck and were thickly covered with mud. The going was slow, with frequent stops. Crossing small rivers over shaky wooden bridges was especially hard. The latter had often to be reinforced with firmer planks before we were able to use them, and so the long trail of our artillery wagons was detained by us. The riders of the gun teams used their whips and yelled at the horses. The commanding officers yelled and swore at the riders, occasionally using their whips. The men were tired and hungry.

During an exceptionally long river crossing, while awaiting its completion, I dismounted and stood by the roadside on the edge of a plantation. Beet roots had been recently gathered from this plantation; I picked a forgotten root and cleanly peeled away the rind with my penknife. I cut it into small bits and chewed them, enjoying the juiciness of the pulp. Glancing up, I saw our doctor watching my mouth with greedy, hungry eyes.

"Have some?"

"Spare me a bit, do."

He ate the small piece I handed him, and with eyes still burning with uncontrollable, animal hunger, he said: "Perhaps you can give me some more?"

And if we were reduced to devouring roots destined for cattle fodder, you can imagine how hard it was on the soldiers who had not even been riding, but who had walked and worked, helping the progress of the train, helping the horses.

In these circumstances, on such a day, my attention was drawn to a swarthy young soldier. He was a cannon attendant and walked close to his charge on the right, between the front and rear wheels. There was nothing noteworthy in the figure of the soldier, save for the fact that he carried a tiny book in his hand, which he read as he walked. His expression was at once collected and serious. I was unable to resist an impulse of curiosity, and driving close to the gun, in an off-hand manner, I bent forward in my saddle and glanced at the book. The type was ancient Hebrew—evidently a Prayer Book.

So! The Jew soldier prayed. It was Autumn; probably one of the great Jewish Fall festivals. Some dim memory flashed through my brain. Yes—I was reminded of the "Taper," the wax taper in Count Tolstoy's narrative, lit by the serf Peter, on whom fell the duty to plow for his master on Easter Sunday. So he stuck a taper on the plow, and prayed and sang Easter hymns as he followed the plow. Was this not an analogous case?

The implement was different, however—no tool of the soil, but a horrible, death-dealing howitzer. The man, too—he was no village harvester, but a member of the artillery—with a number.

The artillery train moved and stopped. With it the young Jewish soldier walked, kneading the sticky mud, which clung to his boots, or halting with a jerk, instinctively taking his stand between the front and rear wheels, between the ammunition case in front and the gun behind. Only now and then he raised his dark, southern eyes from the Prayer Book to make sure that everything was

as it should be around him, and that he might continue his prayer without interruption.

Happily, no one interfered, no one presented obstacles, though in an angry moment any battery commander could have made it hot for him for inattention. Pos-

sibly, just at this time, each was too busy with his own affairs, possibly no one besides myself noticed the little sacred book, scarcely bigger than a box of matches.

Adonai, the God of Israel, will accept his prayer.

Copenhagen Repudiates Björn Björnson

Scheduled to lecture on the war in the Danish capital, the pro-German Norwegian, son of the famous writer, was prevented from doing so by a hostile audience, as related in Dagens Nyheder.

THERE may have been a number of empty seats in the big hall of the Concert Palace, but still it can be said that it was a large audience that witnessed the stormy incidents of the evening.

Björn Björnson's lecture, "From the Three Fronts," was to have started at 8 o'clock, but a quarter of an hour passed before Björnson showed himself after the audience had displayed its impatience by stamping. A few applauded on the lecturer's appearance, but this sign of approval was immediately drowned by violent hissing and whistling. As near as could be judged, this hostile demonstration came largely from the crowd in the upper gallery and from others scattered in the rear of the orchestra circle.

While all this is going on, Björnson stands leaning carelessly against the table on the platform and at his right is Reinhold Mac, the young Chairman of the Society for Public Information, who arranged the meeting. Reinhold Mac keeps swinging the Chairman's bell, and above the din in the hall he is heard to say, "If you go on in this fashion, then—"

No one finds out what is to happen, for while the whistling keeps on increasing everybody gets on his feet while voices meet each other from the galleries to the boxes and from the boxes to the galleries. Even chair seats are brought into requisition as instruments for noise making.

Here and there are cries that Björnson ought to have a chance to be heard. Up on the platform Reinhold Mac tries again and again to speak, but he only succeeds

with innumerable interruptions. Björnson himself says nothing.

"You have no right to judge any one until you hear him," says Reinhold Mac. [Interruption: "Oh, we know him!"]

"It is nothing but young fellows who are tyrannizing this meeting." [Interruption: "Do we get back our money?"]

"All opinions should be heard here. At later meetings there will be opportunity for French and English champions to express themselves." Singing in the back of the hall. "Yes, we love this land."

After the Norwegian national song has been rendered there is loud applause in which Björnson joins.

As time passes—an hour has already gone by—there are increased demands that Björnson should be allowed to proceed. He appears as if getting ready when suddenly there comes: "Are you a son of the old Björnson?" And from another corner of the hall: "He is being paid." Reinhold Mac proposes that the audience take a vote whether Björnson should speak. A voice: "May we have a written decision?" A vote is taken by raising of hands. The majority is for hearing Björnson.

At 9:15 Björnson takes a seat and drinks a glass of water. He confers with Director Jacob Jacobson, who has come on to the platform.

Now Björnson starts in: "I don't want to deliver this lecture, [the audience becomes restless.] Just be quiet a moment, I've got a cold and am unable to scream. The Social-Democrat of Stock-

holm said something about this being a peace lecture. To me it is funny that it has turned into a fighting lecture. But after all it is not the majority that is in control this evening. There is something else back of it. [Violent whistling.] Oh, as far as I am concerned, whistle at much as you please." Voices: "Throw them out!"

A couple of unruly fellows are removed from the front rows. An excited young woman has pointed them out.

When things have quieted down a little, Jacob Jacobson begins to speak. He reminds the audience that Björnson is there as an invited guest, and that he has a right to decent treatment. Björnson, says Jacobson, will merely indicate the nature of his lecture, and if the subject is objectionable he will take his leave.

Björnson: "No, that is wrong. It is now close to 10 o'clock and I am going to deliver no lecture. I just desired to protest against the charge that I was a

paid enthusiast. [Considerable noise.] It is sheer nonsense to say that I am an enemy to Denmark." Björnson here strikes the desk with his closed hand. "Sheer nonsense, I say."

A young Norwegian jumps up and cries: "I hope that when a Dane comes to Norway to say a few words the Norwegian youth will give him a chance to be heard!"

Reinhold Mac now dismisses the gathering with the remark that Björnson will speak some other evening in a smaller hall, and that all who desire admission will have to give their names.

And the memorable evening came to a close. It is to be regretted that it came to demonstrations and remonstrances that may cause unpleasantness in certain quarters. It is well known that many here in Denmark are out of sympathy with Björn Björnson, but they ought to have stayed away and given him a chance to speak to those who cared to hear him.

The Danes in the World War

By Dr. Fredrik Boeck

The well-known Swedish critic writes in the Svenska Dagbladet about the Danes who are participating in the great struggle in the article of which a translation appears below.

OF the northern race, only the Danes have come in direct touch with the world war—the two hundred thousand Danish brethren who live in South Jutland under German rule. Of all the literature on the war that has come to my notice, there is nothing which has so affected me as the letters of these Danish-Germans from the front.

Even the most casual observer will have to admit that these letters bear witness to an intelligence, a culture, an ability in respect to psychological reflection that unquestionably is not to be found among many other nationalities. The South Jutlanders are a chosen people. The majority of them are well-to-do farmers who almost without exception have had a splendid education in the folk high schools. During their long and persistent battle for the retention of their language and their individual cul-

ture they have possessed themselves of precious qualities.

It is one of the paradoxes of this war that the South Jutlanders have been better equipped for the war's terrific trials than almost any others. In spite of the fact that the task must have been a very hard one, they have stood the test with honor.

It is to be remarked that from many parts of Germany come evidences that the participation of the South Jutlanders is being thoroughly appreciated. There is something uplifting, something comforting in watching these Danish brothers who act with no less courage and initiative than their comrades, but who are completely without passion or hate. By virtue of their exceptional position they have partaken of the skepticism of modern culture, which again enables them to act without hardness or fanaticism.

One may be aware of the eternal relative in what is called the duty of man, and yet stand fast even unto death. One may be careful and refined, and yet strong in character and action.

The idyllic democratic, pacific sentiment of these farmer-soldiers crops out on every occasion. How touched they appear when they see those fine, well-fed Jutland horses harnessed before the cannons! It is like a dear greeting from

home. The dirt, the distress, and the poverty of Russia make a powerful and painful impression upon them. We should be proud of our kinship to these South Jutland farmers, who, perhaps more sensitive than any others in the war, suffer in silence. We are confronted with a heroism, a Danish heroism, without the least outward sign of pathos. It is for us Swedes to show that we understand how grand and genuine is this courage.

Denmark's Preparedness Propaganda

The Opposition press in Denmark recently discussed the need for military preparedness, as set forth in the subjoined article, translated from Dagens Nyheder, Copenhagen.

THE meeting in the Landsting has been followed with great interest throughout the country in circles championing proper defense measures. The well-considered plan of the Rightist Party was up for discussion, and in view of the situation the suggestion for a parliamentary commission to examine the existing means of defense was entirely logical. The session was bound to open the eyes of those at the helm of our hyper-democratic Government.

Our Democrats—the Leftists, the Socialists, and the Radicals—have been unable to find expressions sufficiently condemnatory of the Rightist Party's proposition for a preparedness commission. Parliamentarism is something great and uplifting, so, of course, the members of the Right must not touch it. That is a privilege belonging solely to democracy. And although Joergen Pedersen is that member of the Landsting who has called the present Rigsdag a "living corpse," yet he finds that a gathering fostered by "the corpse," for the purpose of learning our means for defense, can only cause uneasiness among the people.

The arguments advanced against the creating of a commission by the spokesmen for the cabinet and the Democratic Party were a wonderful concoction. A "beautiful" spirit of unity existed as regards the efforts of the Right going for nought. No one could conceive the

commission to be anything but mere agitation—a matter of personal experience, perhaps—although everybody must know that where it concerned the country's defense the policy of the Rightists has always been of the most unselfish kind. To the astonishment of the Democrats, the Right has more than once sacrificed members of the Rigsdag on the altar of preparedness.

The leader of the Free-Conservative Party attempted to mediate between the chief opponents, but the Minister of War, who was in control, did not even give him an answer. When the Left Party finally added a supplementary order of the day, the proposition of the Right was swept aside.

The whole proved to be parliamentary history of the most ultra-democratic stamp. But the good of it all is that the activity of the Right in the Landsting has caused an improvement in defensive measures in various territories which otherwise might have been totally neglected. And in the Folksting there is proof that now the voluntary army corps are to take the lead. No matter how the curious parliamentarism continues, much has been accomplished, and, as Herman Bang once wrote: "The corpse ate and drank, slept and woke up."

It ought to be no secret to Minister of War Munch that a commission of the kind proposed in Denmark has operated

to complete satisfaction in Norway, Sweden, and Holland. In these countries there has been no talk of creating uneasiness on that account. On the contrary, even leading Social-Democrats have publicly declared that it is important that preparations bearing on the military establishment should synchronize with industrial mobilization. Why, therefore, should a similar labor in Denmark, executed under the direction of Minister Munch himself, and by men chosen by him, cause confusion in this country? We feel moved to declare that it should be impossible for whatever member of the Radical Left, outside the Government, to construct an opposing argument really acceptable to normal thinking.

There is at hand complete evidence

of how Sweden has been moving in this matter. The energy there displayed in organizing the industrial war machinery is praiseworthy and typical.

Whether we shall finally obtain a parliamentary commission to investigate the defense situation or not, peace and security can only be maintained when the people learn that something is being done to remedy existing defects. The main thing now is not to get tired of agitating the question. The men who are in the advance lines advocating adequate defense must submit to being called war-mad militarists. It is not impossible that the day will come when they will appear in a finer light to the eyes of the great public than will the very men who now point the finger of derision at them.

George V. in Danish Eyes

By Dr. R. Besthorn

The noted Danish historian, Dr. R. Besthorn, presents in a recent issue of *Dagens Nyheder* of Copenhagen an intimate picture of the British monarch as ruler and diplomat.

WHEN the Sailor King, the ruler of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, George V., shortly before the world war reviewed the great fleet—the greatest fleet the world has ever seen assembled in one place—Edward VII.'s son and successor may, perhaps, have dreamed of the day when, leading this powerful aggregation of sea fighters, he should sally forth in battle against the young but consequential fleet of his cousin, Emperor William. But the King-Emperor had scarcely considered it likely at that time that he should hold a review over a combined Anglo-French Army in the field against German armies that were attempting to snatch from France and England the city whose name stands indelibly written in the heart of Bloody Mary—Calais.

When George V., on May 7, 1910, assumed the reins of government, the new ruler over the world's greatest em-

pire of more than 400,000,000 souls was a comparatively unknown man, even in England. All eyes had been on King Edward and his foreign politics, and his death came so suddenly and unexpected that for a while it was quite impossible to get the Governmental machinery in proper order. Premier Asquith happened to be in Seville. The leader in the House of Commons, James Lowther, was in Constantinople. The Prince of Wales, who so unexpectedly became King George, had led a quiet existence, and even in England there were not many who had a well-grounded opinion regarding his personality.

That the new ruler of the British Empire was sailor with heart and soul was known, and also that he was enthusiastically interested in all that concerned the nation's men-of-war and the colonies. But most people must have had the idea that George V., who was so fond of his private circle and family life, and lived so quietly, had no special interest

for politics, whether those concerning foreign affairs or of the country itself.

Viscount Mountmorres, who knew the King well, assured his intimates that King George "resembled Emperor William by his irresistible, restless energy and his intelligence, and that he was a man who, in whatever interested him, insisted on playing an active, yes, a leading, part." But there were not many who placed much weight on this characterization, while the opinion was general that Queen Mary exerted a considerable influence over the King. This opinion was strengthened through the proclamation with which George V. took over the Government when he declared that he felt himself encouraged in his great task because conscious of the fact that he would find support in the aid of his dear helpmate.

Time has proved that Viscount Mountmorres had the correct estimate of King George V.'s personality. The Viscount's estimate is further strengthened by recalling the half-forgotten but no less interesting speech delivered by the King at his ascension after his return from the great journey, when he said that he "would emphasize the impression that, I believe, prevails among our brothers on the other side of the oceans, namely, that the old motherland must awake if it expects to retain its supremacy in colonial trade."

The words that King Edward's successor in 1902 addressed to his countrymen, "Wake up, England," at the time created much attention, and in reality constituted a program that has been followed by leading English statesmen. At any rate, that speech gave evidence that King George at the time had his interest rooted in great political plans.

The year of mourning passed quietly at the new Court, but when it was over, King George V. appeared more conspicuously in his public rôle. The dedication of the monument to Queen Victoria, with the accompanying entertainments in honor of the German royal couple, was followed by a series of Court festivals. Englishmen began to notice that the King took an interest in sports, including racing. The coronation in London showed

that George V. was popular, and the further coronation in Delhi, when the ruler announced the transfer of the Indian seat of government from Calcutta to Delhi, went to prove that the King had a program of his own in the domain of colonial politics, and saw a way to carry it to completion.

The constitutional struggles in Parliament as well as the Ulster crisis showed that where interior politics were concerned the King had his individual conceptions and made them tell, while perhaps he could not make his conservatism prevail. The interest in the royal sailor's pipe, that replaced King Edward's famous Havana cigar, and many other characteristics had long been eliminated when the world war broke out.

As regards the larger political affairs, it does not seem that King George, in contrast to his father, cares specially for them. It is, however, possible that also here the general public estimate has been led astray through the quiet, unpretentious attitude of the King. In this, as in other respects, King George unquestionably resembles Emperor Nicholas much more than Kaiser Wilhelm.

On various occasions George V. declared that he would continue the politics of his father, but in his speech during the unveiling of the Queen Victoria monument there was a reference which pointed to the fact that a much more intimate relationship existed between the ruler of the German Empire and the ruler of Great Britain than had been the case in the days of Edward VII. And this official sign found corroboration in other instances. But at Emperor William's departure from London, May 20, 1911, a scene took place at the Victoria railroad station which gave inkling that elements of misunderstanding had come to hand. Further, the speech that Emperor William II., on June 20 of the same year, made on the steamship *Amerika* of the Hamburg-American Line, and in which the Emperor emphasized the duty of the new German Empire to solve the problem of the Hansa ideal, might well indicate that it was the Germanic-English fleet question that was at the

bottom of the "earnest conversation" that, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger* of May 20, took place between the German Emperor and the English King.

While King George V. has not made himself conspicuous in the foreign political arena he has fulfilled his promises. He has stuck to the politics of his fa-

ther, and as the faithful ally of France he went to the front. It was here the King sustained injuries while doing his duty as military ruler. It would have been a serious loss had the British Empire during this frightful world war crisis been bereft of its experienced, character-strong leader.

Sweden's Contribution to Literature of the War

By Nils Aden

Gustaf F. Steffen and Ernst Wigforss are classed among foremost Swedish writers on international affairs. A reviewer in the *Forum* of Stockholm comments on their most recent works in the light of the country's neutral position.

WHEN Gustaf F. Steffen recently published the second part of his "War and Culture, Social-Psychological Documents and Observations from the World War in 1914," there appeared almost simultaneously another Swedish work with a similar title, "World War and World Peace, Documents and Reflections," by Ernst Wigforss. These books undoubtedly belong to the most significant works dealing with the international situation today. Both authors appear to seek for the causes of the great war in the dominant ideas characterizing the powers that are now opposing each other.

That Sweden should present such literature, and from the standpoint of Swedish interests, is quite essential. Our country has from the start declared its neutrality; we desire to continue in this fashion and hope to be able to accomplish our purpose. And, yet, it behooves us to see what effect the war is having on the world at large, and even if we succeed in keeping the peace within our borders it is necessary that we investigate how we are being affected by the general unrest. The direct political consequences, as well as the economic and spiritual effects, are especially felt in the countries nearest the scenes of conflict.

How do the Swedish authors stand in relation to a study of such a war as this?

Steffen declares that he approaches

his subject scientifically so as to "let the light shine" and to make "lucid the inner workings," but on top of this he emerges with nothing less than a declaration of war against one of the powers in question. "I have always," he says, "upheld Germany's intellectuality, its genius for organizing, and its universal spiritual tendency as the most important contrasts to the English way of thinking, its individualism and is insularity." This is certainly prejudging England and its allies. That, in addition, reverence is being paid Germany as the "motherland of the Social-Democracy" stamps Steffen as the champion of that country.

In the case of Wigforss's book, the intention at first had been to make of it merely a collection of documents. But the author discovered early that such impartiality was quite impossible. Even the bare arrangement of the material, he explains, had to be made with a view of reflecting the author's personal observations. As for the arguments of the respective sides, it is up to them to clinch their contentions. Wigforss's critical parallels we may examine point for point. It may be asked, Is he, then, friendly to the Entente? Yes, but in a different manner than Steffen is friendly to the Germans. Wigforss treats the fundamental problems carefully and just as cautiously; without bombast, without passion, he speaks his mind. Even those who may find that now and again he is

not free from bias owe him a debt because he invites the reader to use his own judgment, for which purpose he supplies him with the material.

The two great books on the war ought to be read and studied together. Of course, we should not expect that as a result of them the problem of the world war will be solved. Both of these writers consider the national psychological factors before and after the war first started. The presentation has had its difficulties, and there is a tendency to be heavy at times. Steffen has apparently written his book in great haste. But both works contain important material bearing upon the facts about the war.

Steffen's chief theme may be said to turn on the idea that the world war was unavoidable. There is a double motive. In the first place, general development has driven the great powers forward imperialistically, which necessitated a collision because of the inherent desire to keep on growing. Secondly, there has been antagonism on the part of the Entente powers against the rising Germany. Such is his argument.

Steffen bases his conclusions on history dating back to earliest times, with Babylon and Egypt and Rome and their successors typifying imperialism. All show us the struggle for empire, world dominion, universal monarchy. When such entities grow up there arises the danger of the unavoidable world war. Steffen implies that the imperialism of the Entente powers is aggressive, but that Germany and Austria-Hungary are overwhelmingly defensive in purpose. The three Entente nations have conspired "not to treat Germany as an equal," nor have they "permitted Germany to occupy the place in the world that its powerful development entitles it to when compared with the intellectual and material resources of England, France, and Russia." There is not to be found a "more logical reason for the world war of 1914-15."

Now the question is, What is Germany entitled to as a reward for its unquestioned development? Is it a matter of new colonies—in Africa, the modern form of colonization entitled colonial penetra-

tion, in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia? As against Steffen, Wigforss here takes care of this proposition to the extent of leaving the query in the dark. There is no doubt that Germany has had need for new colonies to further its economical plans, but it may be asked whether England or the Entente in reality place such great obstacles in the way of this desire.

Some will point to Morocco. It is admitted that here Germany was prevented from gaining a foothold. But even those decidedly pro-German in their predilections have declared that Germany had no pronounced interests to serve; that the Morocco question was more a matter of political honor, and this due principally to German diplomacy off its guard. The agreement of 1911 did not only secure place for Germany's colonial interests in Morocco, but afforded them entrance even into the French Congo.

When Steffen characterizes German imperialism as defensive, and the Entente powers as offensive, such a terminology does injustice to existing facts. For it must be admitted that Germany stands for the aggressive empire when it embarks upon colonial and other economical political expansion.

How far Steffen goes in his belief that Germany should be given a proper chance for its development is shown from his attitude toward one of the many schemes for a new Europe following the war. The noted international jurist Franz von Liszt published last year a pamphlet in which he pictured a Central European Union. Steffen illuminates this union by affirming that it is for Germany to "exert a dominant influence in the realignment of the countries" by an ever-increasing co-ordination of the interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and in the new aggregation should be included Holland, the three Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and Italy. The pamphlet, it is well to remember, was written before Italy's defection as a member of the Triple Alliance.

Sweden may well consider what a new Napolionic Rhine alliance would mean to it. Where does it belong in the light of the political, military, and economic issues involved?

Holland Looking Both Ways

Dutch newspapers have been cautious in giving utterance to personal views, but according to the *Haagsche Post*, which claims to maintain a neutral attitude, there have been journalistic expressions to the contrary. The subjoined article is from the *Haagsche Post* of The Hague.

EVEN if it cannot be said that in the course of the war all suspicion of Germany has disappeared or that outspoken enmity is no longer existent, there is no doubt that a much better feeling is present today. The attitude of the anti-German paper *Telegraaf*, which has tried its best to get Holland mixed up in the war, has caused a reaction, and the agents of the Quadruple Entente may now realize that all their trouble and expenditure of gold have gone for nought.

A similar fate has met the unlimited hatred that centred around the *J'accuse* declaration. An Amsterdam physician has published a counterpamphlet, *Contra J'accuse*, which is appearing in edition after edition. The reception accorded the speech of the German Chancellor proved indicative of the feelings of the better classes.

We must say that we ourselves are surprised that there should be any country in Europe, and especially ours, where there could be any apprehension regarding the speech of the Chancellor. Some say that there is a threat in that speech and that German domination in Europe is established. Also, that we can keep

our independence just so long as it suits Germany.

As we see it, the Chancellor desires to make his country secure against foreign aggression. He wants to put an end to the kind of politics that keeps his country in a vise. The Chancellor says that the enemies hope for a crushed Germany, nothing less than a vassal of Russia. But that is not to be. The future points to a new Europe with a powerful German Nation. We do not desire to affirm that Germany will attain such a power that it will put an end to Great Britain's rule at sea. But, on the other hand, we do not believe that Germany wants to control the oceans but only to relieve them from English pressure.

Under existing conditions we are not saying much about England's domination at sea, but there is no question that those neutral countries which live by ocean traffic are at the mercy of the English. When once peace is established, or rather when the freedom of the sea comes before the peace conference, it will be seen that Germany's powerful position in Europe has worked for the benefit of neutrals.

Conquered Lands for Foodstuffs

By Dr. Lujo Brentano

Official adviser of the German Imperial Government on the cultivable areas needed by Germany to support her population independently, Dr. Brentano expresses his belief in this article, appearing originally in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, that the rich agricultural Lithuanian and Baltic provinces should be embodied for that purpose in the German Empire.

WHEN the fight about grain taxes was at its liveliest, many agrarians did not hesitate to demand that Germany be made over into a preponderantly agricultural nation. One of the principal arguments advanced in support of this was that the country, under present conditions, could be starved out

in war; that, therefore, all the grain needed by Germany must be raised on German soil, for which reason high grain taxes were absolutely necessary. This was opposed to the view of those advocating an increase of our navy in order to assure the importation of grain in war times. Many agrarians, prejudiced

by the advantage that might possibly be derived by grain-importing interests, were against the naval program.

Both arguments struck me at the time as unimportant. That of the Ministry of the Navy did not impress me because the German Empire does not consist of islands, like Great Britain and Ireland, which depend entirely on the sea for imports of grain. For the argument to hold, one had to assume our being at war simultaneously with all lands bordering on Germany, from which their own or foreign goods might be sent to us. Assuming, even, that such a war could arise, it seemed hardly possible that we should not have stored up everything needed. I considered a war lasting a whole year as out of the question.

The present war has proved the truth of so much that we deemed impossible that one may well ask who among us has been right in all that he foresaw. It is not only that the war has already lasted over a year and its end is not in sight, but our statesmen never expected such a world of enemies to rise up against us. But, on the other hand, our expectations of good have also been greatly surpassed, for the world has never before seen such unity in a nation of 68,000,000 people. Even experts of the highest standing were deceived. Writing in 1909, the late Count Schlieffen, Chief of the General Staff, said that the Landwehr and Landsturm could be reckoned with only in a limited degree as forming part of the "nation in arms," since the factory workman, accustomed to ride to and from his work on a bicycle, could scarcely be expected to do his thirty or forty kilometers a day, loaded with rifle, ammunition, and knapsack. For this reason, Count Schlieffen deemed an army of millions, more or less, imaginary.

Yet the army of millions has long been a reality. Landwehr and Landsturm, despite Schlieffen's prophecy, have become so adept at using the weapons and conforming to the fighting methods introduced since their days of active army service that nothing but praise is heard for them, and the marching feats of our

regular standing army, which, according to statistics, was made up of only 28.6 per cent. of men in agricultural pursuits and 71.4 per cent. of men in other walks of life, have made possible those brilliant successes of our Generals which have surpassed anything ever known before. This army of millions, that has been our salvation, would have been impossible were Germany a preponderantly agricultural nation. Such a Germany would neither possess the 68,000,000 inhabitants from whom to draw the necessary material for its armies, nor, with it, could we have provided our army with the costly equipment which has brought victory to our banners, nor the war loan of 25,000,000,000 marks, to the success of which we point with just pride.

On the other hand, it has not been proved that the yield of our agricultural lands has sufficed to feed the German people. The opposite, to be sure, was triumphantly announced at the beginning of the war, and even now one often hears the assertion. Nevertheless, as early as November, 1914, I and others pointed out to the Imperial Council that Germany could not feed its people if the consumption of foodstuffs continued in the same way as before, and I suggested the fixing of maximum prices and curtailment of consumption. I was told that this was impossible and likewise unnecessary, since home production was fully sufficient to cover home demand. Since then the measures branded as impossible and unnecessary have long ago been introduced, and all of us have been held down to an allowance in the consumption of the necessities of life.

That brings up for consideration what we must do in order not to be forced to surrender, in the event of another war against the entire world, because of lack of necessities. In answering the question I presuppose that all the grain needed by the German people must be grown on German soil, although I still deem this impossible, at least so long as we have to reckon only with the present area of the German Empire and must

depend on a continuing increase of the German population for maintaining the position of Germany among other nations.

Up to now, we have been satisfied with pointing proudly to our increased crops. Where, thirty years ago, we grew only 12 double hundredweights of rye per hectare, we now reap 18; in the same period our wheat crop went from 15 to 22 double hundredweights a hectare, our barley crop from 15 to more than 21, our oats crop from 14 to 20. But wonderful as is the progress of our agriculturists which has made this possible, it must be remembered that this increased yield has technical limits, and, even before these are reached, agricultural limits. These limits will probably very soon be reached.

Then the fact will make itself felt that the area in the German Empire used for agriculture, owing to the growth of towns, manufactures, and transportation, is not only decreasing yearly, but is decreasing especially in proportion to the increasing population. This area comprised in 1878 36,726,015 hectares; in 1883, 35,640,419; in 1893, 35,164,596; in 1900, 35,055,397; in 1913, 34,813,800. In other words, there was in 1878, for each inhabitant of the empire, 0.83 hectare; 0.77 in 1883, 0.69 in 1893, 0.52 in 1913. Thus for the period between 1878 and 1913 there was a yearly decrease of 0.885 ar (one ar equals 100 square meters) per capita of the population.

Only a portion of the area under cultivation produces grain, and, although this grain-producing area has, in fact, increased, it nevertheless is steadily decreasing in proportion to the increase in population. According to agricultural statistics, the grain-producing area has decreased, on an average, between 1878 and 1883, at the rate of 0.219 ar; at the rate of 0.314 ar between 1893 and 1900, and of 0.234 between 1900 and 1913. Assuming that the population of Germany in the middle of the twentieth century will be 100,000,000, which would meet the wishes of those directing the present policy of increase, there would then be only about 0.33 hectare per capita for agricult-

ural purposes, and for grain growing only about one-half a Prussian "morgen," (acre.) Not even the most fantastic increase of crops could make it possible to produce, on 0.33 hectare per capita, the total amount of agricultural produce necessary, nor to produce entirely on German soil all the grain needed by the German population, with only half a Prussian "morgen" per capita under cultivation for that purpose.

Let us now turn to the territory of our enemies now in our hands. Belgium and Northern France need to import grain from abroad in order to feed their inhabitants. The same is true of Austria-Hungary, for even if Hungary is a grain-exporting land its exports are not enough to cover the grain deficit of the other half of the monarchy, which has depended for years on imports from abroad. Even if the kingdom of Poland should again become part of Austria-Hungary, and the latter should be combined with the German Empire into an economic whole, this would not be sufficient for us, because Poland also lives on products from other parts of Russia.

It is otherwise with Russian Lithuania and the Baltic provinces. According to a volume by Kovalevski, published by the Russian Government for the Paris Exposition of 1900, entitled "Russia at the End of the Nineteenth Century," there were, at that time, the following number of inhabitants to the square kilometer in various districts: Kovno, 44; Grodno, 51; Vilna, 45; Courland, 27; Livonia, 31; Estland, 23. There were 123 to the square kilometer in the German Empire in 1914. Vast areas of land in these regions, among them some of extraordinary fertility, await German settlers and German capital in order to yield extraordinary crops.

Whoever wants an agricultural area commensurate with Germany's needs must desire to see fulfilled the wish of the Germans in the Baltic provinces, viz., that Lithuania and the Baltic provinces may be joined to the German Empire and settled by German colonists from Russia and Germany proper.

What Is Nationality?

An anonymous contributor to the January issue of *The Unpopular Review*, in discussing the misapplied doctrine of nationality, draws the following distinction between nations and races:

RACE is often used interchangeably with nationality, and there can be no objection to our speaking of the Irish or the German race if that is what we mean. But if race is used at the same time in the sense of physical type, there is a serious confusion. There are three main races (in the latter sense) in Europe—a blonde, long-headed, tall type found everywhere around the Baltic and the North Seas; a round-headed, partly blonde type to the south of the former; and, still further south, occupying the Mediterranean basin, a dark, long-headed type. If we agree to call the first sort of man the Teuton, we find that the Normandy peasant, the Flemish burgher, the Lithuanian and perhaps the Finn are Teutons, while the mass of south Germans, Austrians, and German Swiss are not. Ethnological nationality would evidently lead to some incongruous alliances.

The linguistic grouping comes out almost as badly. English, the most widespread of Teutonic tongues, is spoken by the majority of "Celtic" Irishmen, by Anglicized Hindus, and by Americanized Filipinos, Choctaws, Czechs, Italians, Poles, and negroes. Even the smaller linguistic group of the German language itself seems to be a poor criterion of nationality, for German-speaking Alsatians are so anti-German in sentiment that for more than a generation the German Government has felt constrained to govern Alsace as if occupying a hostile country. On the other hand, Belgium, which is cut in two by the sharp linguistic barrier between the Flemings and the Walloons, and Switzerland, where there are four native tongues, (German, French, Italian, and Romansch,) are two of the most patriotic nationalities in the world.

If not race nor speech but "country" is to be the test, then Germany might certainly claim Denmark and Holland as part of its coast line; but France could put in her claim for the Rhine boundary, and Poland might justly claim the Ger-

man city of Dantsic as the natural outlet for the valley of the Vistula, around which river the Polish people are grouped. Germany might find it necessary to yield as well the Alpine regions, which are not, strictly speaking, part of the German plain. Austria would also lose Galicia, which lies beyond the natural frontier of the Carpathians, but it would still retain within its mountain wall such a chaos of peoples as to prove that unity of country need not mean unity of sentiment. Besides, the argument from physiography cuts both ways. If Denmark is part of the German coastal plain, is not Northern Germany a part of the Danish plain? Could not Denmark put in a plea for re-annexing Schleswig-Holstein on the ground that it was simply bent on securing a better frontier?

The more modest Pan-Germans devote themselves to securing unity within the existing empire. They identify the "nation" with the "State." Since Poles are in Germany they must be German. Similarly the Hungarians argue that Croats and Rumanians living in Hungary must be Magyarized. Just as Philip II. could not rest so long as there was a heretic within his realms, so the Kaiser cannot bear any intrusion of an alien element into his Deutschland. Modern persecutions of nationalities are our twentieth century variety of the old human disease of intolerance, a new incarnation of the odium theologicum. But nations, like heresies, can survive much persecution. Ireland has been under English rule for centuries, and England has been forced to grant her home rule after all. Poland has not been a nation in the political sense for over a century, but at no time since its dismemberment has it permitted any one to forget that it was a nationality. The fiercely patriotic Balkan States and some of the minor nationalities in Austria and Hungary have undergone many generations of political obliteration without forgetting the memo-

ries of past greatness. It is no exaggeration to say that almost every historic attempt at forcible assimilation has resulted in failure.

If German nationality is not coterminous with the present German Empire, still less does it correspond with the "Germanies" of the past. * * * Any philosophy which would justify a German conquest of that part of France which was once Burgundy, on the ground of its Teutonic origin, could justify as well the replacement of the English language by the Welsh and the Gaelic throughout the island of Great Britain.

Nor can the boundaries of Germany be settled by an appeal to the bond of a common culture. There is nothing in the civilization of Germany which is not shared to a greater or less degree by Europe, America, and the Europeanized parts of Asia. With the modern means of transport and communication, and the modern abolition of illiteracy, ideas can no longer be kept from penetrating every part of the earth. If Germany ought to correspond to the limits of German influence, we must erect a world State and call it "Germany." This would not displease the Pan-Germans, but for the fact that there would be just as good reason for calling the cosmopolitan Commonwealth "France" or "England."

When reproached by liberals for maintaining a full-blown feudalism in the twentieth century, the German or German-American will always reply that republic and Parliaments might be all very well for other nations, but that without a hierarchical organization of the Government the Fatherland would never have achieved its splendid educational system, its scientifically fostered industry, its admirable municipal administration, its intensive cultivation and conservation of the resources of the country, and its well-diffused prosperity. But if these results are to be ascribed to the wise rule of the Hohenzollerns or the efficiency of the Prussian bureaucracy, it is amazing that results so similar should be attained under very different political systems. The German peasant may farm more intelligently than the British agricultural laborer, but he is no way superior to the

Dane. Prussian cities are clean, but so are Dutch. The industries of Germany are conducted with less waste, perhaps, than ours, but co-operation is as familiar to the artisan and enterpriser of Flanders as it is east of the Rhine. Education is more nearly universal in Germany than in France, but not more so than in Norway. Germans are orderly, law-abiding, and governed by officials who know their business. Very true, but so are the Swiss. There is really nothing peculiarly German about Kultur except the idolatry of the Prussian State borrowed from Treitschke the Czech and a dash of ruthless militarism derived from Nietzsche the Pole.

It is clear, then, that no one objective test of nationality will cover all cases. Race, language, religion, physical unity, political government, memories of the past, and a common fund of ideas may contribute to patriotic sentiment, but they should never be confused with it.

The popular will is nationality, and any other factor can at most be a cause. We see this most clearly in the case of the United States. With the possible (the doubtful) exception of the American Indians, all Americans are immigrants. They belong to every race and type under heaven. They speak all the tongues of Babel. They represent every creed the Old World ever knew and others which were invented on this side of the Atlantic. The country they live in has artificial boundaries to the north and the southwest, is cut by two great mountain barriers, and extends from sub-tropic Florida to the glaciers of Alaska. One thing they have in common—their choice. America is a nation of those who willed to be Americans. This unity has been all that was needed to keep our forty-eight Commonwealths one.

The same test can be applied to Europe, although there State boundaries correspond but poorly to the national will. If we wished to determine the nationality of an Alsatian, I do not think that we should ask the ethnologist whether he had a dolichocephalic or a brachycephalic head. I do not think we should ask the census taker what language he spoke or what church he attended. I do not think



DR. WALTER RATHENAU

**The Kaiser's Industrial "Wizard," Who Has Built Factories to Make
Saltpetre and Other Products Needed in War**

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)



ADMIRAL CORSI

The New Italian Minister of Marine, Who Replaces Admiral Viale
(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

we should send surveyors to locate his house with reference to the watershed west of the Rhine Valley. I do not think we should ask the historian whether Alsace was a German province stolen by Louis XIV. or a French province stolen by Bismarck. I think we should give the man himself a gun and ask him which

country he would rather fight for—France or Germany? When he answers you, you will have solved the puzzle of the man's nationality.

And when the war is over, and the guns are laid down, there will be many places where in their stead ballots should be put to settle similar questions.

War and Meteorology

A writer in La Domenica del Corriere (Milan) makes a valuable summary of the way in which atmospheric conditions have influenced the outcome of battles, both in the past and in the present war:

AN official instructor of the military school of Leavenworth, United States, has complained that the notices of the progress of the war published in the newspapers furnish very scanty information of atmospheric conditions in which military operations are developed. For students of the art of war (he notes) a knowledge of the temperature, of the amount of rainfall, of the direction and velocity of the wind in the various theatres of operations have more importance than entire columns in which skirmishes, reconnoissances, &c., are described. The complaint is perfectly just.

History records that the condition of the atmosphere has always been a factor of the greatest importance in the conduct of military operations, and has had a decisive influence on the issue of many battles. The destruction of the three Roman legions led by Varrus into the Teutoburgian Forest in the year 9 A. D. was due to the falling of very heavy rains which caused the overflow of a number of rivers. Fifteen centuries later persistent rains saved Venice from being destroyed by the Turks. In the year 1692 a persistent rain prevented the English troops which were sent to assist Namur, when besieged by the French, from passing the River Meuse; and thus the city was compelled to capitulate.

Progress in military art has in no wise diminished the importance of the action of the weather on the progress of war. It is true that the adoption of motor vehicles has rendered easier the transportation of artillery, but it is also true that the number of heavy cannon has increased and therefore that even today muddy roads represent a serious obstacle to the movements of artillery. The efficacy of modern firearms, the use of nocturnal projectors, (search-lights,) the application of aeronautics to the services of exploration, render more urgent than ever the necessity of posting troops in hidden positions; but a cloud, or even a heavy rain or a fall of snow, represents an excellent method of masking troops.

We know, for example, that the fall of Namur into the hands of the Germans last year was accelerated by a dense cloud, which allowed the artillery of the assailants to place their heavy siege pieces in favorable positions without being exposed to any danger. The frequent and abundant rains which fell during the battle of the Aisne must have hindered the movements of the artillery to the point of obliging the commanders of the two armies to modify their plans profoundly. In December, 1912, during the Turko-Bulgarian war after the battle of Tchaldja (as Barzini relates): "If the rain had not held back the Bulgarians they would have entered Constantinople on the heels of the Turks with the bayonet at their ribs." A meteorological caprice prolonged the resistance of the Ottoman Empire.

Of how great importance may be an

exact knowledge of atmospheric conditions in time of war the Germans are so well aware that it was not by accident that they were favored by the weather in more than one of their enterprises.

Father Moreaux, the director of the observatory at Bourges, shows that the Germans systematically apply the knowledge of meteorology acquired in the last few years.

"All readers," he writes, "have been able to note that certain typical happenings were developed in meteorological conditions favorable to our enemies; for example, the attack on the City of Antwerp and the passage of the Scheldt were made possible thanks to a persistent cloud which concealed from the Belgians the manoeuvres of the enemy; identical conditions favored the raid of German warships against Scarborough, Hartlepool, and Whitby; the clouds were so thick that the units of the Germanic fleet were able to come close in to shore to carry out their infamous project without being signaled by the lookout of the English fleet."

Father Moreaux observes that after the entry en masse into Belgian territory the German General Staff summoned the astronomers and meteorologists from beyond the Rhine mobilized for the purpose. From the 16th of August all the members of the meteorological staff of Aachen were transferred to Liège and shortly after to Brussels. The capital of Belgium possesses within a few kilometers of the city an observatory of the first class at Uccle, but for the German scientists it did not represent the final perfection in instruments. And the Belgian astronomers were replaced by colleagues from Berlin, who were perhaps more learned and more reliable.

The English suspended the international service of meteorological telegrams; but there remain particular situations of which an expert meteorologist can take advantage, especially if he pos-

sesses perfected material. And this was possessed by the Observatory of Uccle, thanks to the new instruments which the usurpers had brought from Berlin. The German astronomers set themselves to make soundings of the atmosphere. These soundings had been carried in Germany to a high degree of perfection. The new astronomers of Uccle began shortly after Sept. 3, 1911, to send up the little sounding balloons and continue to do so. The proof of this is seen in the little luminous balloons which are often found on French territory. In broad daylight the little balloons, whose flight indicates the direction of the upper winds, can easily be followed at a great distance by telescope, but at night the observer loses sight of them shortly after their release, and therefore the Germans have adapted to them a little electric light fed by a small dry cell.

The indications given of the direction of the dominant currents in higher atmosphere, combined with those which are collected by the meteorologists close to the surface of the earth by means of hygrometers, barometers, and so on, and transmitted by telegraph, are successful in giving, in many cases, a clear prevision of the weather.

In Autumn and in Spring, if the air is calm, with a high barometer and a moist atmosphere clouds can be foreseen forty-eight hours in advance.

The German scientists could not resist the temptation to bring the contribution of the most recent progress of meteorological science to the aid of the General Staff in the development of its military strategies.

At present the German meteorological stations have been reinforced by those of Zeebrugge and Ostend. These are destined, without doubt, to foresee favorable occasions for submarine and Zeppelin raids, the former against English ships and the latter against London and Paris.

Rear-Rank Reflections

A writer who served in the First Training Regiment at Plattsburg last Summer has contributed his reflections on preparedness to The Unpopular Review, as exemplified in the subjoined article.

THE thought came to me: Suppose this were not the end of a drill, after two weeks of amateur soldiering, but the beginning of a battle, after two weeks of real war. Who would teach us to shoot twice a minute and to roll over when to rise were death? Not our present Captain and Lieutenant, not our smiling and steely-eyed regular Sergeant, just willing duffers like ourselves, fighting by day and learning how to fight out of "Infantry Drill Regulations" at night. As things go in modern war, should the regular army have to face a powerful foe, there would in a month be no regular army. The funded military intelligence of the nation would be shot to pieces in just about four weeks. The men who could make soldiers out of the million men, whom we are assured would spring to arms, would be themselves in soldiers' graves, or lying unburied amid thistle patches like this.

As from the rear rank I daily saw the miracle wrought by the regular officers in charge of us, my admiration grew for them, my regret that they were so few. How American they were, yet how novel. They were as far from the slackness of rural America as they were from the restlessness that marks our urban efficiency. They were always quick, but never fussed. What they knew, they knew perfectly. Yet they had one and all begun just as so many slouchy country lads, or snappy city lads. How had they attained such simplicity and dependableness? In many ways; some were fresh from West Point, others wore the service bars of Santiago, Porto Rico, Peking, the Philippines, but they were all like brothers of our forthright family. Loyalty to the service, Spartan obedience, the habit of quick command had made them out of easy-going men like us rear rankers.

Tradition had made them. A hundred years of coping with inadequate resources had sharpened them. Their alertness

had in it generations of Indian fighting on the plains. The habit of accepting disregard, of being paid only by the inward satisfaction of service well rendered, had simplified them. Wringing success from hopeless tasks, bearing unreasonable burdens, making tolerable bricks without straw, had hardened and composed them. There was a kind of large directness in them, the like of which I had glimpsed in certain French officers in student days. I could not wonder that when a gigantic canal was to be cut, or a fever-stricken island was to be cleansed, the work went to the army. For these company officers of ours moved as an embodied conscience and efficiency.

Often from the rear rank I burned, as I clumsily handled my rifle, to think that I had supposed that such human material as these officers could be improvised in the face of war. I had supposed it came just to learning a batch of tricks, like studying a new language, or taking on a new sport. I have learned better. To be an officer is a complicated and resolute state of mind. It can be attained only through years of outward experience and inward self-discipline. The nation that has any notion it may need officers plays the fool unless it trains them well in advance of its need.

Often I smiled when I thought of the innocent deception by which our work had been represented as "elementary officers' training." Training it was about in the sense that it is training to show a short-winded and corpulent runner the distant mile post, and tell him that he can get there in something over four minutes if he can develop a speed and endurance that are, if entirely possible, rather unlikely in his particular case.

A rear-rank man could hardly avoid considering noncoms., for it was they who kept him up to the mark. In particular Sergeant W., detailed for our good from a regular regiment, manifested an uncannily keen eye for equipment ill-ad-

justed or rifle ever so little at the wrong tilt. Yet his voice was more of an encouragement than a reproof. Sergeant W. was the only person I have ever met who could always tell me everything I wanted to know. He was minute military knowledge for a hundred and fifty of us. The good nature, dignity, and irony with which he played the oracle were wholly admirable. There never was a more pestered person, nor more unfussed. It had taken twenty years of service from the reeking Pacific islands to the Alaska snows to harden his arrowy form, and set the firm glint in his blue eye, to pack his erect head with the most practical knowledge, to discipline his temper while increasing his quickness on the uptake. I sometimes wish that Sergeant W. might be exhibited in a hundred run-down villages. Let him merely walk up and down the main street, and his very carriage would convict the entire community.

Yet my justified idolatry of Sergeant W. was on the whole ignorant, as I was soon to learn. I had underestimated the special knowledge required of all his kind. We had had a long march from Lake Champlain and our first taste of the powdery roads in the Adirondack foothills. H Company had eaten the dust of 5,000 men, 500 horses, and more than a hundred motors, guns, or caissons. The other companies of the First Training Regiment had eaten proportionately less, as they were nearer the head of the column; but all were given a day to digest it. In the afternoon we made the round of the outposts. A mile outside the camp grizzled Captains and white-haired Majors were controlling the far-flung patrols that should give us warning of any mischief from the indefatigable Red army. Each outpost commander showed us what he called generically "the position sketch." It was a free-hand map on a scale of six inches to the mile, contain-

ing the most minute information of the position covered by the outpost. Every wall, fence, and thicket, road or trail, gully, marsh or watercourse, house or barn, was clearly and neatly indicated.

Such a map is made by a Corporal or Sergeant in a matter of two hours. His bearings must be true, though from a cheap compass, his distances must be accurate, though they are measured only by his counted paces. In short, with the most limited time and the rudest means, a noncommissioned officer must be a fair land surveyor. His position sketch must be good enough to fight on. Every war-strength regiment would need 250 non-commissioned officers with these moral and technical qualifications. A modern field army would need 15,000 such non-coms.; a volunteer army of 500,000 would require 62,500. Not merely the aggressive efficiency of an army would depend on the Corporals and Sergeants, but also its safety. No service of security is possible without men who can make position maps, no comfort or order either in march, or in camp, not to say in battle, is possible, unless the entire force is steadied and leavened by such capables and imperturbable subalterns as Sergeant W.

If anybody believes that any athlete is ipso facto a soldier, I beg him to send a selected athlete to the next Plattsburg camp. Let him in a week consult that athlete as to the muscles that are concerned with crawling forward, let him in two weeks interrogate the muscles that are concerned with maintaining a continuous fire from a prone position, let him in three weeks inspect the muscles that are concerned with carrying a heavy pack. If the athlete will declare that it has all been easy and delightful, and that it can be done in a hurry and well, I will adhere to Mr. Bryan's formula of a million men springing effectually to arms in the space of a single sun.



The Fighting Honved

By Norbert Jacques

[From the Frankfurter Zeitung.]

A recent dispatch from Petrograd regarding the fighting on the southeastern front said: "The small number of prisoners taken by the Russians is explained by the ferocious stubbornness of the Hungarian Honveds, who are bearing the brunt of the defense." Here is a German description of how the Honveds fight.

HON! That is the Hungarian word for land. And ved means defense. Honved, defenders of the land. Soldiers whose very name is born of the language and soul of the land for whose preservation and freedom they have taken up arms.

Germany knows and honors the heroic deeds that the Honved of Hungary has performed for the Central Powers in this war. It is known that a great deal of Hungarian blood has been shed in battle, and, during the last eight days which I have spent at the fighting front with a Honved regiment, I have seen that these soldiers are ready to shed still more in the future.

Here they, together with other Hungarian and Austrian troops, are holding back the Russian flood on the last strip of Galician soil that is still occupied by the enemy.

The "steenth" Honved regiment has the worst of it these days. Three weeks ago it took up a position in the hills on the east bank of the Stripa which had not been intrenched and where it lay fully exposed to the Russian fire. Its right wing held back the enemy while the left was digging itself in. So, under a rain of bullets, hand grenades, and shells, it won its place in the ground and at night it threw up its obstructions.

The advance line runs this way from the north through villages along the hills, worms itself, in a stubborn zigzag manner, close to a hotly contested strategic point, draws near to the enemy's positions, crawls to within a stone's throw of them and never lets go an inch. Looking from below, the obstacles seem to meet here in a heap of hastily assembled stakes and barbed wire. Like a

bulldog ready to spring, the Hungarian fortifications lie under the small treacherous eyes that look out from the earth walls of the Russian advance line and spit bullets.

On the 3d of November an attack was begun by strong Russian forces. It was repulsed by the Hungarians. The Honveds left their positions, rushed to the outer slope, ready for a hand-to-hand combat, and so showered the ranks of the attackers with hand grenades that the Russians were forced to fall back. They dug themselves in about fifty or sixty yards from the Hungarians' advance line. Then the artillery opened on them. But, wild with rage, they fairly bit their way into the ground and stayed there, despite all their losses. They let the bodies of their dead lie between them and the enemy.

This attack that failed seemed to have been the signal for an outburst of bloody frenzy. During the next few days the Russians hurled themselves seven times against the Honveds' barricades. They made their onslaughts at night and sent regiments against battalions. The Austrian artillery sowed steel and death in their rendezvous.

The Russians advance by crawling and rushing until they are at the barbed wire obstructions. The Honveds can no longer be kept in their trenches. They rush out to meet the enemy on the other side of the wire fence. The hand grenades hiss and crackle. The barbed wire is broken down with the butts of their rifles. Shouts and blows, iron and blood, madness and horror mingle in the darkness. Back of the Russians, their own machine guns fire upon those who retreat. Between the Russian machine

guns and where the hand-to-hand combat is raging are bursting the shells from the Skoda batteries. In the fray all the passionate rage of the Honveds comes to the fore. Horror is piled on horror. A rocket shoots up and reflects a fiery light upon those entangled in combat on the ground, but the night soon extinguishes it. The beams of a searchlight wander over the field. The gloomy little eyes of the Russian loopholes seem lost in the sand walls of their trenches. Darkness settles again over the struggling bodies. The night seems like black, clotting blood.

Fire burned in the veins of the Honveds. The Russians fought like bears at their last gasp in the threefold death sowed by their own machine guns, the shells and the desperate onslaught of the Hungarians. One of these hand-to-hand fights lasted three-quarters of an hour.

Then the Russians broke and, with a hail of Austrian shells on their backs and a shower of bullets from their own machine guns in their faces, rushed back through the midst of death and fell into

the trenches where were their fratricidal mitrailleuses.

Throughout the night a field of dead lies between the Hungarian and Russian positions. Now and then a rocket throws its vivid glare over the field. Then night settles down again upon the seething, bloody mass.

In their trenches, to which they have returned, the Honveds lie upon their arms, keeping close watch through the tiny squares in the walls, with their rifle butts tightly clasped and with their red-hot nerves trembling from excitement, spirit and readiness.

Rockets fall upon the field and go out slowly, throwing their harsh glare over the heaps of misshapen dead who are covered by a mixture of sticky blood and damp earth. Flashes of lightning cross the heavens and from them fall masses of steel. Shots rattle like arrows against a drumhead. Shells howl through the darkness, bury themselves in the ground and throw up heaps of dirt. The hills and hollows are filled with crashing thunder. Man bows down, trembling in the face of death.

At Strumitzá

By H. T. SUDDUTH

Bright your leaves, O holly green!
(Bitter cold the air!)
Sprigs of holly with their sheen
Decking tents in valley there;
Red as coral buds they glow,
Holly berries o'er the snow!

Holly hills and Christmas trees!
(Cold, ah, cold the snow!)
Guns hold high their revelries
On your summits, while below
Banners fly from o'er the sea—
English cross or Fleur de Lis!

Gathered round the campfires bright,
(Red, ah, red their gleam!)
Soldiers talk of home at night
Or in fitful sleep they dream
Home they are at Christmas time,
Listening to the church bells chime!

Morning wakes to strife again,
(Red, ah, red the snow!)
Hilltops shake with thunder then,
Red the streams in vales below!
Holly berries gleaming red
Lie beside those dreamers dead!

Far away, across the seas,
(Far, so far away!)
Dreams a maid she once more sees
Lover brave on Christmas Day!
Holly berries round him lie,
Dreamless now, 'neath Balkan sky!

Life in the British Fleet

By a Member of the Grand Fleet

IT is not necessary, when you are thinking of your friends in the Grand Fleet, to picture them as continually staring with strained vision into the mists of the North Sea. True, there is always some one doing it, but no one is doing it always. The fleet is so large, its distribution is so ingeniously arranged, that a murmur of the wireless can bring it together within a few hours at a given rendezvous, disperse it, concentrate it, and move it with ease and certainty at a touch of the master hand which controls it. In the intervals of movement its life is often a very quiet one, strangely like the routine of peace. For one of the profound differences between the navy and the army is the extent to which each is affected by a state of war. When war breaks out the life of the army is revolutionized; it is bodily transferred to a different country, its whole organization and environment are profoundly changed. But the navy continues to move in its familiar element; its peace routine is so entirely designed for war conditions that the imminence of tremendous issues hardly affects its daily life and routine; instead of being ready to fight at twelve hours' notice, it is ready at a minute's notice—that is all. There is no leave, there are no guests, there is less gold lace to be seen, but otherwise the daily round of life is very much the same as might have been witnessed in the North Sea harbors on any day during the last five years of peace. There are little differences, infinitely affecting the situation; but for the most part they are invisible differences, and only the trained eye would mark them or realize their great significance.

The landsman who looks out from his window on the waters of some harbor where a portion of the fleet happens to be lying in the pale sunshine of a Winter morning sees a scene of great, but, to him, incomprehensible activity. Perhaps yesterday the harbor was almost empty;

this morning it is populous with craft of every kind. The fleet lies, squadron by squadron, in its ordered lines. How it managed to arrive in the dark, showing no lights, guided by no beacons, and to anchor itself with mathematical precision, is a mystery which resides in the keeping of that officer in each ship after whose name a large "N" appears in the Navy List, and who is familiarly spoken of as the Pilot. But there it lies, battle-ships, cruisers, destroyers, colliers, store ships, oil ships, ammunition carriers, hospital ships, and a dozen other types of vessel included in the designation of fleet auxiliaries, apparently dreaming in the stillness of a Winter calm. Strange local craft—drifters, barges, and the like—ply among the immobile hulls of the war-ships, supplying their various needs; steam picket-boats are darting about over the glassy surface of the harbor—it is glassy today, but often they are buried in sheets of spray as they go about their duties. Colliers are casting off, having already, early as it is, poured their thousands of tons of coal down the iron throats of the monsters. Everything is moving except the ships themselves, which lie solidly planted like rocks, as though they were part of the earth which nothing but a cataclysm could move.

They are ceaselessly talking in their own strange silent language. Hoists of bunting break out at yardarms, ascend to mastheads, hover a minute or two, and come down in rainbow curves where flagship talks to flagship. A shore signal station is speaking in white flashes that dazzle you even in the strong sunshine; and between ship and ship of the same squadron minute conversations, visible only through a strong glass, are being carried ceaselessly on by the busy tossing arms of semaphores and by the small flags that a signalman, perched on the rail of a bridge like a fly, is waving to his opposite number in the next ship astern.

What are they all saying? The on-

looker longs to know; but really it is not so interesting as he thinks, nor so exciting as it looks. Some one wants two engine room ratings to be transferred from one ship to another; that glorious burst of color against the sky refers to boiler tubes; that violent whirling of wooden semaphore arms only means that some thousands of pounds of marrowfat peas are adrift. That variegated strip of bunting that droops from a yardarm near by is a church pennant, and signifies that the ship's company are still at morning prayers. Listen; you can just hear the harmonies of the band and the sound of a familiar hymn. Apparently unnoticed, a single flag is flying from the triatic stay of an auxiliary. It is as though you should put a Carter Paterson's card up in your window; sooner or later some craft will thread her way out in response to this dumb request, and deliver the fresh water that is being asked for. Up goes a hoist in a near-by battleship; it is a signal for the duty steamboat; and all it means is that in another ship some way down the line (whose turn it is to supply the boat on this particular day) a bosun's mate, after a preliminary blast on his pipe, will put his head down a hatch and shout, "Away second picket boat!" that half a dozen men, cheerfully and with murmured oaths, will hurry from the messdecks and crawl out along the boom, and drop into this boat; and a midshipman will be summoned from writing a letter home to take command of her and conduct her wherever she is required. All routine, all commonplace. The really interesting things are not being said by flags or flashes or semaphores. They come viewlessly through the ether, in a voice like the buzzing of a fly, to the ear of a wireless operator sitting in a steel box below the water line, and come to him only in uncomprehended groups of letters or figures, which are decoded by an officer in a locked office, sent as a sealed signal to the Flag Lieutenant, and by him delivered personally to the Admiral. That and what may happen because of it are almost the only difference that an outsider would notice between peace and

war conditions in many a battleship in the fleet today.

So the sunny hours pass on. The ships have been washed down after coaling; the men have washed themselves, their clothes, and the mess decks all together; all the other things that have to be eternally washed and cleaned and polished and tested and oiled have been attended to; dinner has been piped and eaten, the officers have lunched, some of them have gone ashore, and the ship settles down to the comparative peace of the afternoon. There is a cessation of tramping feet; and all about the mess decks, and in certain of the officers' cabins (for the ship only came into harbor in the small hours and has coaled since) men are deeply asleep. There is little left below decks to remind you of the sea. The click of typewriters sounds from the engineer's office, the armament office, the Secretary's office; but the rest, for an hour or two, is silence; you might be in a factory where the hands are all on strike, or in a city from which the inhabitants had fled. And the immobility, the everlasting fixedness, of the fleet seems greater than ever.

But that insect voice has been buzzing on in the wireless office of every ship, and in every ship an order of half a dozen words has been given to the senior engineer officer. Not six people in the whole ship know anything, and they say nothing. The officers come off from the shore, the ship wakes up again, the familiar bugles sound for evening quarters, searchlights, and a dozen other routine functions or exercises. Sunset sounds, the flags come slowly down, the boats are hoisted in, men gather in the wardroom and discuss the latest printed matter and resume their mild convivialities. A gin and bitters, a game of bridge, and—what was that?

Cable officers? the throaty voice of the bugle echoes down the enameled steel passageways. We are going out again.

No one knew, but it doesn't matter, because everything (except one's private arrangements, which are of no importance) is ready. As darkness falls little groups of officers and men assemble on the foc'sles and the titanic business of

unmooring and weighing is commenced. No lights, no sound, no signals—it is perfectly automatic. And presently, as you stand there in the peaceful darkness and silence, you hear a sound like the tearing of silk, and a destroyer slides past, black and secret as the night. Another and another and another, each tearing the silk of the waters, each keeping her perfect station, until a whole division has passed you and vanished. A pause, and then a deeper sound, like the murmur of a weir, heralds the passage of a longer and larger ghost—the flagship of a cruiser squadron—which follows in her swirling wake, each ship as stealthy and intent as her leader, out into the night.

And then at the exact moment, not sooner or later, a quiet order of two words is given from the bridge, and your turn has come. There is a little clanking of metal from the foc'sle as the last links of the cable are coaxed in over its steel bed, a voice or two, a sound of hammer-

ing, and then silence again. There is nothing in the action of modern turbine engines to tell you when the ship is under way. All you know is that your position in relation to the dark masses around you is slightly altering, that there is a ripple beginning to set outward from the ship's shoulder, and that a breeze is stirring against your face. As suddenly, as silently, as secretly as the rest, the great ship is again setting about her fell business. The dark shapes round you melt into the surrounding void, the loom of the land fades into the universal blackness, the breeze becomes a wind, and there is no sound but the steady surge of the waters where the ram tears them. Before you and on either hand is absolute blackness; behind you one shadow of grosser blackness which is the ship astern; and from blackness into blackness, nose to tail, thirty thousand tons apiece, you are rushing at nearly twenty miles an hour. And that also is routine.

Departure From France of the Indian Army

A cable dispatch from London, dated Dec. 27, 1915, announced that the British Indian Army Corps had left France for another field of operations. At the parade of the Indian Army Corps before it left France the following message from the King-Emperor was delivered to the men by the Prince of Wales:

More than a year ago I summoned you from India to fight for the safety of my empire and the honor of my pledged word on the battlefields of Belgium and France. The confidence which I then expressed in your sense of duty, your courage, and your chivalry you since have nobly justified.

I now require your services in another field of action, but before you leave France I send my dear, gallant son, the Prince of Wales, who has shared with my armies the danger and hardships of the campaign, to thank you in my name for your services and to express to you my satisfaction.

British Indian comrades in arms, yours has been fellowship in toils, hardships, courage, and endurance, often against great odds, in deeds nobly done in days of ever-memorable conflict. In the warfare waged under new conditions, and in peculiarly trying circumstances, you have worthily upheld the honor of the empire and the great traditions of my army in India.

I have followed your fortunes with the deepest interest and watched your gallant actions with pride and satisfaction, and I mourn with you the loss of many gallant officers and men. Let it be your consolation, as their pride, that they freely gave their lives in a just cause for the honor of their sovereign and the safety of my empire. They died gallant soldiers, and I shall ever hold their sacrifice in grateful remembrance.

You leave France with just pride in honorable deeds already achieved and with my assured confidence that your proved valor and experience will contribute to further victories in the new fields of action to which you go.

I pray God to bless and guard you and bring you back safely when final victory is won, each to his own home, there to be welcomed with honor among his own people.

Cost of the War to Europe

The figures given below are from an article that appeared Dec. 18, 1915, in a special war supplement of *The Economist* of London, the leading financial weekly of Great Britain.

THE expenditure of the United Kingdom was £1,490,000 per day for the first eight months, (or £1,270,000, excluding external loans,) and has been rising rapidly since, until it is estimated at £4,450,000 per day (or £2,740,000, excluding loans) for the five months to March 31 next. The total expenditure to that date is estimated on actual and budget figures at £1,222,200,000, plus £474,800,000 for external loans, or £1,697,000,000 together. These figures represent the excess over a previous £80,000,000 a year for the army and navy.

Of the loans, about £50,000,000 will be made to our own dominions, but this is offset by the loan we have obtained from the United States. We have, more than all the other belligerents, raised money by special taxation. Our loans to allies and neutrals are estimated to amount to £425,000,000 to March 31 next, and the burden which has fallen on us in this respect is doubtless more than twice as heavy as that of any other belligerent, Germany probably ranking next. We have lent chiefly to Russia, (for purchases in the United Kingdom and elsewhere outside Russia,) to France, (for purchases here,) to Italy, Belgium, Serbia, and certain neutral countries.

Judging by the credits voted, the war has cost France £660,000,000 to June 30, 1915, to which must be added £224,000,000 for the quarter to Sept. 30, £240,000,000 for the quarter to Dec. 31, and £327,000,000 for the quarter to March 31 next, making a total to the last-mentioned date of £1,451,000,000. Excluding loans, it is probable that the war has cost more to France than to any belligerent, except Germany. Special taxation of various kinds is only now proposed, including, in particular, a war profits tax. France has made loans to Russia, (for purchases in France,) Belgium, Serbia, and neutrals, and the total so disbursed in the first year was probably in excess of

£50,000,000; while it has borrowed £50,000,000 from the United States, and considerable sums from us.

The Russian war expenditure has been £188,000,000 (including £37,000,000 for mobilization) to Nov. 14, 1914; £576,000,000 to July 14, 1915, and £639,000,000 to Aug. 14, 1915. The seven months to Jan. 14, 1916, are expected to cost £429,000,000, and the year to Jan. 14, 1916, £764,000,000, making a total of over £1,000,000,000 from the commencement of war. The expenditure was at first £1,400,000 a day, excluding the costs of mobilization, while for August last it was £2,000,000 a day, and for the year 1915 it is estimated at £2,100,000. Special taxation is proposed, including an income tax. Russia has lent money to the smaller belligerents, but has doubtless received much heavier loans from this country, for purchases here and in America, and from France in respect of purchases in France.

Italy, which came into the war on May 23, is believed to have spent £80,000,000 on preparations prior to entering, and its expenditure for the four months to Sept. 30 last was £14,600,000, £16,500,000, £17,400,000, and £16,600,000, making a total of £145,000,000 to that date.

Belgium and Serbia have been largely helped with loans by France, Russia, and ourselves, their power to provide being, obviously, very considerably curtailed. The bulk of Belgium has been in the hands of the enemy since the end of the first month of war.

An estimate of Germany's costs has to be derived mainly from its votes of credit, which have been £250,000,000 in August, 1914; £250,000,000 on Dec. 2, 1914; £500,000,000 last March, £500,000,000 on Aug. 20, and £500,000,000 this month. At the time the August credit was asked for, Dr. Helfferich stated that the war expenditure was nearly £100,000,000 a month. To the above have to be added the £10,250,000 of mobilization

treasure in the Julius Tower at Spandau, and the product of the "defense contribution," or Wehrbeitrag—a capital levy payable in three installments, at the beginning of the years 1914, 1915, and 1916, which was expected to bring in £50,000,000 to £80,000,000. Partly, perhaps, because of this capital tax, imposed before the war, Germany has hitherto not levied any special taxation, but a war profits tax, formerly said to be impossible to formulate until after the war, is proposed to be shortly raised. Loans of large amounts have been made to Turkey, Bulgaria, and neutrals. It is not clear whether Austria-Hungary has also been partly financed by the German Government.

The expenditure of Austria-Hungary can only be surmised from the fact that its population, and therefore its army, is 75 per cent. of that of Germany, and by remembering that its costs must be on a relatively smaller scale, because its commitments and resources are less. Dr. Helfferich on Aug. 20 put the then expenditure of the alliance countries at £5,000,000 a day and the expenditure of Germany at nearly £100,000,000 a month, which would leave £50,000,000 or so per mensem for Austria-Hungary and Turkey.

We now have material (with other data not here specified) for arriving at what may be regarded as being, on the whole, a fairly close approximation to the total direct cost of the war to the Governments

of Europe. A comparison of figures is, however, apt to be obscured if one does not disentangle the figures from loans made to other belligerents and to neutrals. In the table which follows "direct cost" is to be understood as the cost of the war to the Governments concerned for expenditure on their own war operations—expenditure in excess of ordinary peace outlay on military and naval matters—while the fourth column represents those direct costs, plus loans made, or less loans received, this representing the burden to be met during the war. The difference between the third and fourth columns represents loans made, less those received, or vice versa, for Russia, France, and ourselves have both borrowed and lent. It need hardly be said that the amounts of the loans have, except in the case of the United Kingdom, been guessed at, and are not based upon evidence. The difference between the grand totals of the third and fourth columns represents supposed loans to neutrals.

The table represents an attempt to gauge the direct cost of the war on the assumption that hostilities will cease at March 31, and the direct costs are continued to the end of July next, with the idea that full expenditure for a further four months (although not, of course, spent within the limits of that period) will cover the cost of clearing up after hostilities:

Both Years.			
	First Year. Direct Cost.	Second Year. Direct Cost.	Direct Cost, Plus or Minus Loans.
United Kingdom	£550,000,000	£1,000,000,000	£1,550,000,000
France	680,000,000	975,000,000	1,655,000,000
Russia	625,000,000	800,000,000	1,425,000,000
Italy	110,000,000	250,000,000	360,000,000
Belgium and Serbia....	120,000,000	100,000,000	220,000,000
Entente total.....	£2,085,000,000	£3,125,000,000	£5,210,000,000
Germany	850,000,000	1,250,000,000	2,100,000,000
Austria-Hungary	500,000,000	600,000,000	1,100,000,000
Turkey and Bulgaria...	40,000,000	130,000,000	170,000,000
Alliance total.....	£1,390,000,000	£1,980,000,000	£3,370,000,000
All belligerents	£3,475,000,000	£5,105,000,000	£8,580,000,000
			£8,650,000,000

Toward the end of 1914 Professor Wolff estimated the daily cost of the war at £7,500,000, the Vorwaerts in January last at £9,250,000, (for the first year,)

while Dr. Helfferich on Aug. 20 estimated the daily cost at £15,000,000, and this week at £16,000,000 to £16,500,000.

On the matter of loss of human capital,

each man assumed to be killed or permanently incapacitated is taken at, roughly, six years' purchase of his average productive value, as compared with the seven to nine years' purchase at which M. Barriol's oft-quoted figures would work out. The figures of killed, wounded, and missing (the sick and those who die from disease are not included) are estimated from the best material available, and on the assumption of hostilities ending on March 31 next. It may be remarked that these estimates are very much below those sometimes given, and the total is only here set down to enable a judgment to be formed as to whether they are fair or not. What we really want to arrive at is the number of men permanently thrown out of production, and to arrive at this we take the killed included in

the total casualties, add 10 per cent. to this figure, and a further 10 per cent. of the wounded, to allow for those who succumb to their wounds, who die of disease, or who are permanently incapacitated by wounds or disease. The picture thus obtained is probably not exaggerated in any way, though figures could not be produced in support; but it may be mentioned that Germany has claimed that of the wounded and sick submitted to the military hospitals of the empire to July last 88.5 per cent. were discharged fit and 9.6 per cent. unfit, while the remaining 1.9 per cent. died. The dead and incapacitated on each side come out approximately equal, notwithstanding the estimated greater total casualties on one side because of the smaller proportion of prisoners in the hands of the enemy:

LOSS OF HUMAN CAPITAL.

	Killed, Wounded, and Missing.	Killed, Dead from Disease and Per- manently, Incapaci- tated.	Human Capital Per Head.	Loss of Human Capital.
United Kingdom.....	800,000	235,000	£600	£140,000,000
France	2,000,000	515,000	500	260,000,000
Russia	5,000,000	980,000	275	270,000,000
Italy	500,000	140,000	350	50,000,000
Belgium and Serbia.....	550,000	130,000	350	45,000,000
Entente total.....	8,850,000	2,000,000	£382	£765,000,000
Germany	3,700,000	990,000	450	445,000,000
Austria-Hungary	3,100,000	840,000	400	335,000,000
Turkey and Bulgaria.....	600,000	150,000	275	40,000,000
Alliance total.....	7,400,000	1,980,000	£414	£820,000,000
All belligerents.....	16,250,000	3,980,000	£398	£1,585,000,000

The total of probable dead and permanently incapacitated is appalling, but is much less than is sometimes expected or suggested, as, for instance, by one recent lecturer, who put the total destruction of life in Europe in two years of war at nearly 20,000,000 persons. The population of the belligerent countries is 447,000,000, and the estimate of 3,980,000 represents 0.9 per cent. of that population. The proportion is 0.7 per cent. for the Entente countries, (population 304,000,000,) 1.4 per cent. for the Alliance countries, (population 143,000,000,) 1.7 per cent. for Austria-Hungary, 1.5 per

cent. for Germany, 1.3 per cent. for France, 0.6 per cent. for Russia, and 0.5 per cent. for the United Kingdom. * * *

Roughly, the effect of the war will be to increase the pre-war debts of the Entente countries by 60 per cent., and to double the debts of the Alliance countries, while the interest charge will be increased in much greater proportion, and the cost of pensions will be added.

In the above figures no allowance is made for the war debts of our colonies or of Japan, or for the expenditure necessitated by the war in the case of neutral

countries, all of which would add a considerable amount to the total given,

though by comparison with it they fade into insignificance.

Income Tax in Great Britain

IN discussing the new income tax in Great Britain, The London Times says that the tax for 1916 really fulfills the original purpose for which it was introduced by Pitt in the closing years of the eighteenth century, that is, as "an aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war." In 1799 Pitt imposed a duty of 10 per cent. on all incomes above £60 from whatever source derived. It yielded £6,046,624, as compared with £1,855,996, the produce of the tax of the preceding year, which varied according to the amount of income assessed. Mr. McKenna has raised the original rate for 1915-16 (i. e., Mr. Lloyd George's doubling in November, 1914, of the original rate for 1914-15) by 40 per cent. for a full year and 20 per cent. for the current year. The tax has thereby been increased, for 1916-17, from 1s. 6d. in the pound to 2s. 1d. (roughly) in the case of earned incomes, and from 2s. 6d. in the pound to 3s. 6d. in the case of unearned incomes. But for the present financial year the revised tax is 1s. 9½d. (roughly) on earned incomes and 3s. on unearned incomes. The total effect of these changes in 1915-16, Mr. McKenna said, will be to increase the revenue from income tax by £11,274,000, and in a full effective year by £44,400,000.

Incomes of £160 and under were formerly exempt from the tax. The limit is now reduced to £130. All persons who earn £2 10s. a week or over will have to pay the tax. This means that a very large number of clerks, mechanics, and other manual workers will receive the demand note for the first time, and will thus have conferred on them the privilege of paying income tax to the State of which they are citizens. The scale of abatements allowed on incomes from £160 to £700 is also reduced. The highest abatement that can now be claimed

is £120. This applies to incomes under £400. So that a person who earns £131 a year will have to pay tax on £11. The abatement on incomes which exceed £400 and do not exceed £600 is £100.

The following table shows how the new income tax affects incomes up to £1,000:

	Old Tax for 1915-16.	New Tax for 1915-16.	Proposed Tax for 1916-17.
£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
131	.....	0 19 9	1 3 1
140	.....	1 16 0	2 2 0
150	.....	2 14 0	3 3 0
160	.....	3 12 0	4 4 0
180	1 10 0	5 8 0	6 6 0
200	3 0 0	7 4 0	8 8 0
250	6 15 0	11 14 0	13 13 0
300	10 10 0	16 4 0	18 18 0
301	10 11 6	16 5 9	19 0 1
350	14 5 0	20 14 0	24 3 0
400	18 0 0	25 4 0	29 8 0
401	18 16 6	27 1 9	31 12 1
450	22 10 0	31 10 0	36 15 0
500	26 5 0	36 0 0	42 0 0
501	28 11 6	36 1 9	42 2 1
550	32 5 0	40 10 0	47 5 0
600	36 0 0	45 0 0	52 10 0
601	39 16 6	47 15 9	55 15 1
650	43 10 0	52 4 0	60 18 0
700	47 5 0	56 14 0	66 3 0
701	52 11 6	63 1 9	73 12 1
800	60 0 0	72 0 0	84 0 0
900	67 10 0	81 0 0	94 10 0
1,000	75 0 0	90 0 0	105 0 0

Two concessions to income tax payers were contained in the budget proposals. The relief in respect of children was increased. When this allowance was first introduced it amounted to £10 for every child under the age of 16 upon all incomes under £500. Last year it was increased to £20. This year it amounts to £25. The other relief is the introduction of the system of payment by installments. Payment hitherto has been in a lump sum for the whole year. In future, individuals and firms who are liable to direct assessment in respect of trade, profession, or husbandry may (after the current year) pay the tax in half-yearly installments on Jan. 1 and on

the following July 1. In the case of weekly wage earners the tax is to be assessed and charged in respect of their wages in each quarter of the year instead of on the whole year. This provision, however, is also not to have effect as respects the tax for the current year.

Some other concessions were made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the discussion of the finance bill in the House of Commons. Of these the most important are the following:

1. Preferential terms are given to soldiers and sailors. Those whose incomes are not over £300 are exempted from the increases,

and are liable only to the pre-war rates of tax on their pay. Mr. McKenna estimated the loss to the revenue at £590,000.

2. Hitherto the abatement on life insurance premiums was not to be more than one-sixth of the income. It was pointed out that this abatement might be lost in the case of incomes which have been reduced owing to the war, although the premiums have still to be paid; and Mr. McKenna decided to grant the abatement irrespective of its proportion to the total income.

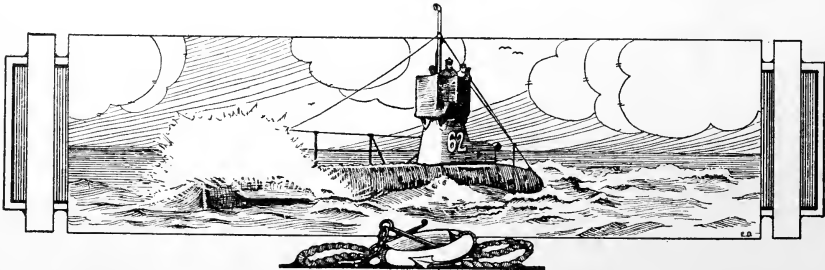
3. The bill originally made the employer liable for the payment of the quarterly income tax of weekly wage earners out of the employe's remuneration if the employe himself failed to pay the amount. Such arrears are now to be recoverable summarily as a civil debt.

Allied Confusion

By MAJOR MORAHT

Major Morah, in the Kreuz Zeitung of Dec. 8, 1915, emphasizes the British reverse in Mesopotamia, talks about "the insecure defenses of Egypt," and proceeds:

There are plenty of people who would like to escape from the confusion of the English scattering of forces, and are yearning to produce a decision in the main theatre of war in Northern France. In the French press there are many references to the fact that the eastern French front must not be robbed of troops. Thus a dilemma has arisen out of which even the supreme "War Council" can hardly find a way, for it is the German conqueror who is still the dictator in France, and it remains a sign of the confusion of the Entente that now, at the beginning of the Winter, war plans are being made for the Spring of 1916, without there being any certainty that the plans of the Allies will remain undisturbed during the Winter. Everywhere we find England playing the part of the main agitator for new developments of the war later on. All the British organs shout at us, "We shall fight to the bitter end," but no Minister has ever been heard to say what is the foundation upon which the prospect of an improved situation is to be based.



America's War Trade Balance

The United States has become the world's banker for \$962,500,000, with a trade balance of over a billion. The American trade figures given below are from THE NEW YORK TIMES of Jan. 1, 1916.

THE war has turned the United States from a borrowing to a lending nation. This fact has been contingent on the development of productivity at home and selling capacity abroad, and a trade balance never before equaled in the history of the nation of over \$1,000,000,000. A comparison of the trade of the single month of October is suggestive:

	1915.	1914.
Imports.	\$148,872,729	\$138,080,520
Exports	328,030,281	194,711,170

With the belligerent nations it as as follows:

	Imports.		Exports.	
	1915.	1914.	1915.	1914.
Austria-Hungary	\$175,595	\$362,234	\$1,024	.....
Belgium	181,702	653,719	1,685,358	\$446,650
France	5,981,488	7,802,719	32,553,848	17,037,469
Germany	2,763,405	6,168,058	2,500	17,508
Italy	3,395,255	5,627,310	38,472,558	11,119,476
European Russia	42,092	54,532	11,283,013	3,930,970
United Kingdom	23,289,109	25,057,590	111,534,467	72,034,572
Japan	11,441,189	9,757,178	4,323,674	4,784,852
Total	\$47,269,835	\$55,483,340	\$199,856,442	\$109,371,497

American sea trade is now the largest in the history of the country, and American tonnage equals that of any two foreign countries except England. The increase in tonnage of ships under the American flag during 1915 has been 475,000. Meanwhile there has been an increase of nearly 800,000 tons in American shipping registered for foreign trade, which is three times as great as the increase in registered tonnage during any previous year of American history. In the year, also, 200,000 tons

have been diverted from domestic to foreign trade.

But this not all. The United States seems in a fair way to become the banker of the world—an achievement commensurate with her advances in industry, trade, and carrying capacity. Most persons remember the heavy shipments of English gold here and the famous Anglo-French loan of \$500,000,000, but there are others whose total almost equals this amount and of which the public may not have kept track. They are:

Anglo-French loan	\$500,000,000
France—One-Year Treasury Notes	10,000,000
“ Banking Credit (March)	20,000,000
“ One-Year Treasury Bonds (April)	50,000,000
“ Rothschild One-Year Loan (July)	50,000,000
“ Export Credit (August)	20,000,000
“ Commercial Credit (November)	15,000,000
“ Commercial Credit, Supplementary	15,000,000
Canada—Government Loan	45,000,000
“ Municipal, &c.	120,000,000
Italy—One-Year Notes	25,000,000
Germany—Short-Term Notes	25,000,000
Switzerland—Short-Term Notes	15,000,000
Sweden—Short-Term Notes	5,000,000
Norway—Short-Term Notes	3,000,000
Argentina—Short-Term Notes	15,000,000
“ Five-Year Bonds	25,000,000
Panama, Bolivia, Costa Rica	4,500,000
Total	\$962,500,000

Decrease in British Drinking

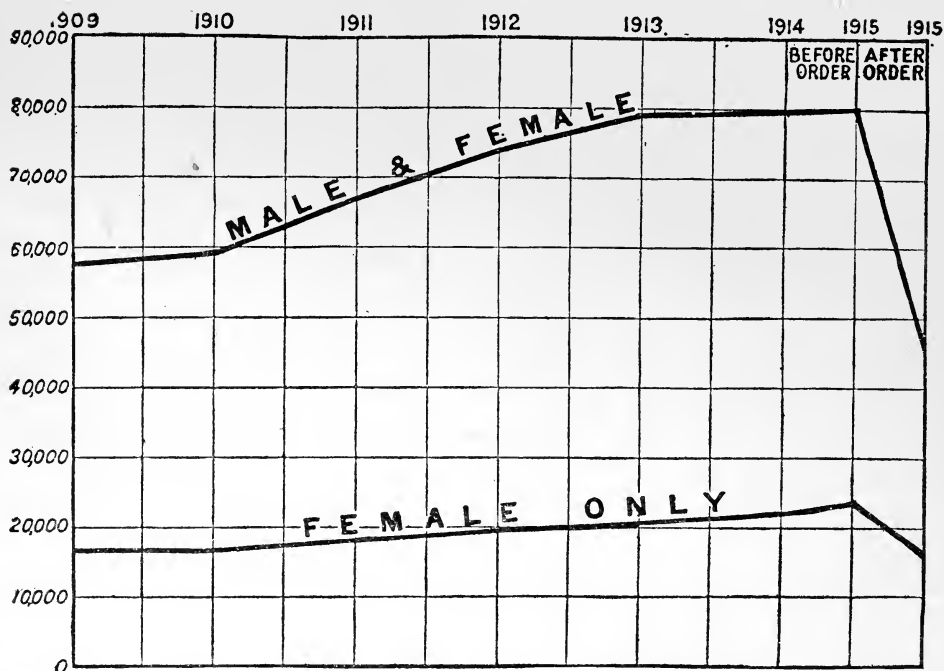


Chart illustrating the effect of the new restrictive orders. Actual annual figures (1915 pro rata) of convictions for drunkenness in the following controlled areas:—N. E. Coast, Liverpool and District, Metropolitan Police Area, and South Wales.

THE effect of the new drink restrictions upon public order and upon national efficiency in Great Britain is graphically estimated by The Times of London in its issue of Dec. 11, 1915, is shown in the chart above.

As will be seen, the returns consist mainly of the larger ports of the kingdom and certain munition areas.

The chart shows clearly, in the opinion of The Times, how remarkable a de-

crease in cases of drunkenness has followed the application of the orders. Such a reduction should be followed by improved efficiency and improved work, and this impression was confirmed from many centres, notably from port and dock areas. The reduction should also enable both police and prison staffs to set free for military or other purposes a larger proportion of men than would have otherwise been possible.



Vodka Prohibition and Russian Peasant Life

By J. Y. Simpson

Below we present a summary of an interesting article that appeared in *The Contemporary Review*, London, December, 1915.

THE Russian genius for co-operative work has expressed itself in many ways, but in nothing so remarkable as the Unions of Municipalities and of Zemstvos, (County Councils,) to which the Government has successively handed over the care of the sick and the wounded, the charge of refugees, the provision of supplies for the army, and, last of all, the production of munitions. Of these Zemstvos one of the wealthiest and best organized is that in the Government of Kostroma. Amid a multitude of other duties the Statistical Bureau of this particular body issued a questionnaire to six hundred correspondents in different districts of the Government dealing with various aspects of the effect of the war upon country life. A portion of this questionnaire dealt with the results of prohibition. The answers have been studied and summarized with extracts in a booklet entitled "War and Country Life in the Government of Kostroma," and the net effect is a very interesting human document.

The first question submitted to the correspondents was as follows: What are the results of the stoppage of the sale of vodka on the economic life of the country? Replies were received from 501 out of the 600 correspondents. Of these 267, or 53.3 per cent., replied generally that the results were "very good"; 203, or 40.5 per cent., submitted that the results were "good"; 29 gave in answer that there were no results; and 2 replied that it was difficult to say.

To the question, "Has any improvement been noted in the case of those peasants whose homes were previously ruined by their drunkenness?" 532 replies were given, of which sixty-eight were in the negative, while

four replied, "It is difficult to say." That there was such improvement is maintained by 460 correspondents, or 85 per cent.—a smaller proportion than in the case of the first question. The replies, however, are full of concrete cases. Many of the correspondents note a very great increase in the number of those who come back from the towns to their villages at the end of the Winter's work. Formerly such men were practically lost to their families, as they remained on in the towns to drink.

Another question cleverly brings out the feeling of the correspondents upon prohibition in relation to the social side of life: How do they get on without vodka at their holiday celebrations, weddings, and so forth? In 502 answers out of 539 these vodkaless gatherings are described as "good," "quite good," "quiet," "reasonable," and "much better without vodka." All these answers show approval. Only in thirty-seven answers does it come out that the peasants miss their vodka. "At festivals and weddings we feel awkward without it." "They say jokingly, 'We are dull and miss it,' but after all they are quite pleased with the temperance." "For holidays it is all right, but not for weddings." These thirty-seven answers show, then, that they sometimes miss it. On the other hand, others report that vodka is never mentioned now, indeed, is quite forgotten. "They are getting quite accustomed to be without it." "As if they had never known it." The war itself has, of course, had its influence on their festivals.

Thus a peasant delivers his soul: "Many of the dark sides of life have disappeared with vodka—thefts, murders, quarrels, immorality, pauperism, and usury. All vices have disappeared. O

God, let our Government understand the necessity of permanent prohibition, because from this hellish poison Russia was on the verge of ruin." "The morality of the people has advanced by a hundred years. No hooliganism, no crimes." One adds to his list, "No frozen people," lifting the veil from a once typical Russian Winter scene. A priest writes: "All are as if they were born anew. They are reasonable, gentle, and more capable for work; and, as a result, crime has disappeared." "All crime, &c., has lessened by 90 per cent. The village is quite different."

As a result of prohibition the number of fires has lessened. Law processes have also markedly declined in number. Seven correspondents say: "The police have nothing to do." One concise report runs: "Before prohibition there were thirty to fifty cases every month in the district court; now there are none. I (who write) am the Judge." A clerk of a district court writes: "Formerly we had 130 criminal cases every year, an average of eleven a month. Now from July till the present date (four to five months) we have only had seven, and not one of the most serious degree."

Besides the above, there are 118 reports where the correspondents answer quite shortly that prohibition has had a very good influence on the conduct and morality of the people. First of all, it is explained, the women can breathe more freely. "Women and children can now see the light of hope and redemption who were formerly suffering from beating, tortures, and injuries—as the poet Nekrasov writes, 'Peasant woman's life so hard and difficult, worse cannot be found.'" As compared with this life, the reports of the correspondents refer very much to the new conditions. "Nobody on earth ever had such rejoicing before as the women have now." "All the women are quite delighted." "God has heard their prayers." For what are they so grateful, and about what are they praying? "The women are very grateful for this good deed which has made them human beings and not slaves." "In a word, the country is preparing for a new life." "You can say without exaggeration that

for the wives of such peasants as drank before, this year has been the happiest."

Further questions are devoted to finding out whether the correspondents think it possible to have permanent prohibition. Is there any tendency among the population that would help in this direction? * * *

The answers to the second part of the question bring out not merely the possibility of, but an actual desire for, permanent stoppage of the sale of vodka. In twenty-nine instances only is there, out of 531 answers, no answer to the second question. All the other replies (502) are of this general type: "The permanent stoppage of the sale of spirits is quite possible and actually desired, as it will give good results in the future."

It is particularly important to study the reports showing shades of opinion among those who still believe in the possibility of permanent prohibition. Of such reports there are 104. "In most of them it is apparent," says the redactor, "that there are people who are discontented with prohibition, but only in twenty instances is any light shed on the point as to who these individuals are." It is clear, however, that they comprise, first, those who had profit from the sales, (for there were shops with licenses to sell vodka other than the Government shops, but which bought the commodity from the Government shops,) the owners of restaurants with sale of wine, and rich peasants who exploit their poorer brothers. (They run private loan businesses, and do better the more their weaker brothers drink.) Finally, "the owners of premises used as drink shops are for the renewal of the sale."

For the stoppage are those who did not drink very much, the poor, those fairly well off, and all women. For the renewal or reopening stand the rich peasants, hopeless drunkards, and winesellers. In most cases even these correspondents say that the discontented are really few. Only in a very few reports is it stated that the majority of the people are discontented with prohibition. So if the majority of correspondents see that the stoppage of the sale is desirable and possible, then

there is more reason for giving the more detailed explanations of the minority.

Some very human situations are depicted in this group of replies. "Before giving the answers to the question I gathered twenty householders from our village, and I read to them a little pamphlet on temperance. After discussing some questions about the influence of temperance on our life, I could see that every one understood the harm of vodka, but nobody wanted to deprive himself of it. And on my question, What shall I write about the permanent stoppage of vodka? nobody gave any answer." A priest writes: "I do not believe in absolute prohibition; it is quite impossible to be in mourning forever."

Some are afraid that with permanent prohibition the people will try to make their own drink and suffer from it. Others fear the financial deficit, and the consequent imposition of new taxes. Two or three correspondents do not like the implied restriction of the liberty of the individual. "Our sobriety was forced upon us, and at a time when every good person, even without prohibition, cannot enjoy life; therefore such a change in the life of the people is due not only to temperance, but to the expectation of something terrible and indefinite that is going to happen. In spite of newspapers which speak about the victory of Russia, every one realizes the cost of this victory for every family. How can they enjoy such victory if their dearest are missing? These thoughts, I think, make people sober much more than any prohibition."

From many of the reports it is evident

that fresh educational measures are considered necessary to aid continued prohibition, because a new sober country needs culture, and every kind of such measure will be accepted with great joy. "I cannot say," writes a correspondent, "what will be the case in the future, but they need something instead of wine." (He notes that some are taking to gambling instead.) "The need is so great that even the local intelligentsiya cannot meet the need," (i. e., even if they put all their strength into providing entertainment—lectures, &c.) Yet others fall back ultimately on prohibition. "Prohibition is quite necessary for everything—for economic wealth, for their health, physical and moral improvement, and for the stoppage of hooliganism and crime. Without it the people will be lost. Schools or hospitals cannot help."

The majority of correspondents are therefore agreed in principle about the possibility and desirability of permanent prohibition. The reports show that the country no longer approves of its dark, drink-sodden past. If it continued so any longer it would, in the opinion of many of the correspondents, be quite "ruined" and "degraded." The consciousness that the country can avoid this allows some correspondents to consider permanent prohibition as "the greatest reform, and a most beautiful action."

A priest writes: "When I was filling up the schedule about temperance, a peasant entered the room, and when I read to him what I had written he said, 'I should like every one to know how good our life is without vodka. Let it disappear forever.'"

Kultur In Full Operation

(From L'Asino, Rome)

A group of learned Germans in conversation:

"Oh, yes! Dante Alighieri was German. His name shows it—Aigler, aquila."

"And Donatello Bardi, too—Barth."

"And Raffaello Sanzio—Sandt."

"And Giordano Bruno was Braun."

"And Giotto was Jotte."

"In short, whatever was great in Italy was German."

"Even the Caesars?"

"Certainly! Were they not derived from the Kaiser?"

Is There a Sentiment for Peace?

By Dr. J. Steubben

Among German writers prominent in the literature of the war, Dr. J. Steubben of Berlin occupies a foremost position. The following article has been sent by Dr. Steubben for publication in *THE CURRENT HISTORY*.

IS there a peace sentiment? The question may be answered in the affirmative, but with a certain reservation. A sentiment for peace does not prevail, but it is nevertheless at hand, and especially in England and France. For it is being talked about, and that in public.

The speeches of the lords in the English upper house have found their echo in England and everywhere else. This echo is so loud that the accompanying utterances, which apparently are meant to nullify the peace desires, are hardly to be heard. The peers of the United Kingdom, Courtney and Loreburne, in language to be approved by both friend and foe, have pictured the cultural destruction threatening the world through a stubborn continuation of this war. But they have added, apparently so that neither they nor their comrades should be frightened by thoughts of peace: "Of course, it stands to reason that we cannot begin to think of peace until the German invaders are driven from France and Belgium."

We need not take this addition too seriously; in fact, we may admit that there are moments when this has been tactically necessary. But time will soften hearts, and events in the Balkans will also considerably minimize the influence of the war spirit beyond the Channel.

The reservations by the very honorable lords indicate an exaction of payment without return. It is the confounding of end and aim. Between these stretches a long and dangerous course, with no less than seventeen obstacles, namely, the twelve fortresses in France and the five in Belgium.

Furthermore, if all signs fail not, in the Balkans the English-French forces are confronted with a situation of the most far-reaching effect. And the Turk-

ish armies will be free to enter upon the well-prepared march toward Suez. The British giant-body, which reaches from Canada to beyond India, in order to furnish the London stomach with nourishment, possesses just at Suez a specially slender waistline not particularly well protected.

A thrust here might prove deadly. When the ships at Saloniki and Gallipoli miss fire, and when the thunder of the Turkish guns is heard at Port Said, then will Lords Courtney and Loreburne give their peace sentiments a new interpretation, and that without the aforementioned reservation. And perhaps it will come even sooner.

Viviani, and after him Briand, have also been talking peace. It somehow floats in the French atmosphere. With but one negative voice the Chamber has virtually acknowledged its acceptance of the Briand speech. Not only did Briand repeat the reservation of the English lords, but in addition demanded the previous request for the giving up of Alsace-Lorraine and Serbia. And the Socialists, sworn before the war to protest against any conflict, have even joined in this demand. The forty-four-year-old dream about the reconquering of Alsace-Lorraine is not yet dissipated.

Although the Frenchman himself is down, he does not seem willing to cease thinking about the deliverance of others. The English malady can be cured. In France there exists a mental sickness which seems quite incurable. Should the German armies gain Paris and Orleans it is doubtful if this sickness would disappear. Only England's lead and willingness can have any effect. The cloak will drop only with the fall of the Duke. So far the Frenchman talks peace as in a fever dream.

From Russia and Italy there come re-

ports about an increasing sentiment for peace. And our enemies speak with some zeal about the strong sentiments and longings for peace among the Germans. It would be wrong to deny our earnest desire for peace, but it is the peace desire of the victor. The victor names the terms, not the conquered. Not until the boastful speeches of Briand and Churchill fail to find anybody ready to believe them—when the Quadruple Entente acknowledges its defeat—not until then will a

new dawn of peace rise over bleeding Europe.

When the powers of the Quadruple Entente, each for itself, look out for their own interests, and try to save what is yet to be saved—even the Turks have a severe reckoning to make with England—then, and not before, will the speeches in London and Paris have something solid beneath them. The future of Belgium and Serbia is not to be decided in those cities, but in Berlin and Vienna.

The Splendid Serb

By JAMES BERNARD FAGAN

"By your old men's bones on the mountain,
By the blood of your youth in the plain,
By the tears unshed for your holy dead,
By the children of your slain,
Ye who fought till no fight availeth,
O Serbs! 'tis the hour to shield
All that is left of your people—
The hour to yield!"

Hark! on the hill-winds ringing
O'er the thundrous drone of war,
From the snowy height of Kara Dag
To the valleys of Vardar,
The splendid Serb has answered
From a patriot's soul of flame,
"Better to die in honor
Than live in shame!"

"It is said * * * it is done. Till we perish
We fight and we ask not why,
Back from our blacken'd homes and fields,
Till we've nothing left but the sky,
Till the last last man on the last lone hill
Shall cry as death calls his name:
"Better to die in honor
Than live in shame!"

O world of men and sorrows!
In words of immortal light
The whole of the art of living
The creed of eternal right
Comes down from the Serbian summit,
For each man's soul the same:
"Better to die in honor
Than live in shame!"

"Tell Me the Worst!"

By Sir James Yoxall

The subjoined eloquent and pathetic comment on the British casualty lists reveals the agony of a war-stricken land. Sir James Yoxall's article appeared originally in *The Daily News* of London.

LIST after list is posted; each day unseals new sources of tears, and the woe of the war lengthens into a litany of sorrow, "That it may please Thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows and all that are desolate: we beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord."

We stand in purpose firm, to the end; but many myriads of mothers and fathers are waiting meanwhile—waiting in gray insular weather, for the worst; and those who know the worst already had also to know the long anxiety of dread. Perhaps the dread is almost as bad to bear as the worst when it comes, if come it does; yet the worst also is listened for. "Tell me the worst!" is such a natural cry of the heart; "Lighten our darkness, we beseech Thee!"—even with the terrible truth.

Proverbs, those comforts in ordinary times, are now crutches that break. "No news" is not "good news" now. A crushing certainty has this much of good in it, that it stills the long racking of the dread. When the worst is known there is no longer a faint, fair hope left struggling with fears that assail it each sleepless hour, and doubts that worry it all day. Is "the worst" the worst indeed? It is a sharp and burning blade, on a sudden; but the pain of it blessedly lessens thereafter. It brings with it its own merciful anodyne, too; it stuns, so that the pangs are not entirely conscient—the blow is partly anaesthetic. And tears come to soften the impact; the good tears that relieve. "Men must work and women must weep" is another saying which breaks down now; men, too, should let the war tears come, not strive against their pain dry eyed.

Give sorrow words, also—unpack the loaded heart with speech. Do not only think of him; shut away alone, with the

worst as your relentless, silent companion, you hinder your own healing. Seek rather the presence of friends at your hearth, and talk with them of your loss, and of the lost as he used to be—of what he was, what he nobly did, and what is his exceeding great reward. Listen, as people speak to you of his bravery and devotion in a great Cause; accept and believe that whoso wars against the Mephistopheles that has entered into the German Faust is indeed a Crusader. Remind each other, beside the hearth which he died to defend against evil, of what he was there, at his best—all else that he was can be forgotten; the natural human dress of that has been refined away in the flame of his transfiguration. Think of him as being caught up from the trenches to the heights.

"But it is so sudden!" is the woman's natural cry. "I don't even know where he died!" Yet you know how he lived, and for what. And as to his resting place, it was burial in splendor for him, not in city fashion, borne to some city of tombstones, within the rusty trappings of a hearse. It was somewhere in Flanders or France that he died, or in a Balkan valley, or on a slope in Gallipoli, or upon the sands of Mesopotamia; or in the hale and hearty sea, upon the floor that has been strewn with the bones of the British for ages. No matter where—a grave is only a doorway; and wherever he died, he died well.

"But I can't find out how it happened! The ill news is so brief."

No record of his service comes to hand. Save in a soldier's curt and simple phrase.

"I regret to have to acquaint you that he died in action"—that is all. Yet in everything splendid there is something vague, a mystical halo. And, however or wherever it was, he died manly, on a field of honor which was also a field of

duty. In a great hour he died, and the laurel is everlasting for him, though—yes, I know, I know!—you so long to lay flowers on his mound.

But he lies in state, royal with his duty done to heaven and to humanity; following the great Exemplar he saved others from death, though himself he could not save.

The suddenness and acuteness of the worst will pass, moreover; for time does. The awful moment does not last. Time ticks again slowly at first, I know; faintly and tediously trickles the sand in the hourglass, but grain by grain it slowly carries some of your worst woe away. The touch of time is medicating, too; it is a spiritual and gentle massage; the pain is still there, still at the heart and in the memory, but it burns and throbs a little less intolerably each new day. You even blame yourself presently, because the first poignancy of the worst does not continue with you, but that, too, is natural; not continuous was the first rapture of your bygone joys.

Nothing continues, not even death, perhaps; why should you expect your sorrow to last on unlesened? It is not your heartlessness if after a while the pulse of your life begins to revive. Sorrow is like a tide; it cannot always be flowing up and moaning on the beach; an ebb must come, even for woe. Some one has said that we ought always to be lifting ourselves up and on toward one consummate hour, but there is none, not even in grief; the lines of life and death are curves; time bends over us, gentle and emollient, and kindly it offers us distractions. Bad and sad, then not so sad and bad, and then beginning to be almost a little glad, the hours keep coming up to us; some

pouncing, with the worst, others approaching with the material consequences of the worst, and then some bringing the healing dullness that gives sorrow sleep.

And the hours bring up to us so many matters to deal with—small things, perhaps, toys or tools with which we might divert our thoughts from what might else become a cankering sorrow. There is dignity in a deep grief; but small things can well assuage great sorrows. Life has to go on with us, even in our bereavement; apparently life lives on by recommending and repeating, and it must repeat other things as well as death and sorrow. So that death itself can be no end to life, and life for the loved and the still loving, together again—somewhere and somehow, there is no need to theologize—may be hoped for. It is noble to hope for that, at any rate, and wise to believe it, and dutiful to become resigned to separation for a while. Then, it is healing to take up one's work again; the talismans which best conjure sorrow away are Hope, Resignation, and Work.

One tries to say words of comfort, but the heart knows its own bitterness, and the words of another can console but weakly, if at all. How silent we have to stand in the presence of a mother's grief! "Flesh of my flesh, little son that nestled so closely, were you born for this young death?" She weeps for her baby, for she sees him small and helpless again. Yet he needs help no longer:

All that life contains of torture, toil, or treason,

Shame, dishonor, death, to him are but a name;

Here, a boy, he dwelt through all the singing season,

And, ere the day of sorrow, departed as he came.



Life After the Great War

By Twells Brex

This article appeared originally in the Continental Edition of The London Daily Mail.

THE great war has altered the social face of Europe just as much as the glacial epoch once altered its physical surface.

The Hohenzollern glacial period has set back the growth of civilization by a hundred years; it has crumbled Europe's social structure, stunted its arts and sciences, and withered away its web of travel and intercourse. A hundred years hence the people of every warring nation will still be taxed by the debts of the great war; dreadful memories will still keep a spiritual and social gulf between civilized Europe and the Teuton.

Twenty-five million men have taken up arms. It is estimated that nine millions already have been slain or disabled, and that the total destruction of life in Europe in two years of war will be twenty millions.

This is the combatant waste alone. Civilian populations everywhere in Europe, even of neutral nations, are affected by the physical and nerve stress of Armageddon. Nearly everywhere the birth rate is falling, the death rate rising. British births are already 40,000 a year less and deaths 50,000 more than in 1913, a net deficit of 90,000 lives a year—the total population of whole towns like Coventry or Northampton. Paris is losing similarly, and Berlin and Vienna much more heavily.

When the great war is over a shrunken Europe will realize that no plague of the Middle Ages ever ravaged it like the black death that came from Potsdam.

The direct monetary cost of the war to the belligerents can be put at nearly ten thousand million pounds a year, figures that, like the astronomers' distances, out-pass the human conception. Titanic as they are, the figures of the indirect cost of the war exceed them; lost trade, lost production, and creations of science, art, humanitarianism, and discovery that have perished in embryo.

Europe after the war will be a little Europe, with a population not much greater than the population of Europe before the Napoleonic wars, a Europe with these stupendous social problems:

Two women to every man.

More old men than young men.

More boys than workers in their prime.

More physically unfit than physically fit.

Millions of men to be fitted again into civil employment, millions of women who have learned men's work and earned men's wages.

Millions of manual workers who will have become accustomed to wages twice or three times as high as they earned in pre-war days, and who will still expect those wages.

Greatly diminished food supplies for many years owing to ravage of cultivated lands, diminished breeding stock, and shortage of production.

High commercial freights, dear imports, and handicapped exports, owing to shortage of ships.

These are only a few of the major problems that will confront Europe after the war. There are pessimists who prophesy industrial revolution. There are other prophets who mutter of a war of that sex rivalry and antagonism whose grim beginnings we British saw in days when the "surplus" woman was only one to every seventeen men.

There are other pessimists who prophesy that the century after the great war will have to be spent in sheer material rebuilding, and that all the sciences will stand still, all the arts languish, all the humanities rust, while a shattered Europe lies in a spiritual and intellectual stupor like that strange stupor of the Dark Ages.

Safe prophets are ordinary citizens

who say to each other so often, "Our old life has gone; nothing will ever be the same again." The social face of Europe is changed. Old classes and castes have been leveled; new and assertive classes have risen. Many men have been broken, many men have been lifted. There were democrats when the war broke out who cried in despair, "This is the end of democracy." There are other voices which whisper now, "Democracy alone will emerge stronger from the war—and what will its demands be?"

As in the great things, so in the smaller things, it will be a new world. Look at the map of Europe and remember how the tourist agencies had made it a holiday ground for us. For a generation to come the centre of that map is blotted out. What Briton will take samples or patterns to Berlin? What tourist will talk in our time of the Rhine or of the Black Forest? The great war has set back European travel and comity to the days of the stage coaches.

Turn from the Continent to home, and think of the new world. Already all its chronicles of 1914 are musty and unreal. Where are its "celebrities" and its "notorieties," its puppet passions, its "isms" and "antis"? Where are its parties and politics, when the party politician has become an effigy to smile at in a museum? Was it not in the late Summer of 1914 that the "tango" was the newest relaxation, golf the serious preoccupation of multitudes, and the coming league football season the sole preoccupation of greater multitudes?

In July, 1914, the "daring" actress, the "realistic" novelist, the man who had broken a record on a billiard table commanded our homage. The Summer of 1914 was the last performance of a stale comedy. The book of words is torn up, the theatre is in the hands of the house-breakers, its license is revoked, its players have forgotten their parts and have crept away.

Nothing will be the same again. We must make our best of a harder world and a narrower world. Europe can rebuild herself only by that stern efficiency of Rome when she first rose by Tiber. The curfew hour of all who survive these days will be late, the play hours short, the pleasure money scanty. But, despite all the prophets of woe, the changed world is going to be a better world. These days of our test and agony have hacked out new touchstones of values and worth. Hundreds of thousands of the new men will come home from the battlefields to claim voice and power among the masons; hundreds of thousands of the women who have done the home work of the absent and kept their hearths shining will demand trowels and cement in our work of rebuilding. Neither marionettes who would dance us back to the old fancy fair, nor revolutionaries who would dance us to worse than Armageddon, will prevail. It will be a new world, and nothing will be the same again; but, for all its burdens and sorrows, it will not be a worse world—unless the Allies are tricked into "peace" before the war militarism of Prussia is utterly broken.

Hope

By CONSTANCE MORGAN

(From The Westminster Gazette)

I think the windows of my soul are overgrown
 With briar stems, and creeping thorny sprays
 Of withered rose; one little flower alone
 Blooms softly through the chilly Winter days
 And lifts her brave, bright head above the wail
 Of misadventure, and when she turns her face
 To the dark stretch of the road, the stormy gale
 Seems like a Summer breeze about the place,
 For then I see the bright stars looking through
 The soft, sweet radiance of the after-blue.

War Finance in Germany

By Dr. Karl Helfferich

Imperial Secretary of the Treasury

In asking for the passage of the supplementary War Credit bill, which called for \$2,500,000,000, Dr. Helfferich made the following address before the Reichstag on Dec. 15:

THE security for our existence as a nation and an empire has still to be wrested from our enemies, who, after sixteen months of military failures and defeats, still indulge in fancies of crushing and crippling Germany. The war must and shall be prosecuted at all risks, and at all danger, until that security has been gained. [Loud cheers.] Your voting this credit will prove that all calculation on Germany's weakness, disunion, weariness, and famine are, and remain, wrong.

The great success of the September loan enables us to wait until March, and to manage till then with the issue of Treasury bonds. We had to convince the enemy of our strength on the field of financing the war; you will agree that nowhere has that been demonstrated in such a way as in Germany. On the first installment day 70 per cent. of the subscribed loan was paid, against the 30 per cent. asked for. Today the payments of 10,600,000,000 marks are in advance of those due by 4,500,000,000. This proves how easily German political economy manages to bring up such a capital. Only 580,000,000 marks of the third war loan came from loan societies. The savings banks afford a highly satisfying picture; after paying out for the first and second war loans the deposits are still 1,250,000,000 marks more than at the beginning of 1914. Among the 4,000,000 subscribers to the third war loan there were 3,000,000 of less than 3,000 marks income. This was, in fact, a national loan, such as England tried to raise but failed to do.

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer had to admit that the public subscriptions to the second British war loan,

which was kept open for many months, only yielded a few hundred millions. With regard to our banks, the deposits reached, in August and September, 1915, figures which they have never shown in peace times. The Reichsbank, with gold security for its obligations which daily become due, stands more favorably than the central banking institutions of other belligerent countries at war.

In spite of that, the enemy press condemns us to bankruptcy, just as it announces our final defeat from our war successes. The press repeats stories that our war loans are financed by loan societies, while the fact is that the total amount subscribed by loan societies for war loans and other purposes amounts to only 1,600,000,000 marks, and the loans granted for war loans are not even 5 per cent. of the total subscriptions. I repeat these statements to show the state of mind of the enemy people, created by an artful, unscrupulous system of deception by the enemy Governments' press. The German is too objective and too scrupulous to make the same mistake, but he sees his own difficulties more clearly than those of the enemies.

The war costs of all the belligerents are now daily from 320,000,000 to 330,000,000 marks, of which two-thirds is the enemies' share. With a hundred millions daily of war costs, England has beaten us, and in the total amount of accumulated war costs England also stands foremost. Germany and Austria are covering the greater part of the war costs by long running loans. Among our enemies England alone succeeds also with such a procedure, but, with her 18,500,000,000 marks, not in the same degree as we with our 25,500,000,000. France, so far, has raised only a nominal amount of war costs by ten-year obligations, and the remainder by short-term credits from the public and the Bank of France. Only now is France making desperate

efforts with a 5 per cent. loan, issued at too low a rate.

We allies are covering our money supply from the inexhaustible wells of internal strength. Our enemies have had to take refuge in money sources abroad; we have carried through our money raising by a uniform plan chosen from the beginning—a type of 5 per cent. loan—and have increased the rate of issue from 97½ at the first to 98½ at the second, and to 99 per cent. at the third loan. The result is that the subscriptions rose from 4,500,000,000 to 9,000,000,000 and to 12,200,000,000 marks.

In the French 5 per cent. loan, the rate of issue, after the deduction of small profits and interest, comes out at 86.60 per cent. In England the raising of any notable amount of the war costs by taxes failed. The English 3½ per cent. loan was a failure, which rendered the market unfit for similar loans. England helped herself with Treasury bonds until the market was glutted with them. In July England chose a 4½ per cent. loan, which in reality was a 5 per cent. one, and again a failure as regards the result and its influence on the condition of the money market. The difficult condition of the English money market was accompanied by the deterioration of the English rate of exchange. England was faced with a convulsion of her prestige on the international money market, and the endangering of her supply of war material and provisions from America. Under the pressure of this situation, England and France sought credit in America. The result did not correspond with expectations, so that both soon tried to obtain further credit. The lack of success was greatly due to the resistance of American citizens of German origin.

Dr. Helfferich then proceeded to draw a comparison between the course of gilt securities in France and England and Germany before the war and now.

We are almost exclusively paying to ourselves, while the enemy pays abroad. Therein lies a guarantee that in the future, too, we shall maintain the advan-

tage. It must be added that money is a different thing with regard to England than with us. The British Empire is to a great extent built up on and maintained by British money power. England has founded her alliances and waged her wars mostly with money. In the present war, also, England hoped to work by this method, but our brave troops forced England to stake not only English money but English blood. The raising of strong armies increased the English war costs incalculably, and brought English finances to a state continually described by British statesmen as extremely serious. With the shaking of British financial powers the foundation of the British Empire is tottering. Germany's relation to money is different. She can bear to become poorer, but still remains what she is.

We overcame the Thirty Years' War and the Napoleonic wars; we were sucked dry, plundered, beaten, and cut up; but we always worked our way up and grew together again. But when the British Empire has gone to pieces it will never rise in a millennium; and this England pronounces the outrageous word of "a war of exhaustion." We know how to possess what we want, to live and to fight. Bread, potatoes, and other necessities are cheaper than in England and France. The enemy shall know that we had rather forego all abundance and bear all hardships than suffer an enemy's command. The enemy shall know that, besides that, our sharp sword, unbroken fighting spirit, and confidence in victory are at our disposal. The German iron fist, which has now blown up the Iron Gate and opened the broad road to the East, is ready, if her enemies wish, to strike anew. The responsibility falls on those who cannot make up their minds to draw conclusion from our war successes, and who, in criminal delusion, still talk of our destruction.

We stand firmly as a rock in its native ground, but on the golden pillars of the British Empire gleams, in flaming characters, "Mene, tekel, upharsin."

Britain's Secretary of the Treasury Answers Germany's

E. S. Montague, M. P., Financial Secretary to the Treasury of Great Britain, answers the statement recently made to the Reichstag by Dr. Helfferich, the German Imperial Secretary of the Treasury:

WHAT is Germany's position in regard to foreign exchange? Dr. Helfferich will hardly be able to remember the day when the German exchange was within measurable distance of being as good as our worst, and the recovery on sterling since August has been in an inverse proportion to the now rapid and steady collapse in the value of reichsmark. On Oct. 1 depreciation of the mark in the terms of dollars was about 12 per cent.; now the mark is 19 to 20 per cent. below par, while Germany's exchange in Amsterdam is more than 26 per cent. below par.

We keep a chart in the Treasury showing the statistical position of the various exchanges since the war began, and we have continually to extend the chart in order to prevent the descending line which represents reichsmark from disappearing below the bottom edge of the chart. This depreciation of the mark is occurring in spite of the fact that Germany is cut off by the British fleet from the outside world and is unable to spend money in America and elsewhere on purchasing supplies which she would give so much to secure.

Germany, with hardly any payments to make outside Europe, has, nevertheless, to see her exchange falling away to vanishing point. She has realized all her available assets in the shape of negotiable foreign securities, and ever since the outbreak of the war she has suspended specie payments. What is the explanation of this fall in the value of the mark? One only is possible—the manufacture and abuse of paper credit. The mark has lost all relation to the gold standard. If this has happened in the present con-

ditions, what will be the value of the mark when peace comes and the German importer wants to restock his empty larder and his empty storehouses, and tries to exchange his depreciated paper for goods from overseas? Will the mark then be worth 10 cents?

The criterion of exchanges is not one which Dr. Helfferich should have invoked so lightly. He pretends to believe that it is a sign of weakness on the part of France and England to have sought credit in America. Does any one believe that Dr. Helfferich would not have borrowed there if he could—that is, if the British fleet would have allowed Germany to make any effective use of such credits as she might have obtained in America, and if American lenders would have risked their money? I wonder, by the way, how he regards Canada's internal loan of \$100,000,000, of which the Canadian Government has offered to put one-half at our disposal for meeting the purchase of munitions. Is this another sign of the collapse of the tottering British Empire?

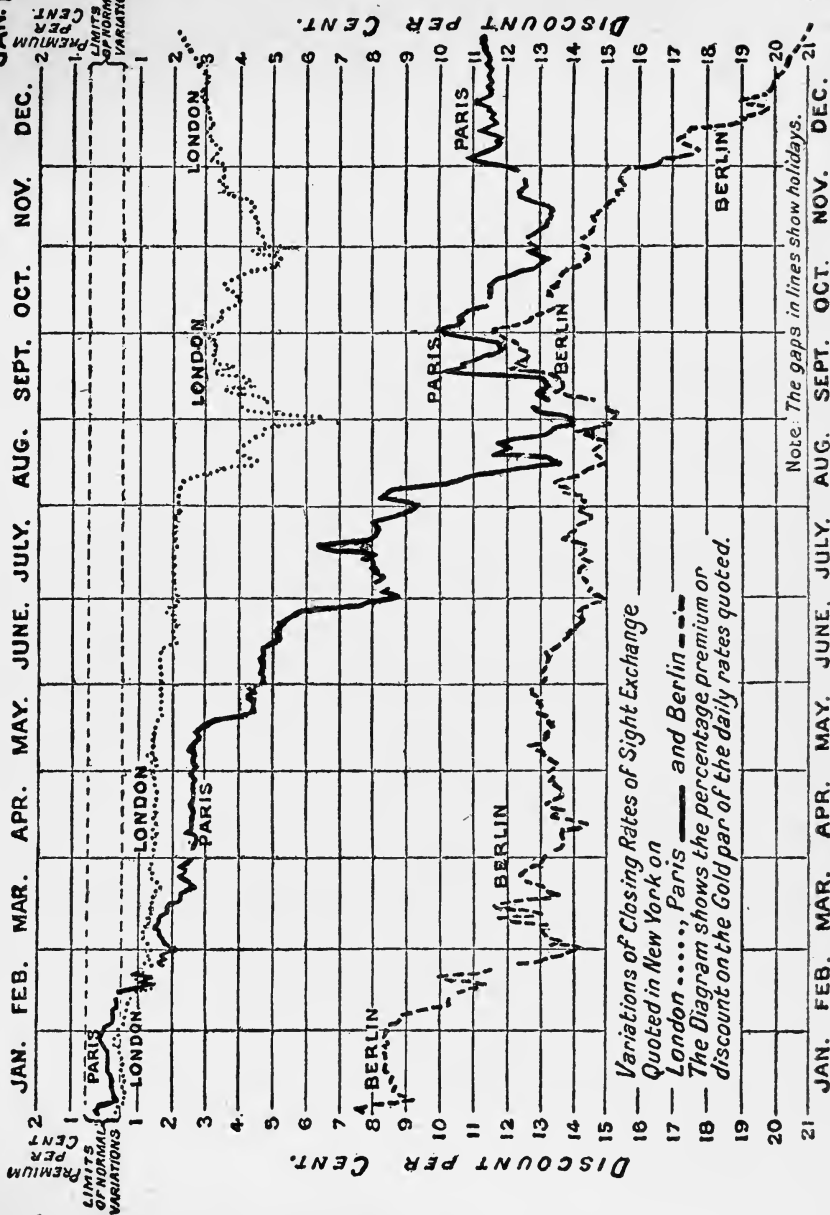
Germany's one public attempt to borrow abroad (a \$10,000,000 loan in the United States in April last) was not a very encouraging performance. But if Dr. Helfferich really objects to borrowing in America, how comes it that all sorts of advertisements have appeared prominently in the American newspapers offering Germany's internal loans for subscription in the United States of America at yields which become more and more superficially attractive as the mark exchange goes down, yet fail to attract because of the risk that the exchange may never rise again, and of the intelligent doubt of Americans as to where Germany is to find the cash to pay the interest?

Dr. Helfferich told how the first German war loan was placed at 97½, the second at 98½, and the third at 99. The stage manager was naturally proud of

Fluctuations in British, French, and German Money

Rates of Exchange on

JAN. London, Paris, Berlin
Dollars Cents per
per Cent Dollar
4-95 510 97.



A graphic exhibit of the effects of the war on exchange in the chief belligerent countries.

his stage management. I dare say Dr. Helfferich can arrange if he likes that the next German war loan shall be brought out at 99½, leaving room for the fifth at par. But it is clearly a little too good to be true. We are asked to believe miracles. Not even in Germany can the raising of ten thousand million dollars in war loans positively improve public credit, even if you forget conveniently the remarkable fact that not a ghost of provision has been made for meeting future interest charges. How can finance be sound or lead to good results if no taxations are imposed when large loans are being raised?

The explanation of these loans is partly, of course, that there is no sort of freedom about the market for war loans in Germany. The Bourses are entirely under Government control, and, in fact, if not in form, there are minimum prices fixed below which no one is allowed (or, indeed, dare attempt) to sell the war loan, however much he may want to. The quotations are nominal and exist for rhetorical purposes only. Besides, if

you flood the country with manufactured paper credit it is easy to create a surplus of depreciated marks nominally available for investment. The operation of this latter factor is well illustrated in the quotations of Germany's pre-war debt. Dr. Helfferich boasts that this has fallen only 7 points since the war. This may be true in Berlin, but it is a sufficient commentary that in New York the price of this German loan has fallen 28 points—a fact which Dr. Helfferich naturally ignored in his eagerness to make debating points and to avoid discussing realities.

Mr. Montague discussed at length the raising of funds from small investors. He said England had taxed its public very heavily, and the taxes had been paid cheerfully, but asserted that Germany had not dared to do the same. He said that Austria's financial ruin was complete, and that Germany was "nearly sucked dry," but that there remained "great sources of private wealth within the British Empire still untapped for public purposes."

Ballad of French Rivers

By CHRISTOPHER MORLEY.

Of streams that men take honor in
The Frenchman looks to three,
And each one has for origin
The hills of Burgundy;
And each has known the quivers
Of blood and tears and pain—
O gallant bleeding rivers,
The Marne, the Meuse, the Aisne.

Says Marne: "My poplar fringes
Have felt the Prussian tread.
The blood of brave men tinges
My banks with lasting red;
Let others ask due credit,
But France has me to thank;
Von Kluck himself has said it:
I turned the Boches' flank!"

Says Meuse: "I claim no winning,
No glory on the stage,
Save that, in the beginning,
I strove to save Liège.
Alas that Frankish rivers
Should share such shame as mine—
In spite of all endeavors
I flow to join the Rhine!"

Says Aisne: "My silver shallows
Are saltier than the sea,
The woe of Rheims still hallows
My endless tragedy.
Of rivers rich in story
That run through green Champagne,
In agony and glory,
The chief am I, the Aisne!"

Now there are other waters
That Frenchmen all hold dear—
The Rhone, with many daughters,
That runs so icy clear;
There's Moselle, deep and winy,
There's Loire, Garonne, and Seine,
But, Oh, the valiant, tiny
Marne and Meuse and Aisne!

What Living in Brussels Is Like

This lively British view of life in Belgium under German rule is from The London Daily Mail.

RESIDENTS in Brussels, too ill to be fit for any sort of war service, have been released in exchange for German prisoners in England, and have just arrived in London. They speak of sixteen months of German rule which has only served to intensify a hatred and loathing for the invaders which is felt by the Belgian population. They have become so inured to the reign of tyranny and petty despotism that the freedom of England amazes and stupefies them. They still unconsciously speak in hushed accents, unable to realize that spies are no longer at their sides. One man pointed out, however, that there were three burdens in London life which have not to be borne in Brussels—the impenetrable darkness, the restricted hours for the sale of liquor, and the no-treating order.

“You Londoners think it all very terrible,” he said. “But you ought to have a taste of German rule to realize what war really means. There is no business in Brussels.

“It is true that the same milkman brings the milk to your door in the morning—that is to say, if you are a man of some means and can afford to pay the price. You still get your newspaper—such as it is, printed and published according to German orders. You can still buy good meat and bread and vegetables, and you can still have repairs done to your house.

“But you would find things intolerable directly you got into the street.

“Supposing your wife got into a tramway car, as one married woman did a little while ago, and a German officer came and sat opposite her and began to ogle her. She turned her face away to avoid his offensive glances, and the officer immediately ordered the conductor to stop the car, beckoned to some German soldiers and had her arrested for insulting a German officer! She was marched to the jail and sentenced to several

weeks' imprisonment. What would you think of it? What would you do? That woman's husband knew nothing about it, but knew that some harm had befallen her because she did not come home.

“You see scarcely any motor cars in Brussels now. In the early days of the war the city swarmed with them. But now there is a great scarcity, and even the wounded Germans are moved in tramway cars.

“We depend for our news on what the Germans give us, but there is the amazing little sheet, *La Libre Belgique*, surely the most wonderful little newspaper that was ever published. It was still coming out when I left. Who publishes it, who distributes it, and, in particular, who delivers one copy of it at the residence of the Governor, Baron von Bissing himself, the Germans simply cannot discover. For months their spies have descended like clouds of locusts upon every place where a printing plant or a typewriter could possibly be hidden. They laid all sorts of ingenious snares, all to no purpose—the two sheets printed on both sides periodically drop into the letter boxes of friend and foe alike. Its columns are full of the most delightful satire at the expense of the Germans, and there is always the official news of the Allies' armies.

“One day a Belgian called at my door and asked me in a whisper if I had a copy of *The London Times*. One copy of that newspaper, which was smuggled into Brussels, was sold for over £12, and it was let out at £1 for a twenty minutes' reading, so you can imagine how precious it was. English newspapers have not been seen in Brussels for a long time now, so vigilant are the Germans. But this Belgian was anxious to know if I had got one. I hadn't, and, what was more, I had grave suspicions of the accent of that Belgian. He was no Belgian—he was simply a contemptible spy sent to try and trick me, so that I might be ar-

rested and imprisoned for a long time and possibly sent to Germany.

"These spies, men as well as women, are in every restaurant, every tramway car, every public place, in fact. One indiscreet word and in a few minutes up comes an automobile with an officer, and you are whisked away by soldiers and your friends may never see you again. I shall not forget an incident in a tramway car one day.

"A cart laden with pigs was going by, and a man said jokingly and unthinkingly, 'Why haven't they all got helmets?'

"The tramway car stopped at once, there was an awed silence—a man in plain clothes put his hand roughly on the man's shoulder and made him alight. They walked away together, and when they had gone some distance and were well out of earshot the man who had stopped the car turned to the other and said:

"'You awful fool! Don't you know you might have been overheard and got a very heavy sentence? I'm not a spy, but I pretended to be one in order to get you out of it. What on earth made you say such a mad thing? Now, you come and buy me a drink and thank your lucky stars you are well out of it!'

"One day some mounted soldiers were going by a house. Looking out of a window above was a woman who was amused by something she saw and laughed slightly.

"She may not have been laughing at the soldiers at all for all I now, but she did not remain many minutes in that house. She was arrested for insulting the German Army and spent some months in prison. Almost every week you would see posted up near the German war bulletins a list of persons who had been condemned and sentenced—some of them to death. You would recognize names of people whom you knew well as unoffending people who in past years you had done business with, and you wondered what crimes they

had committed that they should be shot or imprisoned for years.

"In their desperation the Germans have raided the monasteries, and the long-suffering Jesuits, a large number of whom have already been shot, are subjected to a rough handling, but I can scarcely imagine that they would dare to print the paper. When the history of the German occupation of Brussels is written one of the greatest stories will be the story of the enigmatical, irresistible, Hun-defying *La Libre Belgique*. The Germans have offered a reward of 75,000 francs for the discovery of the publishers.

"One day I wandered unmolested out of the town into the country and passed through villages, some of which had been ruthlessly destroyed and others scarcely touched at all. They were remarkable contrasts. You wondered how it came about that any had been spared. Rich and poor alike were being fed with the flour supplied by the American Commission, whose organization is so admirable. In Brussels a charming way of expressing the people's gratitude has become very popular. On the empty flour bags the women beautifully embroider pictures of the country, and also inscriptions like 'Vive l'Amerique,' and send the bags back to America.

"Coming over to England, I was struck by the callous way in which the Germans had selected the prisoners who were to be exchanged. Many of ours were hopeless, paralyzed cripples who could have no object in going to England, but had been taken away from their friends and relatives. There was a paralyzed boy whose father, who was English, died when he was a baby. His mother was a Belgian, and the boy had never been to England and had no friends or relatives there, but yet they took him away from his grief-stricken mother in order to exchange him for a German. Certainly the German prisoners were physically much better."





ARTHUR HENDERSON

English Labor Leader, Whose Decision to Remain in the Asquith
Cabinet Helped to Settle the Conscription Crisis

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



GENERAL NEIDENOFF
Bulgarian Minister of War

Human Documents of the War Fronts

Some of the most interesting matter from the war fronts comes in the form of personal letters, tragic or humorous episodes, sketches of leaders, and pen pictures of trench life, deeply colored with the writer's private views and personality. A group of such "human documents," irrespective of nationality, is presented herewith.

Letters From the Wife of a Russian General

CURRENT HISTORY is so fortunate as to have received, with permission to translate and publish them, a group of letters from the wife of a Russian General ("Alexei") who has been in command of one of the Czar's armies since the outbreak of the war. The writer's brother, "Rostia," holds the rank of General Adjutant.

I.

I WRITE again to give you tidings of us. Lena and I work here, Alexei and Rostia on the battlefield.

May God protect us and defend the right! The moral awakening here is marvelous. All parties and nationalities in Russia have been blended in one great soul. What a marvelous epoch we are living through. I thank God that I have learned what the real Russia is. Pray for us, pray for us who are fighting here for the highest ideal. What happiness that England, France, and Belgium are with us! God guard you! * * *

II.

Everything has come at once like a deluge. We can only hope that we shall live to see final victory before our hearts burst to pieces. Alexei, Rostia, Alexei junior, and hundreds of our friends are under fire in dauntless conflict with savages. Every day we weep for the loss of some one, every hour we are under the sword. Can the Germans hope to escape punishment? Their way leads to hell. Our slain deserve the kingdom, close to God. His will be done. Lena and I are up to our eyes in work. The wounded come in crowds. * * *

III.

* * * What a blessing that, thanks to Alexei's foresight and caution, we were not caught abroad! If we live,

what happiness awaits us, to free the Slavs and Galicia. Alexei says this is worth dying for. I pray God that we may conquer and live to see the fruits of our grand Russian sacrifice! How this sacrifice purifies the soul! All the alien tribes of the Caucasus, the Poles, and even the Baltic Germans, support our just and honorable cause. * * *

IV.

* * * From morning to night in our hospitals! Thousands and thousands of martyrs, and whatever we do we cannot help them all. But what is the use of writing? You must see it all close at hand to understand how difficult it is. And in addition to all our difficulties the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich has been here with his Caucasian division. With him came swarms of Alexei's and Rostia's old comrades from the Daghestan regiment and the Guards. It was my duty to receive them all, to give dinners for them. The Grand Duke is wonderfully good. He made friends with all our dogs and played with them like Alexei and Alexei junior. Now they are all gone to the front. * * * So many of these youngsters will never come back. I was very depressed when seeing them off; but they are all full of enthusiasm.

At long intervals we get letters from our own dear warriors. Pray for them, our one hope is in prayer. Our Erivan and other Caucasian regiments have so far succeeded in keeping the Germans back from Warsaw. O merciful God, how soon will final victory come?

V.

* * * All the dogs are here with us. The apartment is lovely. The view is a delight—the cottages and garden, and across the river the cupolas of a church. It is all white with snow now;

in Summer and Autumn it was still lovelier. But I see it all through a mist. My thoughts and my heart are not here. This house belonged to a young matron whose husband, an artillery officer, is also at the front. We grew very intimate, and throughout the Autumn and Winter we made up packages to send to soldiers and officers at the front. On Christmas she and her little son set out for the frontier to try to get a glimpse of her husband. She caught cold and died from inflammation of the lungs. * * * Her coffin is on its way back from Galicia. Her husband and the little boy are here. He got leave of absence to bury his wife. For six months he was exposed daily to bombs and bullets, and then—he is perfectly well. And she, on her way to pay him a visit, full of joy and animation, is dead.

As to the Germans, I could never have admitted, even in my imagination, that Europe today contained such monsters and savages. You in your America do not know the tenth part of what we know—not by hearsay, but through our own eyes. I have photographs—I have living men here whose noses and ears were cut off, whose tongues were torn out. You would never believe how many wretches were hanged or tortured to death in Galicia during the Austrian retreat. The populations of entire villages were shot and hanged wholesale on the mere suspicion of being in sympathy with Russia.

Our soldiers are fighting for the right. I know not whether God will grant to such insignificant people as you and me life to see their ultimate triumph. The deeds of Germany and Austria remind me of some tale of witchcraft in which monsters, slain and cut to pieces, grow together and come back to life, but this power is of Satan, and only the cross and prayer can prevail against it.

Alexei is just now the national hero. His portraits are everywhere on postals and calendars. Besides the two degrees of St. George, our monarch has conferred on him the Order of the White Eagle, but I feel altogether indifferent to this. His health and final victory—I

can think of nothing else. Rostia has also been decorated with a high degree of St. Vladimir, with the Emperor's personal regards. Even Alexei junior has been decorated—I implore our Lord that the boy's young life may not be maimed.

If you only knew what we see in the hospitals. At present in my infirmary there are 75 wounded, and in the hospital about 700; in the Zemstvo hospital there are nearly a thousand; two private hospitals have 150 each.

During the Christmas holidays I organized amusements and presents for them all. We gathered the ladies into groups, each having its own infirmary and barrack. In this way no one was forgotten. Artists sang, recited, and danced. One dying soldier sat propped up by his pillows, and laughed heartily, for the last time on earth, at a comic song. In my own infirmary I had a Christmas tree, with presents for the soldiers and for two orphanages—eighty children in all.

We care for the maimed, feed them, clothe them, heal them, or—bury them; then da capo; this is our life.

Alexei does not exist for us. His whole being is in his great achievement. He no longer belongs to us. Rostia the same; but Rostia, having a less tremendous responsibility, is not so highly strung as Alexei.

Alexei's energy and moral strength are like the strings of a musical instrument drawn tight. His letters are no comfort to us: "Pray not for me, but for Russia. * * * Rest in the thought that we have given our lives to our country." * * *

Words and acts like these do not bring—comfort: I cannot "rest" in anything. I am tortured and suffer in the suffering and sorrow of others. I live between the upper and the nether millstone—between the terrible sufferings of our soldiers in hospital and the high tension of our Christian warrior, Alexei. * * * Lena is a great help to me in everything. But I do not know how much longer I shall be able to stand it. If we live we shall see. * * * Pray for us and for our warriors.

(To be continued.)

Four German Letters

By David Starr Jordan

THE great war is in no sense a people's war. In its initial impulse it is not a war between nations. Its fundamental impulses were two: the desire of privileged classes to restrain the rising tide of democracy, and the desire of the gray old strategists to try out their wonderful instruments of destruction before the day of international war should be past. We may remember the dictum of Professor Treitschke, that foreign war is the swift remedy for disunion and for waning patriotism. A foreign war frustrates all attempts at social or political reform, uniting a nation on the lowest motive, that of self-preservation; and under martial law, the law of war—which is no law at all—at the best merely co-ordinated anarchy. As bearing on these questions, I give extracts from four German letters, the first from a junker officer, the second and third from "Friedensfreunde," the fourth from an officer in active service.

I.

In the *Adverul* of Bucharest for Aug. 21 appears a letter addressed by a German officer to his friend in Rumania. This letter is accompanied by a facsimile reproduction of passages in the letter. This letter translated into French, and again into English, reads as follows:

Nauen, July 28, 1915.

Very dear Wilhelm:

Always in good health. Everything goes as we would wish and we have the best hopes. * * * When one thinks how difficult it was for H. to convince our Emperor that the last moment had arrived for letting loose the course of war; otherwise, pacifism, internationalism, anti-militarism, and so many other noxious weeds of our country would have been propagated to such a point that even our stupid people ("der dumme Michel") would have come to be infected by these maladies. That would have been the finish, the twilight of our dazzling nobility. We can lose nothing by the war—on the contrary, we have everything to gain.

We can never sufficiently thank our Emperor for having saved the German nobility from certain ruin. Even in case the fate of the war were doubtful, we

should have nothing to lose, because the people would never rise against us. We are going to be the absolute masters of the world. All the chimeras and stupidities like democracy will be chased from the universe for an infinite time. We already have got rid of Bebel. We shall soon be rid of that bull-head who calls himself Harden, and of all the fools who have the boldness to impose their theories upon us. That we may at last finish with all these charlatans, we must first become the all-powerful dictators of the world. * * * I rejoice already that I am going to travel through the vassal countries of Germany in the suite of our Emperor. What glory and what pride for us as Germans! At the end of the count we have to purge our own country of all its revolutionary ideas in order that our nobility will recover its ancient splendor, its power and its authority.

KARL VON H.

This, of course, is not characteristically German by any means, any more than similar utterances which one can find in England are characteristic of Great Britain. It is, however, typical of the attitude of a certain class represented in all nations, more or less, but potent in matters of military activity.

II.

A German writes (in German) to another friend in America:

B. writes from New York that there will be no more attempt at mediation. The battle must be fought out to the complete extinction of militarism. That is inconceivable. For militarism is in war time bound up in the closest manner with the people. It is extinct only with the extinction of the people. Militarism cannot be suppressed from the outside. On the contrary, every attack from the outside awakens and strengthens it, for it makes it appear necessary. The struggle against militarism is possible only from the inside. It is possible that after the war this struggle will be less difficult.

The greatest probability is that the war—according to our prophecy—will remain without result. Then may militarism be killed forever. * * *

One must realize that Germany, before she declares herself exhausted, can fight a very long time; and then when Germany is perhaps suppressed, Europe, too, can not maintain herself. The fighting of this war to the last end is a most ghastly conception.

III.

Another German friend of peace writes:

I hope that you will mention the fact that Germany has suffered more than Belgium. This is important for our peace propaganda, for it shows better than anything else could how futile in modern times it is to be victorious in the military sense.

IV.

A German officer, wounded, in a hospital writes this in English:

You will easily know my view now when I tell you that you were wholly right in what you say in "What Shall We Say?" of 19th January, 1915 * * * ; especially the last two paragraphs contain all that I would say and prove by many details.

The paragraphs referred to read as follows:

"If we want peace we must prepare for it, guarding it at every angle, and reducing, so far as we can, all war's in-

centives. When nations are armed a very few men, a very small accident, may turn the scale. To lose at one point is to lose at all. It is the armament itself which is the true cause of war. Trade jealousies, race antipathies, land hungers—all these are mere excuses, which would not of themselves lead any nation to fight. It takes a vigorous agitation, war scares and war appeals, and unlimited lying to get these taken at all seriously.

"The safeguard for peace is the minimum, not the maximum, of armament. As to this, Washington—who warned us so sagaciously against entangling alliances—had also this word of caution: 'Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as peculiarly hostile to republican liberty.'"

The Bewitched Tower of Ypres

By Robert Blatchford

This anecdote appeared originally in the Continental Edition of The Daily Mail.

I HAD been reading the suggestive chapter on "Silent Ypres," in Valentine William's book, "With Our Armies in Flanders," and I asked some of our wounded soldiers what was the state of the town.

One of them told me that Ypres was a battered wreck. "It's really a pity to see it," he said. "The Germans have been shelling it for months. When I was there the only building that seemed to have escaped was the lucky tower, and I hear that's gone now."

"It's a queer thing," said the man of the R. G. A., "that sometimes a particular building, a church spire, or a mill, or a clock tower, will seem to be charmed, so that the best gunners simply cannot hit it." He looked around with his sparkling black eyes, and his humorous face became very serious. We all sat and waited for his next words. There was obviously a story to be told.

"There was," he went on, "a little

busy old town in Flanders, standing well back behind the Boches' lines, and in it was a slim gray tower. It wasn't a handsome, swagger tower, but just an ordinary old square thing. Well, somehow that tower got on our nerves. We got fed up with it. Every day we stared at it, and it was the only tall thing to be seen, and, though the Germans hadn't put it there, we felt they were goose-stepping about in their pride because they had kept it there and we used to get ratty and want to bash that tower about.

"And at last our Lieutenant caught the feeling and began to stare at the tower through his glasses and to seem to be thinking a lot. And after a day or two he says to the Sergeant, 'Do you think, Sergeant, that tower is an observation post?' and the sergeant said emphatically there was not a doubt about it. 'Well,' says the officer, 'we'll get a couple o' guns laid on it, and we'll knock it end-ways.' So the next day we laid a pair o'

guns and we raked up two crack gunners and we opened fire on the little old tower. It was a great bombardment. We stared out through the smoke, and the gunners blazed away, and, well—at the end of two hours the tower stood as solid as if we had been throwing snowballs. So we knocked off for the day.

“And the following afternoon we tried two more crack gun-layers, and we bombarded that blooming old tower till the light failed and never touched it once. It is like that sometimes. It was so with the tower at Ypres. Seems as if the bally thing's bewitched. Well, the Lieutenant was disgusted, and the champion gun-layers were jumping wild, and chaps began to bet money on it, and one of our bombardiers began to make a book. He said he should offer six to four on the tower. And there was a good deal of loose silver likely to change hands. But the book was never opened. No. When we woke up the next morning the blooming tower was gone.

“It was gone clean off the map. The officer stared, and wiped his lenses and stared again, and the Sergeant said he hoped he'd be an angel and with angels stand if he could guess what had become of the little old tower that had stood up against shell fire without a scratch and then had fallen without being hit. It was a mystery, and a mystery it remained till Sunday, which was three days after the little old tower had disappeared.

“And on Sunday there was a clatter of pom-pom fire, and a Taube flew over our position very high up, and down fell a long stick from the aeroplane, and tied to the stick was a letter. The Sergeant picked up the letter, and as it had no address he opened it. And this is what was written, as near as I can remember: ‘Kindly to chuck it. You have destroyed a hundred houses and spoiled our café and made many casualties, and it is a nuisance, so we have pulled the blinking tower down. Gott strafe England!’”

General Sir Douglas Haig

Career of the New British Commander in Chief in France

THE appointment of General Sir Douglas Haig to be Commander in Chief of the British forces in France and Belgium recalls to mind a paragraph in a recent report of Field Marshal Sir John French, in which he paid this tribute to the man who now succeeds him:

“I desire to express to the army under my command my deep appreciation of the splendid work they have accomplished and my heartfelt thanks for the brilliant leadership displayed by General Sir Douglas Haig and the corps and divisional commanders who acted under his orders in the main attack.”

The following appreciation of Sir Douglas Haig appeared in a recent issue of *The London Chronicle*:

“When the war began in August it is safe to say that few people in England knew anything about Sir Douglas Haig. As a rule we pay little attention to our military or naval leaders until their

existence is forced upon us, and outside the circle of experts and their own friends they enjoy an anonymity as perfect in its way as the publicity enjoyed by the politician. Sir John Jellicoe was known to students of naval warfare all over Europe; but how many of the general British public had ever heard about him? Yet today his name is a household word.

“Something similar is happening in the case of Sir Douglas Haig. When he went out to command one of the two army corps which made up Sir John French's small and gallant army in August he was hardly known at all. Nor did we hear much of him in the retreat, because in a retreat the post of glory is that of the rearguard, and the great rearguard action was fought by the other army corps under Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien.

“It was not until the battle of the Aisne that his name began specially to disengage itself from those of other gen-

eral officers mentioned in dispatches. In his dispatch dated Oct. 8 Sir John French specially selected Sir Douglas Haig for particular mention. On Sept. 14, when the first footing had been gained on the north bank of the Aisne, Sir John French wrote as follows:

"The action of the First Corps on this day, under the direction and command of Sir Douglas Haig, was of so skillful, bold, and decisive a character that he gained positions which alone have enabled me to maintain my position for more than three weeks of very severe fighting on the north bank of the river.

"General Haig had proved himself bold, skillful, and resolute as the leader of an advance. He was to prove himself a few weeks later to possess to the full that tenacity in defense which he had already shown in repulsing the German counterattacks on the Aisne. In October the British forces were moved from the neighborhood of Soissons to the line from Ypres to La Bassée, and the centre of what has been described as the greatest battle in English history—the three weeks' battle for the defense of Ypres—was in Sir Douglas Haig's hands.

"Throughout this trying period,' wrote Sir John French, 'Sir Douglas Haig, aided by his divisional commanders and brigade commanders, held the line with marvelous tenacity and undaunted courage. Words fail me to express the admiration I feel for their conduct, or my sense of the incalculable services they have rendered.'

"A more recent dispatch tells the same tale: 'The energy and vigor with which General Sir Douglas Haig handled his command show him to be a leader of great ability and power.' The British Army on the Continent has fought strenuously and without intermission, but its three brightest achievements are attributed by the Commander in Chief himself, so far as leadership is concerned, to one man. The Aisne, Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, these are clasps which Sir Douglas Haig will wear more proudly on his medal ribbon than any man in his force.

"Although the world has known so little about him, Sir Douglas Haig has, of course, been very much in the eye of the army for a long time. Sir John French

knows him well, for they took their first big course of practical military education together. Major Haig, as he then was, was Chief of Staff to Colonel French in that brilliant series of minor operations around Colesberg, which prepared the way for Lord Roberts's advance, and when that advance began he was closely associated with the present Commander in Chief in the work of the Cavalry Division. He has had experience at the War Office, where he has been Director of Military Training, and in India, where he was Chief of the General Staff to Lord Kitchener's successor. For the last two years before the war he commanded those divisions concentrated at Aldershot which, under Lord Haldane's scheme, were known as the 'striking force,' that is to say, a force always mobilized and always ready at a few hours' notice to go abroad.

"In the manoeuvres of last Spring it had become the custom to give him the command of one of the opposing sides, and he used generally to be pitted against the late General Grierson in these mimic battles. It would be hard to find two men more different in training and temperament. On the one side, Grierson, who had been from his earliest days a student of warfare rather than a fighting man, and who had by his intellectual and linguistic gifts always been held in bondage to a staff appointment; on the other side, Haig, who had spent his active military life as a regimental officer or Brigadier, and had only for a year or two had the time or opportunity to turn from the actual handling of men close beside him to the larger problems of handling troops in a body on the map.

"Both were Scotsmen, Grierson of humbler parentage than Haig, but Haig had remained almost undecorated and unknown, while on state occasions Grierson blazed with orders and ribbons from every sovereign and every army in Europe. They never got the chance of fighting together for the common object of their professional life, for Grierson died (as his friends say, out of pure exaltation and happiness) a few days before the British Army went into action.

"Sir Douglas Haig has carried on his

old opponent's and friend's tradition, as well as his own. There comes a point in every General's career, perhaps when he gets a division, perhaps not until he gets his corps, at which the problems with which he has to deal alter not merely in degree but in kind. Sir John French passed that point brilliantly in South Africa; Lord Roberts passed it also perhaps at the same time. On the other hand, there have been Generals like Sir Redvers Buller who never passed it at all, and remained magnificent Brigadiers,

but ineffective in the control of larger forces. The significance of Sir Douglas Haig's threefold triumph in France and Flanders is that he has proved himself to have made this fateful step with brilliant success. Before the war he had never commanded in action anything larger than a regiment; in manoeuvres never anything larger than a division. At the Aisne he commanded corps, and now he commands an army, and as his responsibilities increase so do his praises grow."

A Submarine's Feats in the Baltic

By Lieut. Commander F. N. A. Cromie

Lieut. Commander F. N. A. Cromie, who was personally decorated by the Emperor of Russia with the Cross of St. George for his services in the Baltic, having previously received the Order of St. Vladimir with swords, has written to his mother on his reception by his Imperial Majesty. Another British naval officer also received the Order of St. George, and five of Lieut. Commander Cromie's men were awarded the Silver Cross. In the course of his letter he says the visit of the Emperor to inspect the fortifications and submarines was a pleasant surprise. He continues:

WE did another 1,500 miles this last trip. I went to bed for the first two days out with "flue," and so directed operations from my bunk. We met a German submarine and had to dive in a hurry, and found ourselves down at 140 feet before I could get out of bed to take charge. The third day we found a lot of "wood" outside neutral waters, and after a short chase we made a lovely bonfire, being unable to sink the stuff. The "inhabitants" left hurriedly, leaving a small puppy dog, which we rescued. Its father was a Great Dane, and its mother a pug, but, considering it is a "hun," it is not half bad, and is a great favorite.

Nothing travels by daylight since our last raid on the "hen run," so my special haunt was very dull, and I gave it up

after four days and tried another spot where I knew train ferries must pass. We had an exciting chase, but it was spoiled by two destroyers and a cruiser turning up. Guessing that they would come back again, I lay low, and, sure enough, I caught the Undine in the afternoon. The first shot stopped her and put her on fire, but she was not going down quickly enough, so, avoiding the destroyer that was after us, I dived under the Undine's stern and gave her another from the side. * * * We arrived in covered with ice.

The Emperor was very polite and nice, and said our work in the — had made all the difference to the country. In the evening we "dined with all the Kings and Princes," &c., in the train, which was a palatial affair. We sat down twenty-eight at one table, and still left room for waiting. Nearly all spoke English, and said all sorts of nice, polite things, and I sneaked a menu card as a souvenir, but had not the cheek to ask for signatures.

Being a Chevalier of St. George, I am pretty safe, as no one can arrest me without an armed escort and a band to take me to prison, and both of these are pretty scarce now. I think I told you that the other cross gave me the right to go into girls' schools and taste the food and express my opinion! I only

hope now that we shall not be at sea on Nov. 25, (St. George's night,) when all members of the order dine in the palace and take the plate home with them as souvenirs! * * *

It was a very hard frost during the Emperor's inspection, and all were very

much surprised to see us without great-coats, but the cold is so dry here that one does not feel it so long as one moves about. The place is lovely under snow, and sledging is very pleasant with all the bells going. Unfortunately it has now all gone and is raining hard.

General Sarraill

Sketch of the Chief of the French Orient Army

By George Renwick

Saloniki Correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle

HE is tall, with a clean-cut, erect, soldierly figure. Fifty-nine, he looks at least ten years younger, despite a white mustache and hair, set well back from a high forehead, almost white as well. But his face has an almost youthful mobility when he speaks, and there is a strange attraction in his active, flashing, light-blue eyes. He goes about inconspicuously, wearing a khaki uniform with no decorations or signs of his rank save three stars on his sleeve. He is easily accessible to everybody, chats with freedom about things of interest, tells battle stories over again, and when he talks with the special correspondents here, as he does every day, he always humorously expresses his delight when, as he puts it, he has "passed yet another examination successfully!" He is fond of a joke and can tell many a good one.

General Sarraill has had a long career of very distinguished military service. He has seen war in Algeria and Tunis, but his best work has been done as organizer. That work has been tried and justified in the fire of the present war. For three years he directed the Ecole Militaire d'Infanterie, was "officier d'ordonnance" to General André while Minister of War, and, made General, was "Directeur de l'Infanterie" for four years. In each of those posts his work was brilliant and fruitful, for he hates red tape and he knows and uses a worker as does a Joffre or a Kitchener.

Before the opening of the war he com-

manded a "division de couverture" at Rheims, and on leaving that post was put at the head of the Eighth Army at Bourges. When the war cloud burst he expressed a desire for a frontier command, and was given the command of the Sixth Corps at Chalons. This corps was on the extreme right of the army which advanced toward the Belgian frontier, and from the 22d to the 25th of August it put up a splendid resistance to the advancing Germans. Its retreat on the Meuse, in carrying out the supreme instructions, was a cool and fine piece of fighting and manoeuvring.

On Aug. 30 the General was put at the head of the Third Army in the Verdun region. In that position the important task fell to him of holding that vastly important fortress. Here had to be done the lion's share of the work of keeping the left of the German line pinned down on the frontier while on the French left Joffre smote and hurled back the army of von Kluck. And all the world now knows how that work was accomplished. "Hold Verdun or—do not come back" is said to have been the final word of Joffre to Sarraill. He held it, and so contributed in no small degree to the success of that strategy which took the offensive out of the hands of the Germans and altered the whole aspect of the titanic struggle. And he did it with three army corps and three divisions of reserves against seven German army corps. Sarraill's work in that part of the war has certainly given him a high place in its history.

For the first half of the year the Third

Army and its chief were engaged in daily struggle with the strong and numerous legions of the Crown Prince in the Argonne region. The story of the way in which "der junge Herr" threw his forces time and again against Sarraill is already well known. Despite enormous sacrifices the army of the Crown Prince could make no progress; and, in the end, when the French took the offensive again, the Germans were driven out of many a position. The appearance of

General Sarraill in the Balkans, therefore, is a good augury that the campaign here—one of tremendous difficulties and of equally great importance—will be conducted in decisive fashion.

From what I have seen, though I may say but little of it, I am confident that the blow when it comes will be swift, unflinching, and final. It will carry the Balkans out of the active war area and put an end to Germany's Oriental hopes.

Germany's Vigilant Navy

Special Report from the German High Seas Fleet

Under the title "The Navy on the Watch," the Vossische Zeitung printed during December, 1915, a "special report from the High Seas Fleet," as follows:

HITHERTO the High Seas Fleet has had no opportunity of fighting a sea battle, because the enemy fleet has refrained from advancing against the German coast, and has carefully avoided any fight on a large scale. The waiting for the enemy for a period of already sixteen months seems to all the naval officers with whom I spoke the hardest fate which could befall them. They are burning to get at the enemy, and they are confident that they can give him serious blows. But they do not grumble at having to go on containing themselves in patience.

As the fleet is determined to do its best, if ever it comes to the great battle with the English, every effort is made not only to maintain but even to increase by tireless labor the readiness of the ships and their crews for action. Even on outpost work every hour is employed for this purpose. Shot after shot is falling at no great distance from us. A little later there is firing from our ships too—firing from our 15-inch guns with infantry ammunition. The practice is the same as if battle shells were being fired. Toward evening naval airmen flew over us and away out to sea. They have to report whether enemy ships are venturing to approach. On board our ship all measures of precaution are taken, in order

that we may be safe against any surprise.

In the officers' mess we sat talking and drinking after our meal. What splendid companions these naval officers are, and how charmingly they can talk about distant cruises and far-off lands! The amusing description which the navigation officer was giving of his reception by a Chinese Viceroy was rudely interrupted by drums and trumpets. It was an alarm. Everybody rushed away. It was almost quite dark in the gangways, which for a few moments were filled with hurrying men. Within a few minutes every one of the 1,200 men on board had reached his post. This represents a fabulous achievement of organization. In the morning several torpedo boats of the newest type shoot out to sea at such speed that their tops are drenched by the foaming masses of water. A number of smaller ships come back in line from the sea. Out there they have been performing the equally laborious and dangerous work of seeking for mines. A whole flotilla of steamers is going far out to relieve similar vessels there, which day and night are cruising and keeping watch on the high seas as close as possible to the enemy. In these fishing vessels a crew of twenty or twenty-five men performs extraordinarily onerous duties, relieving the warships and enabling us to save more valuable vessels.

On board the armored ships every effort is made to amuse the men in their

leisure hours, and to promote their physical freshness and suppleness. Cinematograph shows are given on board many ships. As our ships cut through the waves, the band, stationed on one of the

turrets, played brisk tunes. On one turret stood a gymnasium instructor, while on deck hundreds of the men in their clean, white work clothes went through all sorts of exercises.

Cultivating Good Nature at the Front

Writing in the *Morgenbladet* of Christiania, Norway, the Norwegian pastor, E. Berggrav-Jensen, gives personal experiences relating to among the German troops on the west front, as presented in the subjoined article.

I HAVE given orders that at least once a day everybody in the trenches must indulge in hearty laughter," remarked Major W. at supper time in P.

"But you cannot compel people to laugh," I interrupted.

"Oh, no, but I begin by laughing myself. Just the mere command to laugh has something funny to it. Don't you see that we have to cultivate good nature?"

Major W. is by no means the first officer that I have met who considers it his chief duty to keep geniality alive among the soldiers. It has been one of the great surprises of this war that in addition to the many technical inventions there has sprung up a new psychological doctrine which one may call the "soul-culture" of militarism. The above-mentioned Major is a splendid type of this "soul-culture."

"And then," he continued, "once a day I walk through the entire line of trenches in my charge and grasp the hand of every man and speak some word of comfort. Before we take the offensive I usually gather them around me and quote something from the Scriptures. 'Now,' I will say to them, 'you are in the trenches of the Lord, which are much more secure than ours.' That pleases them and they go to their task with renewed spirit."

While the spiritual caretaking of the army is a chapter by itself, I shall confine myself more largely to the humanistic. The brutality of warfare brings all into a common fold. Where all must go together, through thick and thin, as if we were on an arctic expedition, it

becomes the duty of every one to watch his comrade, to see that no one holds back, wavers, lies down.

"Discover immediately who becomes discouraged, hangs his head, feels ill at ease. Form a circle around such a one, help him, give him courage." Such is one of von Kluck's daily orders, it is said.

Class distinction disappears in the trenches. Militarism as a conception of stern enforcement disappears in war. Rank becomes less and less noticeable the closer one approaches the front. That he is being treated as a comrade by his superior—this means to the ordinary soldier more than any material stimulant.

When it comes to keeping good nature uppermost there are many remedies at hand. In the German Army singing takes first place. Proceeding from the experience that military music inspires, it is unfortunate that it becomes impossible to have this music where it is most needed. The band must remain back of the front, where it at least does service for the reserve troops and the soldiers getting a temporary respite. For the marching millions and the battling divisions this music can do nothing. Here singing must take the place.

"There are two opposite poles that centre the interest of the men in the trenches," said an officer to me. "The thought of home and the thought of death. The further the line extends toward the enemy the wider apart become these poles." As concerns the home, it is one of the wonders of this conflict how the soldiers fix up their underground dwelling places like genuine

homesteads. Though they are compelled to live below the level of the ground, there is a homelikeness about it all. We find places with names like "Home Life," "Home Rest," &c. There is much to occupy the men in their leisure hours. Surrounded by twigs and leaves, we see here and there pictures of wife and children, father and mother. And not only here in the trench region but in the villages where troops are quartered we find the same neatness, the same thought of home. Those miserable, tumble-down huts have their comforts, due to the solicitude that governs the entire campaigning.

The flower boxes arranged in the hospital trains are not only evidences of care but direct means for healing. The wounded must not get the impression that they are victims of misery. Their longing for home, their desire after orderliness and neatness, is to be gratified. Not a piece of paper is allowed to lie

around. This attention to every least detail has a considerable effect on the mental attitude. It is all a part of the scheme to maintain good nature.

The moral effect of the field post office can scarcely be overestimated. The intention that the soldier shall not feel himself separated from every influence of civilization is admirably fulfilled by the working of the mail department of the army. The letter factor is not only a matter of great convenience; it is a means for success in battle, a stimulant to action. Those innumerable motor cars daily bring four million letters and postcards into the camps, together with many packages, and a quantity of mail almost as large is carried back to the home lands. Witnessing the perfect organization of this field post office, one may well ponder on what it meant to Russia that its soldiers were cut off for so many months from all avenues of home communication.

Winter in Gallipoli

By the Correspondent of The London Daily Telegraph

British Headquarters,

The Dardanelles, Dec. 3.

WINTER has arrived earlier than was anticipated, with a severe blizzard. The hills are covered with a slight fall of snow, and there has been a sharp drop in the temperature. At Suvla the water rushed down into the trenches, and the stamina of the British troops underwent a severe trial. But they stood it better than the Turks, who, to evade the flood, left the trenches, and in some cases were shot down while sitting on the parapet. Several prisoners who were taken were poorly clad, and stated that they were on half rations. Apparently the severe weather, combined with our aeroplane and ships' bombardments, are considerably hampering the enemy's lines of communication. Recently the Turkish artillery has been more active, but the bombardment of one section of our trenches for nearly two hours was not followed by any attack. In another

section the New Zealanders easily repelled a half-hearted night attack.

The colonial troops, including the Maoris, withstood the intense cold satisfactorily, and even cheerily. The greater proportion of the Australians, who saw snow falling for the first time in their lives, viewed the storm with intense interest, and, though unused to Winter conditions, the indications are that, owing to their splendid physique and resourcefulness, they will stand the severe weather yet to come even better than their British comrades. The storm caused some damage to our boats and barges, but communication has now been restored.

On two occasions recently the Turks, thinking that we might be evacuating our positions, left their trenches, stealing out under cover of night to reconnoitre in considerable numbers. For the most part they were not molested, our officers wishing to encourage their belief in hopes that they would come on in

greater numbers. At one section, however, the Australian Light Horse fired, accounting for twenty.

Weather conditions are now normal, but more severe weather is expected, especially in January and February. By that time, however, it is hoped that the troops will be thoroughly well equipped. Already they have received a portion of wet-weather clothing, such as thigh boots and waterproof capes. When they receive their full equipment they will un-

doubtedly be much better prepared for a Winter campaign than the enemy.

Supply conditions here are more difficult than in France, but apparently every possible effort is being made to cope with the unusual circumstances.

Later information shows that the enemy suffered greatly in the storm. Many had neither blankets nor under-clothing, and must have perished. Several bodies and mules were washed down into our trenches.

Pictures From Gallipoli

By Sidney A. Moseley

The official war correspondent with the British Mediterranean forces contributes to The Fortnightly Review for December a series of human-interest sketches, two of which are herewith reproduced.

A MAJOR in the Royal Welsh was the first speaker. He addressed his remarks particularly to me as a noncombatant.

"Only the man who leads can experience the sensation of his life at the first charge," he said. "It is neither fear, excitement, nor the novelty. It is simply a great fatherly anxiety and pride in the men whom you have watched from their infancy in soldiering to maturity. I never knew how closely allied in heart and soul I was with my men until the moment when I gave the order to 'charge.' 'How will they shape? How will they conduct themselves?' These questions came uppermost and with insistence in my mind. Nothing else seemed to matter. * * * It seemed to me that we were in a huge arena with everybody in the world watching us breathlessly, saying: 'Now we shall see what the Royal Welsh are made of.' * * * And then they—and I—saw what they were made of. Mind you, the men were dead beat. The rapid advance and the preliminary fighting had taken it all out of them, and even glory is a poor antidote to exhaustion.

"We were supposed to be relieved, but the brigade in reserve was done up. So we had to go on. When we thought we had just about done enough for the time

being we were warned that another difficult trench was to be taken. From a prominence we could see the Turks concentrating. They looked like a multitude of ants. Their number was overwhelming. * * *

"The Welsh Headquarters Staff was in the firing line, and it was 3:30 in the morning that the General came along and spoke a few words of encouragement to the men. The brief, simple address, delivered by a man who showed he was not afraid of his own life by standing on the parapet as he spoke, acted like a tonic to the men. I saw the glint in their eyes and the determined clutch on their rifles. * * *

"Five o'clock came, and I gave the word. With a cheer that still rings in my ears the men bounded forward. Nothing could stop them. The Turks literally flew. The slaughter was terrible. * * *

There has surely never been a campaign where the sniper has reaped such a harvest. Speak to any man who has taken part in the operations, even for one brief hour, and he will dwell half admiringly, half wonderingly, upon the manner and means with which the enemy has potted at our men from the most unexpected places. Sniping is, of course, a perfectly legitimate means of warfare, although to those whose idea of war is a

straight fight in the open it must leave a bad taste in the mouth. In these days, however, it is among the minor tricks of war, and the Turks have become adepts at it. The peninsula appears to have been specially designed by nature for the sniper, and the Ottoman soldiers have not failed to take the full advantage offered. Tree, bush, rock, and sand are utilized by him in a peculiarly cunning manner, and this, combined with a reckless regard of personal danger, has brought him so many victims as to justify special campaigns by special companies against him.

In the recent fighting a good haul of these snipers was made. The stories make dramatic reading. A Captain of a London territorial regiment happened to look back after his men had passed a solitary tree on the field, when he noticed something moving on it. It looked like a green bird. He took aim and fired, and the "green bird" promptly fell to the earth, dropping his rifle. Its hands, face, and rifle were painted green, and its clothing was of the same color, but of a darker shade. The bag was as heartily cheered by the men as if it were a Turkish regiment, for that particular sniper had been an undoubted terror. On another part of the field—north of the bay—a pretty harem lady sniper was,

after considerable effort, rounded up and brought into the British lines. She cried and struggled, pointing pitifully to another part of the bush from whence she had been brought. At length a detachment of men allowed her to lead the way to the spot indicated by her, and here they found her child in a dugout, tastefully furnished. In a corner was a pile of identification disks, probably taken systematically from the necks of dead soldiers, and an almost endless supply of ammunition. Carefully hidden away was her yashmak, (veil,) which the men allowed her to take away.

One of the most audacious attempts at sniping was discovered the same afternoon. Three miles in the rear of our line a company Sergeant Major was shot at close range. The most energetic efforts were made to bring the culprit to book, and it was only after another man was shot that he was discovered in a deep pit in the heart of a base camp. He had evidently been installed for some time. A good supply of food and, as in the case of other snipers, a very large amount of ammunition was found, and a quantity of reading material.

"It is like working on a knife's edge with the snipers all around," an officer told me, "but I believe by now we have them fairly well in hand."

An Indian Gunner and His Gun

A Letter From the Front

An account of how some gunners—in the Indian force—did their work during a recent attack on the enemy's position is contained in a letter which appeared on Dec. 14, 1915. The orders for the fight came as a great surprise, for the men had been "grouching" at their inactivity and the continued prospect of nothing to do.

ON this evening the magic word was passed along, and our instructions were issued. "So many hundred 'high explosive' and so many hundred 'shrapnel' were to be delivered to us that night. The bombardment was to

start at 12 P. M. and continue for six hours. Further orders later." When we heard the amount of shells we were to dispose of we looked at each other with astonishment. Never before had we had so many to play with, and we wondered what was in the wind. It took us a few hours to draw ammunition and get it all ready, and it was heavy work, I can tell you. Then we had a few hours' sleep, the last peaceful sleep we were to get for some days.

Next day at 12 we started and kept a steady rate of fire up for six hours. Sounds simple, doesn't it? But it isn't

quite so easy as it may appear. Every gun has its little peculiarities, just like a motor or a ship, and you mustn't think that so many hours' continuous bombardment is merely a matter of putting in the shell, laying the gun, and pulling the firing lever, because it isn't. We think just as much of our gun as a cavalryman of his horse or an infantryman of his rifle, and they all take a lot of looking after to keep in working order. We are very grieved sometimes when we are told, "Your gun is firing badly today," and if any particular gun happens to be temporarily out of action for minor repairs the detachment will have to put up with a lot of references to "old iron," "scrap heap," &c. Before we had been firing for a couple of hours the gun began to get red hot, the oil in the buffer expanded, and a host of other little things began to happen to cause us uneasiness. Our worst trouble consisted in trying to keep the breech as cool as possible, and the only way we could do this was to leave it open for the few seconds after we fired until a couple of

seconds before our turn came to fire again.

A bystander might have caught the following scraps of conversation: "How is she going now?" "Side slipping," "leaking," "jerky," "the old cow's got the jumps this morning," "steady as a rock," "give her a drink," (oiling the breech,) "fill her up," (fill the buffer,) and other little things which would have convinced him that the gunners, at any rate, think their gun is nearly human.

Six o'clock came at length, and we thought we were finished for a bit, at any rate, but no such luck; we got orders to keep up a certain rate of fire until further orders. This we did, and, although the number of rounds per gun per hour gradually dropped to three, we didn't stop until 5 A. M. on the fourth day.

Exactly how many rounds of ammunition we got through during that time I mustn't tell you, but if the Minister of Munitions could have seen how quickly "our old girl" ate into his supplies he would have wept with mortification.

Fighting in East Africa

By a British Signaler

The following extract is from the letter of a signaler in the East African Mounted Rifles, a corps raised in Nairobi at the beginning of the war and consisting for the most part of young settlers and coffee planters:

WE started at sunset, our orders being to storm a picquet—*if* there—at dawn, and then hold the ridge. The fact that we were to do a bayonet charge worried some of us because, you see, we are Mounted Rifles, and have never had much use for bayonets.

There was moonlight, and dust and little puffs of cold, dry wind whispered mysteriously through the long grass, and the forbidding-looking mountain we were making for stood out very black. Toward morning the breeze got bitterly cold, and the moon set and the plain

seemed peopled with horrible black shapes—ourselves in extended order. We arrived at the foot of the ridge before dawn and slept for an hour before forming up for the assault. That hill was one of the steepest ever, and we were a bit disappointed when we got to the top and found it unoccupied! If it had been, I expect it would have been a bit expensive to take. It finished our work for the moment, as it was still too dark to shoot, and the King's African Rifles were to carry on the assault.

I didn't see as much of their work as I would have liked to, because, being the squadron signaler, I had to keep a bit out of it if possible. When I did try to see what was happening the enemy sprinkled me with a maxim, so I decided mere curiosity wasn't worth it. Firing

didn't begin till daylight, and though quite a lot of people were moving about the hillsides, we couldn't tell whether they were British or enemy askaris, as their uniforms are much alike. Then there was a single shot, then a volley, then the circle of hills in which we were rang with the music. The maxims joined in, and rattled viciously, providing the light music; the heavy part of the opera being the rumble of rapid rifle fire in a rocky amphitheatre.

Then the K. A. R.'s charged. I heard the bugle sound and some distant yelling, and the Germans' maxims stopped their deliberate work and stuttered on and on without taking breath. After a time there came a lull in the fighting, and the firing sounded rather like a pack of dogs who had been severely reprov'd for barking in the night and yet can't quite stop. A shot—then more shots—a lull. ("Stop it, you brute.") Then an enemy maxim would yap hysterically, and the whole pack would be off again.

We were trying to finish off a machine gun which wouldn't be silenced. I think we must have worried it a bit, for it did me the honor of taking a violent dislike to me personally for about ten minutes. It fired at irregular intervals into and over and around my rock, till I felt that I was playing an exciting game of roulette with rather high stakes. I got through about twenty rounds in that little gamble. I had to wait till they fired, pop up, pick up my mark, fire, and then

grovel again, judging the time between their bursts. I do not mind the twang of a ricochet, but I have no use for the soft, threatening little whisper in your ear.

Presently I was called to flag a message, and beat an undignified retreat to what seemed a safer spot; but a sniper had now started on me, and I had sent only a few words when I heard the beastly little whisper an inch off my left ear. I knelt down, and sent a few more letters, and a bullet passed between my arm and body, and hit the sangar in front of me with a sound like the breaking of a banjo string. Then I climbed over the sangar, and went on with it, but a bullet hit a rock somewhere near the back of my neck, deflected, and hummed off into space.

I got a bit further down the hill, and tried to hurry the message through, but they turned a maxim on to the man I was signaling to, and made things exciting for him, so we were jolly glad when it was finished. The worst of this job is that you have got to pretend you like being potted at; because everybody is looking at the pretty signaler at work on occasions like this. The sniper was a German askari, not a white man, because our snipers were kept well occupied by him all day, and saw him. Several enemy snipers had slipped through the K. A. R.'s, and sniped from between them and our snipers, so both lots had a busy time chasing one another.

Nish a City of Mourning

M. Adorjan, the Hungarian war correspondent with the Bulgarian Army, sent to The London Times this interesting message from Nish, the former capital of Serbia:

THE first thing that struck my eye as I approached Nish was a great American flag flying over a building beside a small Red Cross flag to indicate that the American Red Cross Mission is occupying it. In fact, America seems to be quite well represented in the occupied city, for on most of the shop

doors one can see an inscription in English, "American Property," a kind of precaution against the looting inclinations of the Bulgarian troops.

The streets of Nish are broad and pleasant, and make quite a good impression on the stranger. Over most of the houses flags are flying, either white ones as a sign of friendliness, or Bulgarian ones. On almost every house also one sees a small black flag and black drapery over the door, indicating that inhabitants of the house are in mourning.

The whole of Nish gives one the impression that all are in mourning, for I have not seen two dozen houses without the black draperies and flag. It is also possible that these signs of mourning are being exhibited to symbolize the tragic fate of the town and Serbia. In the streets every woman is wearing black clothes, the men having a broad black band on their sleeves. This is the more touching, as every shop is closed and the people are walking the streets depressed and seemingly unconcerned, yet there is a most tragic aspect on the whole city.

I was billeted in the house of a chemist called Jovanovich. A black flag was mounted on this house also, and, although the women folk received me with evident displeasure, and the landlady declared that she could not supply me with any cover for the night, I asked her if she had lost some one in the war, as I could see a black flag flying over the house. "Yes," she replied. "I lost my husband and son in the war, but they served in the Hungarian Army, because they were Hungarian Serbs, but I came home to my people as soon as the war broke out." Later on one of the servant girls brought wood into my room for a fire, and she told me that for three days there had not been a bit of bread in the house, so when I came back in the evening from supper I had with the officers of the General Staff, out of pure precaution I brought a whole loaf with me for the widow and her two maids. The next night I found an excellent cushion and a fine cover on my bed, but the landlady I did not see again throughout my stay.

The bread had a most wonderful effect. It was expected by the population that the invading forces would distribute food among the population, but this had not been done, for the necessary quantities had not yet reached the town.

It is evident that the people are practically starving; you can see by their pale faces that they have neither bread nor potatoes; yet they walk about in the streets with a dignity and contempt, es-

pecially for the Bulgarian soldiers, as if in the best of circumstances. At 7 o'clock in the evening the population has to be indoors, the streets are dark and deserted, and only the patrols are pacing their rounds. Not a light is to be seen in the windows, not because lighting is prohibited, but owing to the lack of oil and candles, which cannot be had at any price.

The Bulgarian Prefect whom I went to see told me that the attitude of the population has not been hostile, chiefly because the men had been taken away and the women had been seriously warned not to commit excesses, under capital penalty. "One proclamation to the people to give up their arms was quite sufficient," said the Prefect, "for they gave up every firearm they possessed without further trouble." He also said that the misery of the population as regards foodstuff was indescribable, for there was absolutely no bread, butter, eggs, or milk, and only a very little meat was available. The authorities were unable to supply them with foodstuff, owing to the blowing up of the bridges and the destruction of the railway lines by the Serbians, a circumstance which, under the present weather conditions, makes the transporting of large quantities impossible. The men, especially the German engineers, are working hard to put the lines in order, but at least another three weeks will pass before railway communication can be reopened. It also bears hardly on the population that Serbian paper notes have become absolutely valueless, and their silver coins are only accepted in the value of their silver weight—that is, they only get 65 centimes for a dinar.

Next morning I was invited to breakfast by Prince Windischgrätz, who lives in the building of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate. When I arrived there at 9 o'clock I found hundreds and hundreds of old men, women, and children before the building, the most terrible-looking, misery-stricken group I ever beheld, who had come there in their heartrending misery to beg for bread. I had seen misery already two years ago after the fall of Adrianople, when the Greek refugees arrived at Saloniki, and this year in Ga-



GENERAL TODOROFF
Commander in Chief of the Bulgarian Army



KING OF ABYSSINIA

Lij Eyasu, Grandson of Menelik. He Has Offered a Large Force to
Help Defend Egypt

(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

licia and Russian Poland, where the havoc of war ruined everything, but nowhere did I see misery so terrible and so naked as at Nish before the house where a sumptuous breakfast was awaiting me. But there was nothing to be done for them, and nothing will be done until railway communication has been re-established. The Prince himself distributed many thousands of crowns, Aus-

trian money, among the famine-stricken population, but money does not mean anything to them, as they cannot buy food with it. Among the people standing before the house from early in the morning until 7 in the evening there were also many Austrian and Hungarian subjects, as well as Greeks, many of whom had been interned before the Serbians quitted the city.

An Episode of the Crna

By a French Correspondent

In an account of the battle of the Crna, a special French correspondent with the Serbian Expeditionary Corps writes:

ON Nov. 2 two Serbian companies which had been cut off, and had offered a stout resistance in the village of Nirzon to the Bulgarian advance guards, fell back before large forces which began to make their appearance, and took refuge in our lines. The aspect of this handful of heroes, exhausted by fatigue and privations, their eyes shining with fever, made a great impression on our troops.

The order to attack was given for the next day. On Nov. 6 our batteries established themselves on the ridge commanding the Rajec River, and our troops began to climb the formidable Arkangel Height. On the 7th our infantry, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, continued to advance, and at nightfall on the 8th the Bulgarians, amazed by the bold advance of our men, were precipitately abandoning a position. At 5 in the morning we were in possession of their trenches.

On Nov. 9 we suspended our attack to make sure of our left before pushing forward. The stout regiments of the North captured in this direction the village of Sirkovo, and gained a footing, after a sharp action, on the heights to the west and northwest. Without a check they rushed to Krussevica, which a company took with the bayonet. Its Captain was wounded in the assault, and a Lieutenant fell mortally injured at the moment when he was shouting, "Forward with the

bayonet!" These rapid successes disquieted the enemy, which began to plaster our positions to the north of Krussevica and Sirkovo with shells, and directed against our company at the Green Hillock a strong attack made by a battalion and a half. Our men offered vigorous resistance for several hours to this attack, shattering every assault by a steady and accurate fire.

Unfortunately, the ammunition ran short, and during the darkness, which settled down very quickly, fresh supplies could not be sent them. At 7:30 in the evening the company was completely surrounded. At 11 o'clock a section having no more cartridges defended its trench vigorously with the bayonet alone for an hour, and withdrew only on the order of its commander, who formed his men in square. In this formation the heroic company continued its resistance. At 1:30 in the morning the enemy, which seemed to have suffered very severe losses, was attacking with less frequency. One of our sections had no ammunition left at all, and others only had a few cartridges per man.

A thick mist enveloped the Green Hillock and in this complete obscurity the situation was becoming critical. At 2 o'clock, by order of its commander, the company formed in columns of four and dashed forward with the bayonet. It succeeded in making a breach in the circle surrounding it and rejoined its regiment at daybreak.

On the 10th the chasseurs-a-pied captured the village of Cicevobas and the

enemy resumed with ardor his attacks on Sirkovo and Krusevica. The fighting was desperate and on four occasions hand to hand. A small hill was won, lost, and recaptured three times. The enemy was unable to make the slightest headway. Finally, on Nov. 11, our chasseurs succeeded in reaching Cicevo, whence they drove the enemy helter-skelter, but the General commanding on the Crna learning that the Bulgarians had received large reinforcements and were preparing a general attack, ordered our men to go

back to Cicevobas, which they did with reluctance. Mown down by the fearfully rapid fire of our mountain guns and our 75's, swept away by the gust of fire of our machine guns, held up by our bayonets, the enemy gave up the game and on the 15th fell back behind the hills, leaving numerous dead on the ground.

These days of desperate fighting, during which our losses were comparatively slight, cost the Bulgarians at least 4,000 men.—*Reuter*.

German Disaster on the Dvina

By Gregori Petroff

Correspondent of the Russkoye Slovo.

In connection with the unsuccessful attempts by the Teuton forces to cross the Dvina, a graphic story of the operations is told by M. Gregori Petroff, the celebrated correspondent of the Russkoye Slovo, in its issue of Dec. 5, 1915. The translation appears below:

IT was a cold, damp, and foggy night, he writes, with a piercing wind.

Toward 2 A. M. the tramp of thousands of feet became audible from the direction of the German positions, and, just as if they had swept out of a newly opened mill sluice, hosts of men emerged from the enemy trenches and flowed forward over the hard-frozen earth. The Russian patrols on the watch fired a few shots against the advancing forces, and then rushed back to give the alarm.

The Russians in the trenches were warned and waited, with rifles and machine guns aimed at half the height of a man. The noise of footsteps became louder, and soon separate words of command could be distinguished above the general murmur.

Then a loud cry rang out, and from the whole of the enemy's line came a roar, to which the Russian rifles and machine guns made reply.

But the Germans came on, right up to

the trenches. Russian soldiers gripped them by their collars and swung them aside, or knocked them down with the butts of their rifles; but the thick columns rushed forward still. Some of the men, without rifles, ran on, with eyes wildly protruding, roaring as they ran.

Whole rows of Germans, who had crashed through the first line of defense, flooded the second line trenches as well, while some thousands of Russian soldiers who remained in the first line stabbed wildly at the opponents who rushed past them or made fresh prisoners. Russians were to be seen tying the Germans hand and foot within sixty yards of their fellows.

The enemy swept through the Russian first and second lines on a broad front; and, from the noise, it could be gathered that new and great forces were coming along behind them. Then the German artillery began to thunder, and the advancing lines of the enemy cleared a space for their own gunfire. The electric lanterns and rockets of the Germans were suddenly extinguished, as though they had been placed under a water douche.

From the rear of the German infantry came a voice: "You fellows in front, lie down!" Shells whistled, roared and exploded, but did little damage.

The Russians could see plainly the im-

possibility of retaining their positions in face of this furious German flood, so, detaining the enemy by rifle and machine-gun fire, they began a fighting retirement to the pontoon bridges. The retreat was conducted in perfect order, amid cries of "Straighten the lines!" and such shouts as though the men had been on parade. The guns halted at intervals and lashed the Germans with whips of steel as they came forward.

The enemy soldiers lay down on the ground, seized their spades and began to dig themselves in. The Russians held on their way and before dawn had crossed the river and removed the bridges. At sunrise the German vanguard reached the water and saw that the left bank of the Dvina was clear of their adversaries. This they reported to their commander, and soon battalions of men armed with spades made their appearance, commencing to intrench along a line of several versts.

It was as though thousands of giant moles were working there. One saw no men, but the earth flew up and fell back in one long dark brown line. The Germans were digging infantry trenches to cover the crossing of the river. Great forces were being collected in their rear, protected by both artillery and cavalry.

In the morning the enemy brought up his guns to the Dvina in considerable numbers and opened an infernal fire on the Russian bank. Attempts were then made, by extending the range, to drive the Russians further back from the river. A strip of land three to five versts (about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles) broad along a length of $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles was deluged with shells, but the Russian infantry kept silence.

The Germans brought down pontoons and big piles on chains. The bed of the river is soft at this place, and it was easy to place the piles in position. They were dragged against the current, and the sappers had only to drive them into the mud. After about five minutes' work the piles were fixed firmly, and the pontoons were drawn up and attached to the chains. The Russian infantry lay on the opposite bank and the machine guns were placed under cover. It was with difficulty that the men were restrained. They wanted to rush on

the sappers. "Don't fire! Not a shot!" came the orders.

The German bridge grew like a building in a fairy tale. More than two-thirds was finished, and it appeared to the strained eyes of the soldiers that in another three or four minutes it would be joined to the bank and the dense columns of the Germans would be pouring across the stream. Meanwhile, on the other shore, strong German forces were being massed awaiting the completion of the bridge.

Squadrons of cavalry came down almost to the water's edge, ready for the rush, and battalions of infantry stood behind them. Small wonder that the Russian soldiers began to get excited. The bridge came nearer and nearer, but the Russian troops were still silent. "Let us fire," appealed some of the riflemen, but their request was answered by the stern command: "Quiet! Lie down!"

All at once the roar of a gun was heard from behind the Russian infantry and the wail of a shell sounded in the air. The men at first did not understand, but the shell fell on the other side, near the bank, and exploded over the first pontoon. There was a crash, and sheets of iron and fragments of wooden piles flew upward. The pontoon was torn from its moorings and began to whirl in the eddying current.

The Russian soldiers, forgetting their instructions and oblivious of the circumstance that they were opposite the machine guns of the enemy, rose to their feet, took off their caps, and made the sign of the cross. The Germans were so startled at the well-aimed shot that they did not fire a single volley, but the Russian soldiers fell to the ground again, while Russian guns continued to speak from the rear, and their shells destroyed one pontoon after another.

Then other guns poured a hail of shell into the massed German columns. The German batteries were next attacked, and failed to answer effectively. Meanwhile, the Russian machine guns and riflemen were active, their fire being directed on the remaining pontoons, which were covered with men, and upon

the other bank. There terrible confusion reigned, especially among the cavalry, for the horses were maddened by the fire.

For a time the Germans sought to retrieve their fortunes by mad rushes toward the bridge, but they met a hurricane of shells. Men dashed into the icy water, but their hands and feet became numbed, and they could not climb the bank on the far side.

In less than two hours nothing remained of the bridge works except a few

piles, which were swaying loosely with the stream. On the opposite bank heaps of dead Germans were mingled with the bodies of horses and the wreckage of carts.

Then the Russians crossed to the other side of the river without hindrance, and drove away the retreating enemy, pursuing them beyond their intrenchments. The Germans' attempt to cross the Dvina had ended in failure and had cost them, according to their own computation, no fewer than 12,000 men.

Bullet-Swept "No Man's Land"

By H. Warner Allen

Special Correspondent of the British Press with the French Armies

NO MAN'S LAND" is all day long a bullet-swept desert, where no living thing can show itself and live, but as soon as darkness falls it becomes alive with gray, mysterious forms that glide to and fro in ghostlike silence. After hours of walking in the trenches—where, perhaps a mile or more behind the lines, all traffic passes below the surface, for fear of the enemy's shells—it is a strange and memorable experience to find one's self in the open, in the "No Man's Land" between the trenches, with nothing but a narrow barbed-wire entanglement and a screen of darkness between one's self and the Boches only 200 yards away. At the particular point of the front which I visited yesterday the opposing trenches are from 500 to 1,000 yards apart. The ground is very marshy, and it is impossible to push forward the lines, since any attempt at trenchmaking is impracticable.

The approach to this debatable ground is impressive enough. First we passed through a ruined village, where not a light or a sign of life was to be seen. Barked wires and walls of great stones, roughly piled together, trenches and barricades have turned this village into a fortress. Never has a town been laid out and planned with more thought and care, though chaos itself would seem order compared with that unhappy village.

Every section of it is a centre of resistance, carefully devised to give a maximum of cover, and capable of carrying on a defense even if all the other sections on either side were captured. Yet it seemed that an invisible army must be protecting this point in the great wall of civilization; none of its defenders were to be seen. Even the sentries were completely hidden from view—so much so that, while on our way, we had an amusing hunt for one of them, as the officer who accompanied us was anxious to prove that, despite appearances, unsleeping watch and guard were being kept.

We blundered along in the darkness beside a garden wall, but not a living soul was to be found. At last we came to a doorway, and there, in an armored greenhouse—from which, it need scarcely be said, all the glass had disappeared—we found our sentry placidly gazing out across the marsh. In the heart of the first line there is a trench which leads out in audacious fashion into the marshes, straight toward the German lines. We walked on wooden gratings set high above the muddy water at the bottom of the trenches, and everything was silent with a sinister silence. A gray mist, which had risen with the end of the short December day, seemed to muffle every sound.

We followed this trench to an isolated

block of buildings, once a factory, some 200 yards in advance of the French front trenches. These buildings had been mercilessly shelled, and looked as desolate and uninhabited as the ruins of Pompeii, but our guide groped his way to a door, which was thrown open at his knock. The dim light of a smoky lamp showed a small and cozy shelter, dug deep in the ground, and protected with sandbags and piles of débris. There were half a dozen men inside it—cheerful French cavalrymen, chasseurs à cheval—who were amusing themselves with a game of cards. At his officer's order the commander of the section, a gay, venturesome youth of just over 20, came out to guide us to the poste d'écoute, the advanced post, where all night long the sentries strain their ears to catch a sound of the enemy's movements. As soon as the first gleams of dawn appear, they return hastily to the cover of the trenches, for delay means certain death.

The trench we had followed still continued. It passed in complete blackness through the very centre of the factory, and as we passed we had a dim impression of monstrous machines, half wrecked by the enemy's shells, that loomed weird and menacing on either hand. Then, as we neared the marshes, the trench grew shallower and shallower, and eventually came to an end. We stepped out into the open, and our guide warned us to move warily and not to talk above a whisper. We set out toward the German lines, with a hedge dimly visible on our right to guide us. Caution was necessary, since we had to find the gaps in the barbed wire—gaps that could be filled at a moment's notice with chevaux de frise, and movable barbed wire obstacles lying ready to hand.

In Indian file the four of us went forward until we reached the first postes d'écoute; a pile of railway sleepers offered a semblance of cover and that was all, for anything more solid would certainly have attracted a German shell. There was no one there, however, as the sentries had two days before moved forward a hundred yards or more. As we went on we were startled by a low whistle on our left which was repeated three

times. Some one in the darkness was on the watch, awake to the slightest sound. Our guide replied cautiously, "It is the maréchal des logis," (cavalry Sergeant,) he said. The Sergeant had been out on a little scouting expedition, seeing that the barbed wire defenses were all intact, and the sudden appearance of four shadows moving furtively along the hedge had filled him with suspicion, and it was with fixed bayonet ready for immediate use that he came toward us. Reassured, he took the lead, and, after another 200 yards along the hedge, we reached the most advanced post.

We were more than half-way across "No Man's Land." Further progress could only be made by crawling forward in the mud, with the imminent risk of finding one's self free to face with an armed Boche in a similar attitude. We came upon this listening post suddenly. It consisted simply of three men sitting in a hedge. They were sitting there as motionless as statues, and as silent, their muddled, pale blue uniforms almost invisible, while their half-seen trench helmets gave them a strange mediaeval air. With their rifles, bayonets fixed, held between their knees, they were ready to charge or challenge at the smallest noise. Their only protection was a few lines of barbed wire, which they had put up two nights before.

They rose and saluted on our arrival. They were very pleased at the unwonted appearance of visitors from the rear.

The Sergeant went to inspect his barbed wire and apparently found something to interest him very much, for he went down on all fours and began to crawl forward. On the other side of the hedge two more sentries were talking together in low, mysterious tones. And then one suddenly realized that the silence of the night was full of little noises. There was a cry of a marsh bird, and one wondered whether it was a German signal. We felt that the darkness was full of hostile forms, creeping with the stealth of red Indians upon us. A rustle in the hedge—a bird, probably, or a mouse—made one start and strain one's eyes into the darkness.

The Sergeant rose to his feet with an

expression of annoyance. "They have cut the wire," he whispered. "Who has cut it?" I asked. "Why, the Boches, of course," he answered impatiently. "One of them must have crept up last night. It is a trick we are always playing on one another. You see, their advanced post is only 200 yards away, and it is quite easy to worm one's way through the long marsh grass without giving any warning that one is there."

In this debatable country war is full of surprises and stratagems, and from the French cavalryman's point of view it is ideal. Though he is deprived of his horse and sabre, he has the joy of fighting in the open, and of pitting his wits, man to man, against the enemy's. One

of these men told me afterward how, one night when an alarm had been given, he crawled forward to see what was happening and found nothing but a German officer mortally wounded. The curious thing was that, though the officer still had in his pockets his military papers, nothing of any value was left upon him. Watch and money had all disappeared.

"To my mind," the chasseur said, "there is no doubt that he had gone out with a couple of men to scout, and that when he was wounded they robbed their own officer and left him to die."

After saying "Good night" to the chasseurs we tramped away back to the cover of the trenches.

War Cuts the Birth Rate

By HAROLD G. VILLARD

So much attention has been paid to the military losses incurred by the various belligerent powers that the equally severe impairment in their population caused by the falling off in the normal birth rate is apt to be overlooked. Since hostilities began millions of possible fathers have been torn from their families and sent to the battle front. This was naturally bound profoundly to affect the number of the coming generation. It is only very recently, however, that the results of the enforced separation of the sexes are becoming known.

For the period April 4 to July 31 last the number of children born in the twenty-six largest German cities was one-fifth less than during the same time in 1914. With the exception of Essen, whose population has risen from 345,000 to 477,000 on account of its being the seat of the German war munition industry, every civic centre shows a decrease ranging from 6 per cent. in the case of Cologne to 31 per cent. for Nürnberg. If the average loss occurring in the leading cities prevailed over the whole of Germany, the falling off for the entire empire would likewise equal one-fifth of the births normally registered. As these have been averaging 1,875,000 a year, this would mean that 1,000 less children are being born each day in Germany in consequence of the war.

This figure comes very close to the daily fatalities incurred by the German forces in the field. According to the declaration made to Parliament on Dec. 21 by Mr. Tennant, the British Under Secretary of War, the official German casualty lists up to Nov. 30 showed that 512,902 soldiers in all had either been killed outright or had died from the effects of wounds or disease. Seeing that sixteen months were involved, the daily loss figures out 1,100. Thus the ranks of Germany's present fighters and of her recruits of a generation hence are being equally thinned.

The same is true of the other great warring nations. The British Registrar General reports the birth rate in Great Britain for the second quarter of 1915 to be the lowest in any like period since civil registration was established. In France the war simply means an accentuation of the country's depopulation. Even in the first six months of 1914 the newly born failed to replace those who died by 17,000. Extremely ominous, too, for the future of the French race is the falling off in the number of marriages since the war began. For the last half of 1914 these totaled only 43,585, as against 122,754 for the same months in 1913, or a decrease of 65 per cent. If children are the greatest wealth of a nation, France must be deemed poorest of all the belligerent countries.

Three Men in the New French Cabinet

By Charles Johnston

I.

Aristide Briand

Prime Minister

ARISTIDE BRIAND calls himself a Socialist. For years he was one of the leaders, aggressive, militant, triumphant, of the active Socialist Party. Victor Berger, who is willing to reform the American Commonwealth, assures us that the choice of Briand to head the new French Cabinet, and his willingness to undertake the job, show that France is getting ready to make peace—on Germany's terms. There could be no more radical error, no more complete misunderstanding of the spirit of Briand and the spirit of France. It is true that Aristide Briand is a Socialist; but for him the name means a humane and generous sympathy with mankind, a sympathy to be expressed not in words but in deeds, and, if need be, in the fiery sacrifice of war. He himself tells us the plain truth when he declares that the new Cabinet means one thing, and one thing only—victory!

Aristide Briand is a man of 53, comparatively young, therefore, among the statesmen who are directing the war. He was born at Nantes, the big industrial city at the mouth of the Loire, in Western France. He was not a struggling child of toil, born in poverty and misery, but the son of prosperous, well-to-do parents, good French bourgeois townspeople of the normal type. But from his very boyhood he was an enthusiastic dreamer, full of fine theories of human betterment, eager to work for the new golden age that should make a paradise of earth. He passed through the law schools, as a clever, diligent student; but his heart was not so much in law as in politics. And, finely endowed with what his friend

and fellow-worker Georges Clemenceau calls "the clear and critical spirit of France," he burned to set forth his views and ideals in fiery, enkindling words.

There was, in those days, when the Third Republic was struggling to its feet in France, menaced by the aftermath of the Communist movement on the one side and by the renewed hostility of Bismarck on the other, a journal called *The People*, which loved freedom with such a white-hot passion that it was not so much socialistic—since socialism is, in some ways, a kind of serfdom—as frankly anarchist; and to *The People* the young Nantes lawyer first contributed. Next, he held an editorial post on *The Lantern*, the purpose of which, like the lantern of Diogenes, was to find an honest man. From *The Lantern* he flitted to *The Little Republic*, and this in turn he deserted to found, in brotherly accord with the famous Jaurès, the ambitiously entitled sheet, *Humanity*. The two men were really in essence irreconcilable, destined from the first to take antagonistic sides on every vital question; but, for the moment, they toiled together like comrades, in the fullest socialistic sense. Young Aristide Briand was passing through the process of "finding himself," and his association with Jaurès was a stage of the way.

It has been said that the typical Socialist is a man with a splendid imagination—but a weak will; so that, able to dream magnificent dreams, he cannot even take the simplest steps to turn them into actuality, and so ends by frothing at the mouth in impotent anger. But Briand has an exceptionally firm and vigorous will, and, while cherishing gold-

en dreams of universal joy, he has always been determined, at the same time, firmly and courageously to take the next immediate step toward realizing them. So, while writing for Humanity his visions of things to come, he saw very lucidly that the first practical step in improving the conditions of the toilers lay in the development of trade unions, which might build up, line upon line, here a little and there a little, winning, at each contest, some small practical advantage.

Without fully recognizing it, he took the most decisive step in his career when, at the great Congress of the Workingmen at his native city of Nantes, in 1894, he espoused the cause of the labor unions as against the Utopianism of the famous leader, Jules Guesde, who belonged to the school that regrets and decries all remedial legislation, every betterment of the condition of the toilers, because it puts off the day of "the Social Revolution."

From the day of the Nantes Congress, twenty-one years ago, the destiny of Briand was decided. He became one of the recognized and trusted leaders of the Socialists, but of that wing of the party which did not believe in waiting for the millennium.

Like all good Frenchmen, he felt the tremendous fascination and stimulus of the wonderful life and spirit of Paris. As a lawyer and politician, his ideal and goal in Paris was the Chamber of Deputies, and several times he offered himself as a candidate for the votes of his fellow-countrymen. He was finally successful in 1902, being then a man of forty. The bane of French Parliamentary life in those days was the splitting up of the popular Chamber into a dozen little parties—in striking contrast with the traditional English system of two great parties only; so that the task of a French Prime Minister who wished to keep a Parliamentary majority together was something like that of Eliza crossing the Ohio River, by jumping from one floating ice raft to another; with the result that no French Ministry lasted more than a few months.

This had its good side, as all French parliamentarians got an unrivaled train-

ing in practical tactics, and every able man among them got a chance to try his hand at the actual work of Government, as a Minister of the State. But it had its crying disadvantages, too; among them, extreme instability; and Aristide Briand first distinguished himself in the French Chamber by warmly advocating, and practically working for, a union of all the more radical elements, to the end of obtaining practical legislation especially making for the amelioration of the working classes.

But one great question was then absorbing all the most active minds in France, to the exclusion almost of foreign and domestic questions alike; this was the relation of Church and State, or, rather, of the churches and the State; for not only the dominant Roman Catholic Church, but also the Protestant, and even the Jewish religious organizations, had an official standing and were paid from the State Treasury. But it was practically a question of the Roman Catholic Church alone, and of the traditional continuance of the theory of Gregory VII.—the great Hildebrand—that the State must be subject to the Church; that Kings and even Emperors all hold their thrones from the Pope of Rome and are his vassals.

This tradition, that the Church should control the State, was complicated in France by the fact that the Clerical or Church domination party was also the royalist party, bent on attacking and overthrowing the French Republic; so that clericalism meant also an attack on popular government and the principles of democracy. This fact accounts for the bitterness of the struggle, which was in no real sense a fight against religion, or even against the Catholic Church in France, though it was a struggle against Roman influence and dictation in French politics.

Aristide Briand first became a world figure when, chosen to report the bill for the separation of Church and State, he made his report to the Chamber of Deputies with such power, such clearness, and, withal, such urbanity and gentleness, that his handling of the whole question has healed many ugly wounds. He was

not only the principal author of the law of separation, which gave the Church in France much the position which it holds in the United States; he was also the chief executive of the law in the Sarrien Ministry of 1906; though his acceptance of office under the bourgeois Prime Minister led to his expulsion from the Socialist Party.

For one other great achievement the name of Aristide Briand has been celebrated. His war, his victorious war, against syndicalism, as expressed in the great railroad strike, in which he gal-

lantly, and with complete success, accepted and enforced the principle that the interests of the whole nation are supreme, and must and shall outweigh the interests of any class, section, or body.

"Aristides became Draco," says Maximilian Harden, well summing up the part Briand then played, with magnificent courage and firmness. Briand himself met the objurgations of his enemies with sparkling humor: "You call me a dictator!" he said. "If I am to play the dictator, I must learn to ride. I shall look out for a horse tomorrow!"

II.

Charles-Louis de Freycinet

Vice President of the Council

WE have grown accustomed to think of General Joffre as "the Grand Old Man" of the present war, perhaps because his once blonde hair has turned to finest silver; and all his soldiers speak of him with loving tenderness as "Grandfather Joffre." But, in comparison with the new Vice President of the Council of Ministers and Secretary of State, Charles-Louis de Saulses de Freycinet, to give the good gentleman his full style and title, General Joffre is but a youngster. This, with sheer literalness, for, when Joffre, as a gallant subaltern of eighteen, was fighting a battery in the girdle of Paris forts against the Prussian invasion of 1870, Freycinet, then a man of forty-two, who had made a high reputation throughout Europe as a scientist, a philosopher, an economist, a man of affairs, was co-operating with the fiery patriot, Léon Gambetta, in the work of reorganizing the armies of France, outside the walls of Paris, from which he escaped in a balloon, to lead the work of national defense.

Freycinet is literally venerable, splendid, even, through sheer force of age alone. Joffre, the Grandpapa, was born just about the time of Louis' Napoleon's coup d'état. That dates the Generalis-

simo. But Freycinet was born in the reign of King Charles X., lived through the mean, disappointing years of Louis Philippe—whose grandson now rules over Bulgaria—saw the Second Republic of 1848, the Second Empire which blazed into glory at Magenta and Solferino and fell into ruin at Sedan, played a leading part in the reconstruction of France as the Third Republic—and is living still, even standing next to the Prime Minister, in the greatest Cabinet of notables France has ever seen. Yes, Freycinet is the fine flower and epitome of modern France; in him lives a whole epoch of her history.

The old gentleman will celebrate his eighty-seventh birthday in a few days—on Nov. 14. On that day he was born, in the little town of Foix, in Ariège under the Pyrenees—almost midway, as it happens, between Rivesaltes, where Joffre was born, and Saint-Béat, General Gallieni's birthplace. His kinsmen of the preceding generation had gained renown for doing the kind of work that Charles Darwin did in the *Beagle*; the kind of work associated with H. M. S. Challenger; a wide scientific survey of the Southern seas, in search of new truths in oceanography, geology, botany, cartography. So it happens that, in Western

Australia, due south of Java, there is a Freycinet Harbor, while in botany a genus of pandanus bears the name of Freycinet.

He made a high reputation as a scientific writer years before the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, doing somewhat the same kind of work as President Poincaré's cousin, the mathematician. In the New York Public Library there is a formidable collection of his works, such as "A Treaty on Rational Mechanics," in two volumes, (1858;) "A Study of Infinitesimal Analysis, Being an Essay on the Metaphysics of the Higher Calculus," (1859;) "The Mathematical Theory of Railroad Gradients," (1860.) Only the last of these suggests the more practical side of Freycinet's work. Graduated from the Ecole Polytechnique in 1848, he had held an appointment as a mining engineer under the State; had passed from that, eight years later, to railroad work, and had gained a great practical success as manager of the Southern Railroad of France, a post he held for five busy years. He worked out there a scheme of operation which has been widely copied and which has left its stamp on the entire system of French railroads.

Beginning with 1862, when he was already eminent as a man of affairs and not less as a writer of singular force, he entered on a series of economic studies, the main purpose of which was the kind of thing Lord Shaftesbury accomplished in England—to secure the greatest measure of health and well-being for factory workers, and to reduce as far as possible the part played by women and children in industrial life, or at least to surround it with all possible safeguards. For seven years he studied these problems in England, France, Germany, Belgium. Two of the works in which he recorded the fruit of his researches were so excellent that they were "crowned" by the French Institute in 1869.

This brings us to the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, in which, as already recorded, he played a great part in conjunction with Gambetta, who speaks of him as "Charles de Freycinet, my col-

league, whose devotion is equal to all difficulties, and whose resolution surmounts all obstacles." With Gambetta he left the French Government after the armistice with the Prussians was signed.

In 1876 Freycinet returned to public life in France, being elected Senator as an adherent of Gambetta. In the Dufaure Cabinet of 1877 he was Minister of Public Works, and in that position carried through a great scheme for the State ownership of railroads—a military necessity in France—besides constructing new lines at a cost of three billion francs (\$600,000,000) and developing the canal system at a cost of \$200,000,000. He retained this post in the Waddington Ministry, and succeeded his chief as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1879. This was the first of many times that he held the Premiership. Freycinet passed an act granting an amnesty to the Communists of 1871, and made a preliminary effort to solve the question of Church and State; but he was far too tolerant for Gambetta, whose watchword was "Clericalism is the enemy!" and their difference brought about the downfall of his Cabinet in September, 1880.

But, so quickly did the whirligig then turn in France, within fifteen months he was once more Premier, soon coming to grief again, this time because of a difference with England over Egypt. In April, 1885, he became Foreign Minister in the Brisson Cabinet, becoming Premier again in the following year, and playing a vital and highly honorable part in the development of the vast colonial empire of France—her greatest achievement in the years after the Franco-Prussian war. So firmly did he lay the foundations that, at the outbreak of the present war, while Germany had about 1,000,000 square miles of colonial territory, France had between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000. Of course the disparity is vastly greater today, when, as a colonial power, Germany has practically ceased to count.

In 1887 Freycinet stood for the Presidency of the French Republic. Had he been elected this would have meant a practical retirement from active politics, since the French President stands

aside from political struggle almost as completely as the sovereign of England; but he was too moderate for the Radicals, and Sadi Carnot reigned in his stead.

He had his revenge, however, for he became War Minister in the Floquet Cabinet of 1888, the first civilian to hold that post since Louis Philippe's fall, forty years before. Here he did his most valuable work for France, holding the War Ministry through five consecutive years and five Ministries, and passing the three years' service law, establishing the French General Staff, and organizing the Supreme Council of War, the committee of a dozen Generals who, under the Chairmanship of the War Minister, dictate the policy of the French Army. In August, 1914, Joffre, Gallieni, and Pau were the three best-known members of this council.

During one of the five Ministries just mentioned Freycinet himself was Premier, besides holding the war portfolio—a proof of his force and skill as a parliamentarian. In 1898 he was once more Minister of War in the Dupuy Cabinet; after that he devoted several years to the writing of his "Souvenirs," two volumes of memoirs; his book on "Egypt," (1905,) and the "Thoughts," which he contributed to *The Contemporain*.

In his memoirs, the most interesting thing is his account of the part he played in the formation of the alliance between France and Russia, in 1893, an alliance which is likely to determine the history of this and the next generation. The story is too long to tell; but, on the Russian side, the Emperor, Alexander III., and the Grand Duke Nicholas (father of the present Grand Duke) stretched out

cordial hands which were clasped by Freycinet and the President of the French Republic. Bismarck and his Ambassador at Paris, Count Munster, tried, by all the arts known to them, to frustrate the Franco-Russian Alliance—and of this Freycinet tells an entertaining tale:

In 1889 Freycinet called on Count Munster at the German Embassy. The Count's daughter, Countess Marie, was present. Said the Count: "My dear Freycinet, what possible interest is driving you into the arms of Russia? Believe me, no good thing comes from the east!"—a rather stupid remark from France's eastern neighbor!

"My dear Count," Freycinet replied, "between Russia and ourselves there exists an old-time sympathy, which showed itself in Napoleon's days, and later under the walls of Sebastopol. And besides it is quite natural that we should seek a counterweight to your Triple Alliance! That you should not wish to attack us, I believe; but with your new Emperor, who knows what may happen?"

Countess Marie burst into the conversation: "Oh, undeceive yourself! I know Wilhelm well. I often played with him when he was a child. He has deeply religious sentiments. He will never take the initiative in making war!"

Freycinet records the elder Grand Duke Nicholas as saying to him, in March, 1891, "If I see clearly, the French and the Russian armies will form one in time of war. And this being well known, will hinder the war. For no one will desire to attack France and Russia united. This is what I repeat in my family."

III.

General Joseph Simon Gallieni

Minister of War.

GENERAL GALLIENI is twenty years younger than Charles de Freycinet, so that we may reckon him as one of "the boys." But, to speak justly, General Gallieni had completed, as he believed, a great and noteworthy

career, and was preparing to pass the evening of his days in retirement in his villa at Saint-Raphael, when the war broke out and called him back again to active service.

In one sense, Gallieni was a much bet-

ter known man than Joffre a year and a half ago. He had earned a high reputation as a soldier, a pioneer, an administrator, in France's great and growing colonial empire; he was exceedingly well known and admired also as an author, the writer of two very popular and graphic books on African travel and of a beautifully printed as well as finely written volume; "Nine Years in Madagascar," the great island, as large as France or Germany, which he practically added to the French domain; as a lecturer, too, as a scientist, as a charming figure in the social life of Paris, he was justly popular; while, outside the War Ministry, General Joffre was hardly known.

Joseph Simon Gallieni is, like General Joffre and General Foch, a Pyrenean; beginning with the Bay of Biscay end of the mountain chain, where General Foch was born, of stock in part aboriginal Basque, one passes, about the centre of the chain, Saint B  at, Gallieni's birthplace; then Foix, Freycinet's home; and, at the Mediterranean end, Rivesaltes, near Perpignan, home of muscatel wine, where Joffre's father was a vineyard owner and cooper.

While Joffre went to the Ecole Polytechnique—just a score of years after Freycinet had graduated from it, young Joseph Gallieni went to the military school of Saint-Cyr—once an "academy for young ladies," for whose benefit Racine's plays, "Esther" and "Athalie," were first played there.

Gallieni received his commission in July, 1870, just in time to enable him to take part—as did Joffre, Pau, and Kitchener—in the Franco-Prussian war. Pau fought in Alsace, Joffre in besieged Paris, Gallieni, seemingly, in the north-east. After the war, with the rank of Lieutenant of Naval Infantry, Gallieni went out to the French colonies in the Indian Ocean, being stationed for some time in the island of R  union, just south of Mauritius. On his way home in 1875 he touched at some of the islands off the coast of Madagascar, which had belonged for periods of a hundred or a hundred and fifty years to France.

His next service was in West Africa, where, beginning with the small colony

of Senegambia with its capital city Saint-Louis, France was preparing to build up the huge territory of the Western Sudan, while England, beginning at the other side of the Dark Continent, was extending through the Eastern Sudan, with which Earl Kitchener's name is so closely connected.

From the outset, Gallieni showed himself to be at the same time a daring explorer, a benevolent and resourceful negotiator of treaties, and a skillful and effective soldier; and his country, recognizing this, sent him on one expedition after another into the African wilds. During the interval between two of these West African expeditions, Gallieni served in the French West Indies, the island of Martinique being his headquarters; but, so far as I know, he has not recorded his experiences there. There are no "First Impressions of America" among his books.

With Africa, quite the contrary; indeed, one of the best, most entertaining, and most vivid books of travel in that much-traveled and much-described continent is his book on the Sudan, in which he tells the story of his great adventure, starting from the upper waters of the Senegal, piercing the forests and mountain ranges that form the watershed between that great river and the still greater Niger, until he finally reached that river, and, after months of difficult negotiations, succeeded in obtaining a treaty very favorable to the expansion of France.

General Gallieni was one of those who did much to build up an auxiliary army of Senegalese, which has given such a good account of itself in the defense of France against invasion. In 1891, Gallieni, who by that time had reached the rank of Colonel, was transferred from West Africa to the extreme east of Asia, to Tonkin, where, under the inspiration of men like Freycinet and Jules Ferry, France was already building up a valuable Oriental realm—a region which Commander Viaud (Pierre Loti) has enshrined in the literature of France.

In Tonkin, first as head of a regiment and later as administrator of newly

acquired territory, Colonel Gallieni worked hard through four consecutive years, his name being bound up with the organization of territories along the Clear River and at Monkay. He cleared the country of bands of marauders, who had invested it for centuries, and established excellent relations with the neighboring Chinese authorities to the north, assisting in the building of the railroad from Phu-Thuong to Lang-Son.

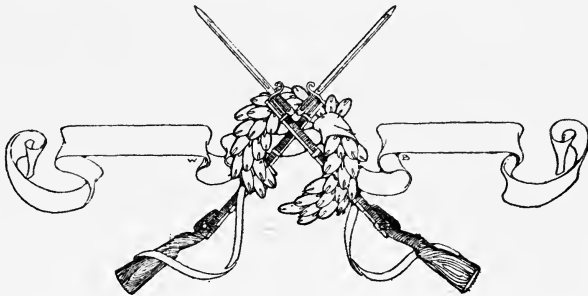
From Tonkin he returned to France, hoping to enjoy a period of tranquillity at home; but the Minister of the Colonies, M. Le Bon, sent for him, and offered him a mission to Madagascar, which would make him the supreme arbiter, military and civil, of the fate of the great island. Gallieni accepted, and, sailing on the Yang-Tse, and touching at Aden and Zanzibar, he reached Madagascar, beginning the nine years of brilliant service of which he has given so good an account in his best book.

Gallieni's more recent history is better known. On his return to France he commanded successively two army corps, the second of which was stationed at Lyons, of which he was made Military Governor. Then he went to Paris, to the War Ministry, to serve on the Supreme Council of War, and that position he

held, as well as the chief position in the Department of Colonial Defense, when the war broke out.

We all remember how, immediately after the Ministerial shakeup in the first weeks of the war—which made M. Viviani Premier and M. Millerand Minister of War—General Gallieni was appointed Military Governor of Paris; how, when the civil Government departed to Bordeaux, he took supreme charge of the city and prepared it for the expected siege, announcing his determination to “fight to the last” in a little address which has become a classic.

We know, too, how after the battle of the Marne when Paris was no longer in immediate danger Gallieni nevertheless bent all his energies to the task of making the city invincible, constructing new concrete trenches with impassable entanglements, placing larger and heavier guns, sweeping entire blocks of residences and shops away to make a clear field for the cannon; measuring with nice accuracy every possible range on all sides of the city. It is, in part, because he has brought this task to the utmost perfection that he is now free to take the Portfolio of War, joining, with the strongest Ministry France has even seen, in the work of “organizing victory.”



Shakespeare and Victory

By Sir Sidney Lee

This article by the most authoritative biographer of the great poet and dramatist—his "Life," drastically revised and enlarged, has just been reissued—appeared originally in the Continental edition of *The Daily Mail*.

*"Now set the teeth and stretch the
nostrils wide,
Hold hard the breath and bend up every
spirit
To his full height."*

THE poetic fervor which the present war has evoked has at times proved stirring and stimulating.

Its power of kindling hope and energy may not have been in direct ratio to its poetic accomplishment. Yet much which has been written has cheered the hearts of our men in action or has helped to alleviate the griefs of their friends at home. At the same time it must be allowed that none or very little of the new poetry has adequately caught the essential spirit of the time. The old Greeks testified from experience to the compelling force of patriotic song in bringing victory to their arms on stubbornly fought fields of battle. In our moment of crisis no Tyrtaeus, no Rouget de Lisle, no Thomas Campbell, has arisen to make our triumph certain and complete. Nevertheless, there is no cause for repining. Great poetry such as can render a people every imaginable service in the stress of warfare is at our disposal in all its freshness, although it is no longer new, and does not owe its inspiration to the passing event.

Shakespeare's words are accessible to all the world. Our German foe is making many arrogant and unveracious claims, among which his boast of identity with Shakespeare's spirit is the most ludicrous. Shakespeare is free of the Prussian taint, and no Teutonic casuistry can rob Britons of their exclusive affinity with him. "Yes, this Shakespeare is ours; we produced him; we speak and think by him; we are of one blood and kind with him." In English ears Shakespeare's poetry of war has, by

virtue of its animating vigor, no rival. Englishmen have but to study their Shakespeare in order to recognize that, if a nation's poetry can now, as in older times, lead army and navy to victory, Great Britain stands small risk of failure in today's mighty conflict. It is well to bear in mind Carlyle's moving words, now seventy-four years old: "This King Shakespeare, does he not shine in crowned sovereignty over us all, as the noblest, gentlest, yet strongest of rallying signs; indestructible; really more valuable in that point of view than any other means or appliance whatsoever?"

On every phase of our present situation Shakespeare offers us words of cheering wisdom. Here is one rousing assurance which should be written in letters of gold in every recruiting station:

If you fight against God's enemy,
God will, in justice, ward you as his soldiers;

If you do swear to put a tyrant down,
You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain:
If you do fight against your country's foes,
Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;

If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;

If you do free your children from the sword,

Your children's children quit it in your age.

Never was penned a better recruiting speech for Englishmen than this passage:

Dishonor not your mothers; now attest
That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.

Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war. And you,
good yeomen,

Whose limbs were made in England, show us here

The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
That you are worth your breeding; which I
doubt not;

For there is none of you so mean and base,
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.

Many a man of high station today may

justly address to his fellow-countrymen lines like these:

For he today that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition:
And gentlemen in England now a-bed
Shall think themselves accursed they were
not here.

And hold their manhoods cheap while any
speaks

That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's
day.

As for what England means to all
men and women of British blood, Shakespeare sums up all that is worth saying in the Great Speech:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred
isle,

This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-Paradise,

This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,

This happy breed of men, this little world,

This precious stone set in the silver sea,

Which serves it in the office of a wall,

Or as a moat defensive to a house,

Against the envy of less happier lands,

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm,
this England, * * *

This land of such dear souls, this dear,
dear land,

Dear for her reputation through the
world * * *

England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious
siege

Of watery Neptune.

None saw more clearly than Shakespeare England's destiny to command the seas: "Which He hath given for fence

impregnable." For Shakespeare the sea was the "natural bravery" of this island.

Which stands

As Neptune's park, ribbed and palèd in
With rocks unscalable, and roaring
waters;

With sands that will not bear your
enemies' boats,

But suck them up to the topmast.

Surely the voice of prophecy speaks in these verses:

Now all the youth of England are on fire,
And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies:
Now thrive the armourers, and honour's
thought

Reigns solely in the breast of every man.

There is prophecy coupled with warning in the familiar words:

This England never did, nor ever shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.

* * * Nought shall make us rue

If England to itself do rest but true.

Many other links could be added to the golden chain. Shakespeare has much to say on the horrors of war and the blessings of peace; but he insists with all his angelic strength on the practical and prudent creed:

Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in
Bear't that the opposed may beware of
thee.

* * * * *

In peace there's nothing so becomes a
man

As modest stillness and humility.

But when the blast of war blow in his
ears,

Then imitate the action of the tiger.

Joan of Arc to Edith Cavell

By MARGARET CHANLER ALDRICH

Daughter of England, my once flaming foe,
With sons of France thou hast most nobly died!
Gentle leech-maiden, come where we abide
Who were called Martyrs in the long ago.
Here healing visions light us to and fro
As we pass, shepherding o'er spaces wide
Weak souls so fear-tormented they have tried
To shrink within the graves that bade them, "Go!"
Toward courage thou shalt lead sick terror's ghosts,
Thou who hast latest learned, mid cruel hosts,
What strength the God of Glory giveth love.
Hearts glow like planets traversing earth's wars;
I hear brave soldiers, where the armies move,
Name us together, looking to the stars!

Reading in War Time

By Edmund Gosse

Late Librarian to the House of Lords and author of many standard works on English literature, Mr. Gosse speaks with authority and distinction on war's effect upon reading. His article appeared originally in *The Morning Post* of London.

WHEN a war of great magnitude has been raging without a decision for fifteen months, it is quite obvious that the strain of attention to its daily oscillations becomes relaxed. We cannot recover, and we should long ago have broken down if we had tried to support, the ecstatic concentration of the opening weeks of the campaigns. In October, 1914, every one was in a slightly abnormal state of suspense and almost of delirium. There was nothing to be thought of, nothing to be talked of, but the war. I presume that under no conditions and in no age that peculiar tension has been long kept up, except in districts actually suffering from the presence or near approach of an invading enemy. And by sheer accident I happened just now to notice that, at the most critical moment of the Napoleonic wars, when Junot was overrunning the peninsula, and we were in the gravest anxiety with regard to the fate of Wellesley's expedition to Portugal, Samuel Taylor Coleridge writes to a friend that he is absorbed by "the heat and bustle of these disgusting lectures," the subjects of which are to be "Modern Poetry" and "Wordsworth's System of Composition." There were to be sixteen of them, and they appear to have been much looked forward to by a cultivated London audience. It is plain, then, that in the Summer of 1808, when Napoleon seemed on the high wave of success all over Europe, there were a large number of people in London who were still interested in the system of composition of Mr. Wordsworth. We are not to think that they lacked a most sensitive patriotism, but they could not help relaxing to a study of the things they cared about.

What makes it very difficult to form any general impression of what people are reading at this point in the progress

of our own war is the difference of temperaments. It would be a mistake to suppose that there is a uniformity of habit among readers today which answers to what existed among the same people before the war. Our strains and anxieties have drawn different minds in various directions, and have torn them into groups. We have good reason to believe that there are persons of some intelligence who "never look at the war news; it is so disturbing!" These find a protagonist in Mr. Punch's old peasant, who flatly won't have it that there is any war going on, and who does not allow the supposition to be breathed in his presence. The violent contrast to these quietists is to be found in the class of people who read newspaper after newspaper, and wear out their eyesight in trying to distinguish Pinsk from Minsk and Dwinsk. Instead of being satisfied with what *The Morning Post* communicates to them about Strumitza and Valandova, they must be feverishly applying all day long to the "Daily" this and the "Hourly" that, in order to complete and confuse their impressions. If these last were readers of books before the war, they have ceased to be so now.

With readers neither so cold nor so inflamed as those of the extreme groups just mentioned, a good deal of the effect of reaction is, I think, displaying itself. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities there was a tremendous output of purely propagandist, or at least of explanatory, literature. People must have spent a great deal of time in reading these little books, which defended the justice of the Allies, exposed the machinations of Germany, prophesied (sometimes very rashly) of the future, and appealed to the sentimentality of noncombatants. A little later there were mingled with these books of circumstance, works which ex-

posed the brutalities of the Germans in Belgium, and appealed to humanity against their violence in France. All these formed a class which appealed, and was bound to appeal, to thousands upon thousands of readers. The literary merit of these books and pamphlets was of the most various quality, and most of it was in its very nature ephemeral. I am only expressing a personal opinion when I say that Owen Wister's "Pentecost of Disaster" seems to me the most likely specimen of it to survive. But it is plain that the longer the struggle is protracted the thinner this stream of special war literature is bound to become. We cannot read over and over and over again about the destruction of Rheims and the infamies of "a scrap of paper." When the colors of the war, have completely blended into history, and the seals of diplomacy are broken at last, a new interest will be awakened, but for the present those questions which can be intelligently discussed in books have become intrenched and stationary, like the battle lines in Poland and Flanders.

In the state of affairs, there seems little room for new interests, but plenty for a resumption of the old. We have attempted to discover what is being read, and the result seems to point to a reaction in favor of old favorites, and friends of seasoned responsibility, whose sobriety can be depended on. A distinguished lady, whose foible is the circle of the sciences, in response to our questioning, somewhat unwillingly admits that she finds it distasteful to look at "popular" scientific books, but still gets pleasure from more abstruse works. This seems to parallel the case of Byron, who, when he was overpowered by anxiety, went out to the Mekhitarist Convent on St. Lazarro, to study Armenian, because he found his mind "wanted something craggy to break against." The worried brain finds a relief in being subjected to discipline, in being in fact tortured into attention. A study of some sort, difficult yet not impossible, is what seems to be wanted. As some one said who took up trigonometry at a time of acute moral distress, the soul requires a file for the serpent to gnaw. We are acquainted with a

family who this Winter have undertaken to read aloud by the fireside the "Diary" of Fanny Burney. There is probably no book in the world which is more peaceful, or in which the tiny events of a secluded life are more emphatically described. But the choice of it for household reading has proved eminently successful, and in the excitement of wondering whether Miss Planta will or will not contrive to induce Mme. Schwellenburg to invite the Colonel to tea, the machinations of Bulgaria fade into momentary insignificance.

A glance at the bookshops gives me the impression that there is a great animation in the realm of autobiography. An extraordinary number of Bishops have simultaneously obliged the town with their recollections. The reminiscences of ancient citizens of Edinburgh, of persons who have languished in foreign prisons, of diplomatists en retraite, of caricaturists, of actors, of anonymous men of business, hustle in the air of Paternoster Row. We must remember that the memories of past time appeal to the elderly, and that these books find their audience among readers who are over military age. In the absence of the young men at the front, Lord Redesdale helps us to forget our disability. It is less easy to understand why there should now be published an essay on "The Pedagogics of Beauty." We could with less effort welcome a discussion of "The Beauty of Pedagogics." There is a far-away flavor of sport and romance about "The Ibex of Sha-Ping," an animal which seems to challenge the mountain tops far from the roar of the "75" batteries. We know nothing of "A Little Te Deum of the Commonplace," but it does not sound like a war publication. Nor have such novels of the present year as have come our way seemed designed to feed, but rather to distract, the attention of readers from the fever of war. But are these anodyne productions largely read? We cannot tell.

The announcements of the publishers, moreover, distinguish the attitude of the English reader from that of the French. Since the Summer of this year, Paris has once more begun to put forth a consid-

erable harvest of books. But a mere examination of their titles is enough to show the consciousness among our neighbors of a more imminent danger than is realized on this side of the Channel. The novel has practically ceased to exist, and such exceptions as the remarkable specimens published by Mme. Marcel Tinayre and M. Paul Bourget, merely prove the rule, because they are exclusively occupied with noting down for future purposes the passing effects of the war on social life. It is not too much to say, if we include patriotic verse, history, and sociology, that ninety-nine per cent. of what has been published in Paris during the last twelve months can be included under the heading "Ouvrages sur la guerre actuelle." This represents a totally different state of things from what our publishers' Autumn and Winter lists announce in England, and it shows a much

more absorbed concentration on the problems of the war than exists with us. So far as I have observed, not a single important contribution to general literature—to archaeology, or criticism, or biography, or literary history—has been made in France since the Summer of 1914. I think the solitary exception has been an edition of the "Amours" of Ronsard, and I can only suppose that this had been subscribed for by a number of special readers and was ready for distribution when the war broke out. Against this lonely apparition, we have to place a variety of enterprises, the most courageous of all being, I suppose, Mr. Summers's stately edition, in many volumes, of the works of Mrs. Aphra Behn, published by Mr. Bullen. The difference of strain between Paris and London is, therefore, curiously illustrated by the advertisements of the publishers.

Left Behind

[From The Westminster Gazette]

By FLORENCE M. WILSON

He was my friend, an' the same ould land
 Was our place o' birth.
 The bogs were ours, an' the mountains grand,
 An' the warm, brown earth.
 Sure, he was but a boy when the bugles blew,
 Yet a man it was that went marchin' through
 Thon wee white town; an' the childer run
 To see him go by; him the soul o' fun!
 I mind how he gripped me—whisperin' low,
 "Och, Micky, a sojer has hard ways to go,
 But God knows 'tis so."

He was my friend, strong, brave, an' kind,
 Until Death come.
 An' his hands are slack, his eyes are blind,
 His lips are dumb.
 When my feet slipped an' I went astray,
 He'd follow me close on the downward way,
 An' he'd say wi' a smile: "What's the use o' a pal,
 If he doesn't stand by ye, for good an' for all?
 Catch hold o' my arm, Mick. Rise up an' come on!
 'Twas always the darkest afore the dawn."
 An' now he's gone.

Important War Books In Press

This department will be devoted to significant extracts from advance sheets of books relating to the great European war or to world affairs that are directly affected by the war. The volumes here treated are still in press, though they will appear this month. As stated in our last issue, this is the first time that an American magazine has undertaken systematically to give such anticipatory glimpses of forthcoming books. The object is to give the reader the same sort of information that may be had later by turning over the pages in a bookstall.

Major Bigelow on World Peace

MAJOR JOHN BIGELOW, a son of the noted diplomatist and a retired officer of the United States Army, will publish through Mitchell Kennerley a thought-provocative volume entitled "World Peace: How War Cannot Be Abolished; How It Possibly May Be Abolished." He devotes his first chapter to "Illusions of Pacifism," exposing the weakness of all the plans of universal peace now before the world, with special attention to the ideas of Norman Angell and ex-President Taft. •His attitude is indicated in this pithy paragraph of his preface:

The signal failure of the pacifists to end war is due principally to their being under the guidance and influence of two classes of persons, of peace fanatics and international lawyers, each building on an imaginary or impossible foundation—the peace people, on the despicable dogma of peace-at-any-price; the international lawyers, on the fetish of national sovereignty. Why world peace cannot be securely based on either of these ideas and how it may possibly be attained, the author has undertaken to set forth or suggest in the following pages.

It is Major Bigelow's belief that universal peace can never be attained by arbitration, by a world court, or by any league of peace. Yet he believes that it will be attained some day along the natural lines of political evolution. Following are some typical passages from the chapter in which he states his conclusions:

International peace is possible only as an enlargement or expansion of national peace. If, then, universal peace is ever brought about, it will be, not by judicial, arbitral or any other mode of settling questions between sovereign States, but by the

obviation of such questions, by their elimination from human affairs; it will be, not peace by arbitration, nor peace by justice, nor peace by agreement, nor peace by compulsion, but peace by government; which means for the world, one people, one sovereignty, one country.

Has the idea of surrendering national sovereignty to a world government been anywhere subjected to a *plebiscite*? It has not reached the point of being considered by responsible statesmen. It is safe to say that it could not be discussed at a Hague Conference or an Inter-Parliamentary Congress without breaking up the meeting.

International lawyers have the same interest in national sovereignty that soldiers have in war. National sovereignty is what they live and thrive on. Without national sovereignty the career of an international lawyer would be about as dark and void as that of a soldier without a prospect of war. To abolish these things is to reduce the international lawyer to an attorney and the soldier to a policeman. For a long time soldiers have been held up to popular opprobrium for selfish disingenuousness in apologizing for war. It has apparently not occurred to any one to suspect the motives of international lawyers, who so earnestly defend national sovereignty.

Internationalism, says Major Bigelow, is an abstraction on which nothing substantial can be based. He says it behooves our people to watch closely the "visionary reformers who seek by resolutions of peace congresses and agreements among Chancelleries to divest the United States of its sovereignty and make it a province in an unknown country." Until we can see a world State about to become an accomplished fact we should "hold firmly to our national sovereignty, prize and preserving it as the vital

principle of our national life." The author concludes:

Under a world government, foreign affairs, diplomacy, and so-called international law will be things of the past. The great incentive of international conflict, competition for the possession of markets, will be forever abolished. All markets being open to every one, it will be a matter of indifference to whom they belong.

World federation means an increase of individual freedom. It will release men from the restraints and relieve them of the burdens imposed upon them by the political and military exigencies of war, and bring about a more general recognition and wider application of the principle that the best government is the

one that governs least. The function of government will be reduced nearer than ever before to protecting the individual against his neighbor, to securing men and women in the exercise of their inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The world State will be governed by individuals for the individual. What democracy has been to Americans, individualism will be to—what shall we say?—to worldians.

The way to all these things, the road to peaceful union, though shorter than the endless one to disunited peace, is very long. Traveling it may be a matter of ages; men may be deterred by its length from entering upon it, but mankind is already on it.

Diplomatic Background of the War

ARTHUR BULLARD has in press with the Macmillan Company a volume entitled "The Diplomatic Background of the War," which the author modestly characterizes as "an introductory textbook, a first-year course in European diplomacy." This, one discovers, is a figure of speech; the book is for the general reader. It is a rapid survey of the diplomacy that led up to the war, followed by an exhaustive discussion of the multitudinous issues that will come up for settlement after the war has burned itself out, when the diplomatists gather around the traditional green table to see what they can save from the general bankruptcy.

The problems of boundaries, of indemnities, of division of spoils, and the like, will be presented by Mr. Bullard in detail. He will show what is most likely to happen if the Allies win, and what course events may take if the Teutons win. For the purposes of the present review, however, it may be best to glance at the section that deals with the diplomatic relations between the United States and Europe.

Remarking that the Monroe Doctrine—America for the Americans—carries with it the inevitable corollary, Europe for the Europeans, the author continues:

The issues involved in this war are intricate in the extreme. We would resent any European power taking sides in the Mexican muddle. Our intervention in Europe over the moral issues of this war is equally uncalled for.

Unenlightened public opinion in the nations of the Entente would like to have us protest over Germany's action in Belgium. It is doubtful if their statesmen would. The British Foreign Office is glad that by not protesting on behalf of Belgium we established a precedent which has made it logical for us to turn a deaf ear to the protests of Holland and Sweden and the other neutrals. The French diplomats certainly remember that we did not join the protest when they tore up the Algeciras Treaty. And it is highly improbable that the Russian Government would want any neutral nation to begin investigations of "atrocities charges."

Mr. Bullard discusses both the British and the German violations of our rights as a neutral, and draws a distinction between them. He calls the British interference with our sea trade "stupidly illegal, arrogant, and decidedly unsportsmanlike," but he finds the German submarine methods "inhuman and horrible."

As a general proposition, [he continues,] it can be laid down that no liberal, democratic nation dreams of

fighting over a commercial protest which can be arbitrated and settled by an award of damages. Most of our protests addressed to England since the outbreak of the war have been of this nature. If we had been spoiling for a fight it would have been easy to start one over the bizarre British doctrine that they can, in order indirectly to hurt their enemy, play fast and loose with trading rights of neutrals—rights which they were the first to champion when they were neutral. The idea that, because they do not approve of the way the Germans fight, they can inflict reprisals on non-combatants is as untenable as it is original. At the first opportunity we shall certainly "go to court" about it, and have this amazing pretention thrashed out. But if the English are ready to live up to their arbitration treaty with us, we do not want to fight about it.

The situation of the British public in regard to the legality or illegality of their Orders in Council is peculiar. They know very little about it. The press censorship has prevented discussion. The great mass of the people believe that they are fighting in the cause of international law. Any newspaper which published the facts would be, if not suppressed by the Government, accused of German sympathies and wrecked by the mob. Their papers are allowed to publish news to the effect that the Dutch are trading with the Germans, but a calm statement of the fact that the Dutch have the same right to trade

with Germany that the English had to trade with both sides in the Russo-Japanese war, or that we have to trade with England and France and Russia would be regarded as seditious.

This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. Our controversy is rankly illegal for them to blockade officers. The sea lords are sailors, not international lawyers. They want to do Germany as much harm as possible, and the fact that it is rankly illegal for them to blockade Holland, rankly in conflict with the stand taken by their Government before, does not appeal to them as important. It is rumored that there have been serious disputes in the British Cabinet over this matter. It is probable that Sir Edward Grey was personally opposed to the policy of blockade which has thrown Sweden on the German side and has alienated the sympathy of almost all the neutral nations.

The volume closes with a strong plea for widening the Monroe Doctrine by intrusting its enforcement to a league of all the American republics:

A defensive league of American republics would be more effective than any single-handed warning to Europe. To maintain the Monroe Doctrine unchanged is to needlessly and offensively assert our political supremacy in the New World. Our neighbors to the south very naturally hesitate to admit their hopeless inferiority. And no league worth the name is possible without their cordial co-operation.

English Character: Today as Yesterday

A CURIOUS war book has recently been published in Germany—a new edition of Theodor Fontane's English experiences in the year 1852, entitled "A Summer in London." The well-known German critic, Samuel Saenger, has written an introduction to the book, in which he says that England is the same today as in those days of Peel and Cobden. He calls special attention to Fontane's chapter, "Parallels," from which we translate the following excerpt:

England and Germany compare as form and content, as appearance and reality. In contrast to those things

that, from the great bridge to the tiniest needle, are unequaled in England, formality is decisive. You need not be a gentleman; so long as you have the means to appear as one, you are a gentleman. You need not be in the right; so long as you possess the formula that seems to be right, you are such. You need not be a scholar so long as you belong to scientific societies, and if you have but the inclination and some talent, you may pass for a scholar. Everywhere we meet with appearances. Nowhere else stands the gate so wide open for charlatanism to enter as in the British Isles. No place is it less liable to criticism, and here

as nowhere else do glitter and glorification lend value to a name.

The German exists in order to live; the Englishman exists for the purpose of representing something. In Germany one lives happily so long as one is comfortable; in England it is a case of being looked up to, honored. The German lives for his own sake; the Englishman does not want to give up anything, but exacts praise, honor, admiration. The Englishman is always for representation, so to speak, even when he is by himself. He knows that practice makes perfect, and goes on the supposition that what one does at home wins reward abroad.

We speak of English comfort, and quite correctly. But we must not interpret this word wrongly. The Englishman has thousands of comforts, but he is himself not comfortable. He owns the softest carpets, the best bed clothing, the keenest razors. His dressing table is a whole bazaar, an exposition in miniature. He has umbrellas that one may put in one's pocket; he has everything that money can buy—and still he is not comfortable.

And why not? The Englishman lives like a Prince, at least as a Minister of State. He is ever ready to receive, to grant audiences, play the host at home or elsewhere. Three times a day he changes his clothes. In the drawing room or at table he is a strict observer of etiquette. He is everything possible that is nice and big, and yet, in the midst of our astonishment there comes to us a sense of utter homesickness after our little Germany, where representation does not bother, but where one knows what it is to live quietly, and so comfortably.

Appearances and power constitute a fixed idea for the Englishman. Of course, it requires some ability to play such a rôle, and the least important Englishman has more dignity and oratorical gift than a whole company of German state officials. I happened to live in the house with a young man of what one would consider average education, and when his birthday came around we arranged some little surprise in his honor. What was my astonishment when, without the least sign of timidity or wavering, he made a speech which, so far as concerns fluency and timeliness, I have never heard surpassed.

If this had been in Germany we would simply have had a jolly good time with each other, clasped hands and later declared that our emotion

was too much for us, so that we could not find words to interpret our feelings. Whether this popular English gift of keeping up appearances is reflected from that higher art of pretense that characterizes the nation's government is difficult to say. I think there has been a lessening of the whole mass.

The schools reflect the characteristics of the two nations. Take the German gymnasium and the English cadet schools. What variety in the gymnasium! Next to the son of the nobleman, who lives with the director and pays heavily for his tuition, sits the son of the villager, who receives most of his foodstuff from home and even uses some of it for the purpose of paying his room rent. He wears a long, faded coat in contrast to the fineries of his aristocratic neighbor, who does as he pleases, even to despising his teacher. But the farmer boy need not mind his poverty, for he is shrewd and attentive, and soon gets above the son of the nobleman, who is relegated to the last bench. The faded coat is to us just a side issue, and he who studies and knows becomes a leader. The gifts of mind take precedence over the gifts of birth and heritage.

In the English cadet school it is entirely different. A sense of aristocratic feeling pervades everything. Appearance has the call, if, in fact, it does not take supersedeance of everything else. Similarity in appearance and in modes of living is carried to an almost annoying extreme. The coats are just of such a length. The neckties sit exactly so. The parting of the hair is without the slightest deviation. You cannot distinguish between high and low.

In the dining room there are other surprises. Equally stiff, we find the first and last classes sitting at table. Knives and forks are held in the same positions. As for the school room, the aristocratic character of the school exacts that a Howard, a Mowbray, a Sutherland, occupy the first places, even though they may have nothing more than their names and their titles.

In a few words: England is aristocratic; Germany democratic. We hear constantly about English liberty, but as a matter of fact, aside from their citizen rights, no people are further removed from democracy. Hence the stereotyped form of English living. The small ones strive with the big ones; the poor with the wealthy. And with all that, the hat still comes off quickly when the lord appears, and a Baronet and a Member of Cabinet is still the object

of devotion. Thackeray, of whom we may say that he was every inch an Englishman, tells the whole story in his "Vanity Fair."

In conclusion: England is practical, Germany idealistic. The same nation that places appearance above

fact, that moves heaven and earth in the service of egotism, is practical from one end to the other. And we? We, who love the truth and search for the reality of existence, we lose in our search the reality sought, and become dreamers.

"Great Russia: Her Achievement and Promise"

A COMPREHENSIVE and significant volume on Russia and her problems, entitled as above, will be published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York. The author, Professor Sarolea, is a widely known English educator, author, and lecturer. He devotes several chapters to showing that Russia, as a nation, apart from its autocratic government, stands for freedom and for the liberation of oppressed nationalities. In the case of Poland, he contends, it is not Russia, but Prussia, who is the main culprit. This is his prophecy:

Like the war of 1812 liberating Europe, like the war of 1825 liberating Greece, like the war of 1878 liberating Bulgaria, the war of 1915 will ultimately be a war of emancipation. The treaty of peace which will destroy German militarism will also culminate in the reconciliation of the two great representatives of the Slavonic stock, who both in the past have been the victims of Teutonic militarism.

After devoting a hopeful chapter to the future of Poland, Professor Sarolea gives the next to the problem of the Russian Jew. The two problems, he says, are indissolubly connected. It is impossible to liberate the one race without liberating the other. The author continues:

You cannot erect in Poland a free, self-governing State, and at the same time exclude from that State the most enterprising, the most intelligent, the wealthiest section of the community.

Not only is the Jewish problem the most important and the most urgent of all Russian political problems, it is also the most difficult. Russian reactionaries invariably assume that it concerns Russia alone. Unfortunately it concerns the whole wide world. It is impossible to discuss the position of the Jew in the empire of

the Czar apart from his position in Europe and America.

But the Jewish problem cannot solve itself in other parts of the world as long as it has not found a solution in Russia, which is the new Palestine, which is the very heart and centre of Israel. The Jewish problem cannot solve itself as long as five million Hebrews remain the victims of a most odious mediaeval oppression. Unfortunately, in the course of the last twenty years the position of the Jew in Russia has not become better; rather has it become worse.

The Jew is still cooped up within that huge Polish ghetto called the "Pale." He is still forbidden access to the land. He is still tracked by the police and periodically decimated by organized massacre. And the pogroms are becoming more frequent and more savage. He is still forbidden entrance to the civil service. He is still largely excluded from the liberal professions, only from 5 to 7 per cent. of Jews being allowed into the Russian gymnasia and the universities. The Jew has had no share in the partial political enfranchisement which followed the Russo-Japanese war, and he is suffering throughout the present war more than any other nation, more even than the martyred Belgians and Serbians.

The worst of the present legislation against the Jew is that it defeats its purpose. It is not only odious; it is gratuitous. It is futile. It is politically insane. We are told that the Jew must be denied access to the land for the protection of the helpless *moujik*, but the present legislation, by preventing the Jew from owning land, from becoming an independent farmer, makes him instead a constant menace to the independent farmer, dooms him to the odious profession of a usurer and a publican.

Professor Sarolea's last chapter is devoted to the relations between Russia

and Germany. Noting that every Russian Czar has married a Princess of German blood, and that the relations between the two Courts continue to be close in spite of the war, he concludes with this warning:

Let us be under no delusion; as the war is being protracted, as the economic and military pressure increases, as the decision is being delayed, there exists, at least, a remote danger of a breach in the European alliance. I admit that the chances are very remote, but Germany may be depended upon to make the most of those chances, and to use all the influence she has got in Russia to compass her ends.

Our Relations With Japan

THE discussion of "Japanese Expansion and American Policies," (The Macmillan Company,) by J. F. Abbott of Washington University, which will be published during February, ought to have a calming influence upon the perennial fears of certain citizens of this country. Its timeliness and interest are emphasized by the present division of opinion upon how prepared the nation needs to be for possible attack upon either its east or west coast. Mr. Abbott, who has lived much in Japan, considers the past and present relations between that country and the United States, from all sides and in all their phases.

Early in the volume he pays this tribute to the diplomatic abilities of our first representative in Japan, Townsend Harris, who was sent as Consul immediately after the visit of Commodore Perry, and who won his way through every sort of obstruction to the conclusion of a treaty, so skillfully drawn that it served as the model for all subsequent treaties entered into by Japan with other foreign nations.

After discussing the relations, understandings, and agreements between Japan, Russia, and the United States in the early years of the present century, Mr. Abbott has this to say of the consequences of the activities of Philander C.

We have seen how entirely German power has been artificial and imposed from above, how it has been the outcome of the dynastic connection. But in the meantime the German influence, supreme before the war, still subsists and still constitutes a danger which it would be extremely unwise and unstatesmanlike to ignore or to underrate. We must, therefore, guard ourselves so that when the day of settlement comes the subtle and subterranean German forces shall not make themselves felt, and that the Teutonic monarchies shall be frustrated in their supreme effort to retain a power which has been so fatal to the liberties of Europe and to the free development of the Russian people.

Knox as Secretary of State during the Taft Administration:

The net result of Mr. Knox's Japanese policy was nil from the standpoint of either diplomacy or of practical achievement. * * * But this does not mean that his proposals were unimportant. On the contrary, their effect upon American-Japanese relations has been most profound and permanent. They mark the end of the "elder brother" period. There still remain many thousands of the older generation in both countries who cannot forget the amicable relations that used to exist, or the attitude of disinterested helpfulness of American officials toward Japan, that meant so much to the latter in her early struggles for a place in the Eastern sun. But from now on, America and Japan, as nations, can never again be on the same old footing. Each will always suspect the other's motives. Perhaps the situation could not have been avoided sooner or later. Both peoples merely have emerged from a period of national adolescence, with its natural enthusiasms, into maturity, with its cold practicality and its own selfish interests. Yet good feeling between alien peoples is a valuable political asset, and Mr. Knox's activities have done a good deal to destroy the former American-Japanese friendship without gaining any corresponding advantage.

Mr. Abbott not only narrates the history of the relations between Japan and the United States and traces the causes

of the varying states of feeling of each for the other, including a long account of the situation on the Pacific Coast, but he also has something to say of the results to be expected from whatever policy we may adopt:

The interests of America, Japan, and China are so diverse, and at the same time so interrelated, that if the three nations can work in harmony each will profit vastly more than if each attempts to shape its future independently or in conflict with the others. America wishes the

"open door" in China, Japan wishes the equivalent of a Monroe Doctrine for the East. If America supports Japan's contention, and Japan America's, Europe will be forced to acquiesce, and peace in the Pacific will be assured. In a word, we must abandon, once and for all, the anti-Japanese policy inaugurated by Knox; more than that, we must abandon the laissez-faire, indifferent policy that many advocate today. Rather our policy should be one of active co-operation, an alliance, if you will, though not necessarily one in the conventional military sense.

A Historian in Haste

CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen, is bringing out through the Dutton press the third and final volume of "A Short History of Europe," in which he has covered the vast stretch of years from 476 to 1914. The earlier volumes won high praise from European critics for their accuracy and scholarly poise. One turns with curious interest, therefore, to Professor Terry's pages on the present war, written in the fevered atmosphere of the hour.

The difficulties of the historian who tries to write with finality, even on the early events of a war, while the war is still in progress, are exemplified at some points in the following excerpt:

No fact is more striking in the circumstances attending the outbreak of war than the amateurish lack of perceptiveness of the German Foreign Office and its representatives abroad, and their inability to gauge the situation with even a remote degree of accuracy. Germany counted on Turkey rallying India and Egypt to a holy war. In fact, the Mohammedan world viewed her with less than indifference. For the first time in the long history of British India its native soldiery fought for the British Raj on the soil of Europe. Without demur Egypt accepted Great Britain's detachment of her from Turkey to become a British protectorate. Turkey's action also permitted Great Britain to settle herself irrevocably at Basra, on the Persian Gulf, the very Mecca of Germany's hopes.

Nor were these the only conse-

quences of Turkey's ill-considered intervention. Early in 1915 Great Britain and France began to knock at the gates of Constantinople itself, and ships of war and an increasing host patiently assaulted the strength of the Dardanelles. Their appearance suggested the extrusion of Turkey from Europe as probable, if not imminent, and threw the whole Balkan world into anxious reckoning of the situation.

Albania, deserted by her German Mpret, again faced an open future. Serbia again turned hopefully toward the Adriatic. Bulgaria and Rumania, to some degree within the orbit of the German powers at the outset of the war, showed an increasing disposition to balance the situation to their own advantage; Bulgaria envisaging the rectification of the disastrous treaties of 1913; Rumania eager to join hands with her Latin kindred in Transylvania. Greece, also, where a philo-German court and staff were unable to coerce popular emotion, clamored to enter a campaign which, for her own sake, she feared the great powers might bring to an end unaided.

Professor Terry's final paragraph is inspired by courage of prophecy rather than by achieved events of history:

The Balkans, released from the sinister influence of Germany and Austria-Hungary, at length saw before them a settlement based on the only sure foundation—that of the national principle. Poland was encouraged to hope that the crime of the eighteenth century against her would be expiated. The artificial State which the Hapsburg so long

had held together in defiance of the national principle faced the prospect of dissolution. And the long decay of Turkey, so baneful in its effect

on Southeast Europe, seemed likely to end in her expulsion whence she had come to trouble Christendom five centuries before.

A War Witness's Cry: "Prepare!"

ONE of the best of the early eyewitness books on the war was Eric Fisher Wood's "The Notebook of an Attaché." A second book by Mr. Wood, entitled "The Writing on the Wall," will be issued by the Century Company about the time that this notice reaches the eyes of the public. It is a call to Americans to prepare for defense, and is inspired by the author's harrowing memories of European battlefields and devastated homes. He says:

We who have beheld the present gigantic struggle with our own eyes feel and understand how far-reaching it is, and how much more far-reaching it may well become. When we return from Europe and find our countrymen apparently asleep to all this, we are utterly amazed at their apathy. We become possessed by an almost irrepressible impulse to shake them until they are thoroughly awake; we long to open their sleepy eyes to the full significance of the facts.

Mr. Wood urges the futility of treaties and of arbitration, and declares that to expect arbitration without preparedness is ridiculous, a contradiction of terms. A minimum total of 2,500,000 men, he estimates, would be necessary to defend our Atlantic States from the attack of a single great nation. As it is manifestly undesirable to try to maintain a standing army of any such size, the alternative is a system of universal compulsory military service based on the plan that has been so successful in Switzerland and Australia. On behalf of this method the author says:

If such a system were adopted by the United States every growing boy would be constantly under inspection by trained surgeons and military experts. His physical weaknesses and mental defects would be considered and, as far as possible, remedied. It is now well recognized that a large proportion of the ineffective,

criminal, or insane members of society suffer from physical defects that could so far be modified during childhood as to make useful citizens out of potentially dangerous persons.

The women of Australia at first so strongly opposed the plan for compulsory military training that they retarded and nearly defeated its adoption; within two years' time, however, the wonders which it had wrought in their own boys converted them into its most ardent advocates.

According to Mr. Wood, the nation is not in sympathy with President Wilson's moderate preparedness plans. The author also expresses emphatic distrust of the judgment of Secretary Daniels. Here are a few typical paragraphs:

Two seasoned army corps of 40,000 men, once gaining foothold on our shore, could work their will with us for at least six months. There are several great nations any one of which could within a month land a dozen such corps upon our coast. We must therefore, until we have adopted the Swiss system, make such a disaster as improbable as possible; this can be accomplished only by an immediate and systematic extravagance in naval construction.

President Wilson, in his message to Congress, recommended the building of only ten battleships in the next five years; whereby in effect he recommends building even fewer battleships in future than we have per year averaged to add to our navy in the past.

Great Britain has been saved from invasion not by submarines and coast defense vessels but by her capital ships which alone control the seas. This lesson is one for America soberly and seriously to consider.

The reconstruction of our army and our navy, however, even though it is attempted with vast appropriations of money and countless numbers of men, will not of necessity give us an effective army or an efficient navy. All the wars in history have proved that it is always organ-

ization and discipline which win against numbers. At this moment preparation for defense has already become in the minds of the majority the one great national problem, the rational solution of which will in the

next few years elect Presidents, develop statesmen, and undermine many a popular politician. Even now laggards are running to cover or hastening to enlist in the popular cause.

"The Story of the Submarine"

THE important part played by the submarine in the present war, and the doubt still expressed by some naval experts as to whether the final balance of efficiency will be in its favor or against it, lend special interest to "The Story of the Submarine," (The Century Company,) by Farnham Bishop, to appear this month. Mr. Bishop narrates the history of the submarine from the earliest attempts to put the idea into material form, which were as long ago as the days of King James I. of England, who himself journeyed in a submarine in the Thames. A goodly part of the book is devoted to the work and achievements of American inventors, beginning with Dr. David Bushnell, the Connecticut Yankee who during the Revolutionary War built a submarine that came to grief. Of him Mr. Bishop says:

Bushnell found the submarine boat a useless plaything and made it a formidable weapon. To him it owes the propeller, the conning tower, and the first suggestion of the torpedo. The Turtle was not only the first American submarine but the forerunner of the undersea destroyer of today.

Robert Fulton's submarine experiments and his attempts to interest first the French, then the English, and later the American Government in submersible boats are described and discussed at length. This excerpt shows how he anticipated while in France a twentieth century war scheme:

Fulton had planned a submarine campaign for scaring the British Navy and merchant marine out of the narrow seas, and so bringing Great Britain to her knees, more than a century before the German Emperor proclaimed his famous "war zone" around the British Isles. In one of his letters to the Directory the American inventor declared that:

"The enormous commerce of England, no less than its monstrous Government, depends upon its military marine. Should some vessels of war be destroyed by means so novel, so hidden, and so incalculable, the confidence of the seamen will vanish and the fleet will be rendered useless from the moment of the first terror."

The struggles and eventual triumphs of the two Americans, John P. Holland and Simon Lake, are told with much detail, and their inventions described. The following account of Mr. Lake's dealings with the Krupps is interesting in its bearing on the German conception of the value of a "scrap of paper":

When the Krupps first took up the idea of constructing submarines for the German and Russian Governments the great German firm consulted with Mr. Lake, who was at that time living in Europe. An elaborate contract was drawn up between them. The Krupps agreed to employ Mr. Lake in an advisory capacity and to build "Lake type" boats both in Russia, where they were to erect a factory and share the profits with him, and in Germany, on a royalty basis. Before he could sign this contract Mr. Lake had to obtain the permission of the Directors of his own company in Bridgeport. In the meanwhile he gave the German company his most secret plans and specifications. But the Krupps never signed the contract, withdrew from going into Russia, and their lawyer coolly told Mr. Lake that, as he had failed to patent his inventions in Germany, his clients were perfectly free to build "Lake type" submarines there without paying him anything, and were going to do so.

Mr. Bishop sums up the value of the submarine in warfare as follows:

As scouts in the enemy's waters they are invaluable. As commerce destroyers they do the work of the swift-sailing privateers of a century

ago. In the Fall of 1915 British submarines in the Baltic almost put a stop to the trade between Germany and Sweden. But to blockade a coast effectively submarines must have tenders, which must have destroyers and light cruisers to defend them, which in turn require the support of battle cruisers and dreadnoughts, with their attendant host of colliers, hospital ships, and

air scouts. Nor can a coast be long defended by submarines, mine fields, and shore batteries if there are not enough trained troops to keep the enemy, who can always land at some remote spot, from marching around to the rear of the coast defenses. This war is simply repeating the old, old lesson that there is no cheap and easy substitute for a real army and navy.

"Italy and the Unholy Alliance"

UNDER the foregoing title W. O. Pitt, an English author, is about to issue through the press of E. P. Dutton & Co. a popular history of Italy's struggles for liberty in the last hundred years. The book is written with special reference to the Triple Alliance, which the author calls "unholy," and to the circumstances in which Italy entered and withdrew from it.

Mr. Pitt holds that the Italians were virtually forced to enter into this alliance in order to save their national existence; that they faithfully complied with its terms, often against their own interests, but that Austria and Germany repeatedly failed to do likewise. In his introduction the author sums up the recent phases of the subject as follows:

Italy's quarrel is with Austria, and it is a quarrel that extends over a century. Not a year of those hundred has not given Italy some strong reason for just resentment against Austria. For the first half of the hundred years Austrian troops held Italy in bondage to the worst form of tyrannical misgovernment that disfigured Europe during the nineteenth century, by cruelties almost too hideous for realization. Throughout the second part of the hundred years, Austria has ruled a province of Italy with an iron hand, maintaining it by armed force as a constant menace to the peace of Italy.

Throughout her struggle for her very existence, Italy has been loyal to her friends, wherever she could find them. She has fought her way to national existence, and to something like national prosperity, through unexampled difficulties. Now, freed from her unnatural alliance, and mindful of her ancient and glorious heritage, she has cast in her lot with those who are fighting for freedom.

The body of the book is a rapid narrative of the outstanding events of Italy's century of romantic struggles for unity and independence, from the days of Napoleon and of the Holy Alliance to the heroic times of Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, and to the war in Tripoli and the nation's entrance into the present conflict.

In 1882 Italy, under Premier Crispi, had already signed the Triple Alliance for a term of five years, although the fact was not disclosed until the following year. Tracing the effects of this unnatural union through the subsequent years, the author comes to the theme of his final chapter, "Why Italy Went to War":

During the Tripolitan war, as it has been shown, Italy realized the disadvantages of the Triple Alliance. As Signor Salandra said in a speech delivered to the Italian Chamber on June 3, 1915: "It is impossible to estimate how many Italian soldiers perished, and how much treasure was expended by Italy through the impossibility of taking direct action against Turkey, which knew herself to be protected by our own allies from every attack endangering the vital spots in her armor."

Regarding the attempt to use Italy against Serbia in the Balkan wars the author quotes Signor Salandra's words: "Impartial history will declare that Austria, having found, in July and October, 1913, that Italy would not be a party to her aggressions on Serbia, plotted with Germany to bring off a surprise." The opportunity was the crime of Serajevo, the surprise was the bomb-shell of July, 1914.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS OF THE MONTH

BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE KAISER AND THE CZAR

J. A. M.—Is not the power of the Kaiser over the people of Germany absolute? Has he as much power as the Czar of Russia? Can the Kaiser alone declare war?

THE Kaiser's power cannot be said to be "absolute." Germany is a constitutional monarchy, and the Emperor derives his power far less from that actually granted to him as Emperor of Germany, which is relatively slight, than from the facts, first, that as King of Prussia he controls the seventeen Prussian votes in the Bundesrat, and, second, that the Imperial Chancellor is responsible, not to the Parliament of the Empire but to the Emperor himself. The Kaiser has power to declare defensive war, and to define the term "defensive"; for any war of offense the consent of the Bundesrat is necessary. The Kaiser has not as much power as the Czar, who is acknowledged as an "autocrat"; the Czar in the famous October manifesto of 1905 voluntarily limited his legislative power by decreeing that henceforth no measure was to become law without the consent of the Imperial Duma, and since 1906 the power of Government has been exercised normally by the Emperor only in concert with the Duma and the Council of the Empire. But in certain circumstances the Czar can "raise fresh loans" by his own authority, and when the Duma is not sitting he can "issue ordinances having the force of law"; also he can prorogue the Duma as often as he pleases, and can proclaim a "state of siege" anywhere and at any time.

THE RUSSIAN NAVY

W. M.—The Russian Navy, which was rated as sixth before the outbreak of war, numbered at that time nine modern battleships, four cruiser battleships, six older battleships, six first-class cruisers, twelve second-class cruisers, five third-

class cruisers, eight gunboats, 141 destroyers, twenty-five torpedo boats, and forty-three submarines. The personnel of the navy numbered 52,463 men and officers.

THE LARGEST GERMAN WARSHIPS

W. M.—The largest warships in the German Navy, of which authentic information is available at this time, are the Luetzow, the Ersatz, Hertha, and the Derfflinger, each with displacement of 28,000 tons, draught of 27 feet, indicated horse power 100,000, and the following guns: Eight 12-inch, twelve 5.9-inch, and twelve 3.4-inch. The Derfflinger was completed in 1914; the others had not yet been finished at the outbreak of the war. Details are not available regarding the size of the Worth and the "T," which were building in 1914, and which were to have eight 15-inch and sixteen 5.9-inch guns. The König, Grosser Kurfürst, Kronprinz, and Markgraf, which were completed in 1914, and are smaller than the first-named ships, carry each ten 12-inch, fourteen 5.9-inch, and twelve 3-pounder guns, as do several still smaller ships. At the end of 1914 Germany had thirteen warships completed carrying 12-inch guns.

THE BALKAN STATES

R. J. T.—Will you please tell me just what the expression "Balkan States" means? I know what the Balkan States are, but why are they called that?

THE countries known as "The Balkan States" occupy the Balkan Peninsula, the easternmost of the three great southern peninsulas of Europe, which in its turn takes its name from the mountain range of the Balkan. This great mountain chain, running down into the peninsula, is a continuation of the southern Carpathians or Transylvanian Alps. The strict limits of the Balkan

Peninsula place its base on a line from the delta of the Danube to the head of the Adriatic Sea, but part of the territory thus defined lies outside what is conventionally designated as the Balkan Peninsula.

THE ZABERN AFFAIR

J. A. M.—The following brief résumé and study of “consequences,” which answers your question both as to the facts and the significance of the Zabern affair, is taken from the *International Year Book* for 1914: “Political issues of prime importance were involved in the Zabern affair. The incident in itself was trivial enough—the arrogant bearing of a young German Army officer, a nobleman, in an Alsatian town had led to a conflict between the garrison and the townsfolk. But as the Imperial Ministry supported the garrison officer, and as the Kaiser supported the Imperial Ministry, in defiance of the Reichstag’s overwhelming vote of no confidence, the dispute over the Zabern incident assumed the aspect of a battle for civil liberty and for responsible government. If the officers in question, Lieutenant von Forstner and Colonel von Reutter, were allowed to escape without punishment, it would mean that army officers could henceforth with impunity ride rough-shod over the civil population; if the Government continued to disregard the wishes of the Reichstag, one more triumph would have been scored for autocracy. Late in December, 1913, the court-martial sentenced Lieutenant von Forstner to forty-three days’ imprisonment for violence and abuse of military privilege. Early in January the court-martial acquitted Colonel von Reutter of the charge of improper usurpation of police power which had been brought against him for supporting young von Forstner in the feud between the garrison and the town. Colonel von Schad, also involved in the case, was likewise acquitted. Furthermore, a superior court-martial shortly afterward acquitted von Forstner, on appeal from the lower court. It was an unqualified triumph for the military aristocracy. In order to prevent further trouble in Zabern the obnoxious young

Lieutenant was transferred to a command in Prussian Poland, and Colonel von Reutter was given command of a distinguished grenadier regiment at Frankfort-on-Oder. The Zabern incident came up for discussion in the Reichstag in January, as well as in the Legislatures of Alsace-Lorraine, Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden, but protests were futile. In April the Prussian Government published a new regulation for troops under Prussian military administration regarding the use of arms in time of peace, and serving to give at least a clearer definition of the prerogatives of the military.”

THE SANJAK OF NOVIBAZAR

SELLECK SEELY.—What is the sanjak of Novibazar? Please give me a little history and description of it.

NOVIBAZAR (New Market) was, prior to the Balkan wars, a sanjak of European Turkey, in the villayet of Kosovo. Its population was about 170,000. It is now—or was before the present war—divided between Serbia and Montenegro. It is a mountainous region, watered by the Lim, which flows north into Bosnia. Before the Balkan wars about three-fourths of the population were Christian Serbs, and the rest were chiefly Moslem Albanians, with a few gypsies, Turkish officials, and about 3,000 Austro-Hungarian soldiers. A massacre of Serbian Christians in the sanjak, in July, 1912, was one of the contributory causes of the Balkan outbreaks. The local trade of the sanjak is largely agricultural. The following summary of history practically to the Balkan wars is quoted from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911): “The sanjak is of great strategic importance, for it is the northwest part of the Turkish Empire, on the direct route between Bosnia and Saloniki, and forms a wedge of Turkish territory between Serbia and Montenegro. The union of these powers, combined with the annexation of Novibazar, would have impeded the extension of Austrian influence toward Saloniki. But by the treaty of Berlin (1878) Austria-Hungary was empowered to garrison the towns of Byelofolye,

Priepolye, Pleulye, and other strategic points within the sanjak, although the entire civil administration was left in Turkish hands. This decision was enforced in 1879. The chief approaches from Serbia and Montenegro have also been strongly fortified by the Turks." By the Treaty of Bucharest, July 25, 1913, Novibazar was a part of the territory granted to Serbia, but subsequent agreements with Montenegro included about half the original sanjak of Novibazar as a grant to the smaller nation. The population of Serbian Novibazar, according to the Statesman's Year Book of 1914, was before the outbreak of the present war 133,401. The capital of the Turkish sanjak was the town of Novibazar, with a population of about 12,000, on the site of the ancient Serbian city of Rassia. Properly speaking, Novibazar is not a "sanjak" at present, as that word is only applied to a Turkish administrative district of the second grade.

BOHEMIA

J. A. K.—Please give me some facts about the nation of Bohemia, its original race, the population of Bohemia, its history in the past, and its relation to the Hapsburg throne.

BOHEMIA, called by its Slav inhabitants Cechy, is a former kingdom of Europe and a present crown land of Austria. The country is peopled mainly by Czechs or Bohemians, who are Slavs; but about two-fifths of the inhabitants are Germans, and a keen racial rivalry has existed between the two elements in the population. Bohemia is still an agricultural country, although manufacture and commerce have developed greatly of recent years. Next to agriculture, however, mining holds the first rank; Bohemia has the richest mineral deposits of any of the crown lands of Austria; these include lignite, coal, iron ore, silver ore, and gold ore. Bohemia has 130 members in the lower house of the Austrian Reichsrat. It has its own Diet, of 242 members. Its population in 1910 was 6,769,598.

In the sixth century the country was peopled by Slavic immigrants, under the common name of Czechs. By the close

of the ninth century their petty chiefs had been converted to Christianity, mainly by the Germans. By the close of the twelfth century the line of the Dukes of Przemysl, rulers of Bohemia, was recognized as a kingly house, and their State formed part of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans. In the thirteenth century Bohemia was for a time one of the most powerful realms of Europe. Then the King was conquered by the Emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg, and his kingdom dismembered. Later, German colonists were encouraged, and under Charles IV. (1346-1378) the welfare of the country was greatly promoted and the University of Prague, the first in the empire, established. Later, Bohemia was the seat of the great religious movement inaugurated by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, an anticipation of the Reformation. The Hussite movement and wars quickened the national spirit of the Czechs, and arrested the process of Germanization, but internal dissensions made a united Slav kingdom impossible. In the sixteenth century the estates of Bohemia bestowed the crown of the country upon Ferdinand of Hapsburg, who was head of the house of Austria, and was chosen King by a portion of the Hungarians; this laid the foundations of the present Slav-German-Magyar State of Austria-Hungary. The crown of Bohemia soon became virtually hereditary in the House of Hapsburg. The desire for national Slavic development known as the Slavic movement was strongest in Bohemia, where the attempt was made to hold a Pan-Slavic Congress, (Prague,) 1848. "Since then the effort of the Czechs to regain their autonomy have played an important part in the history of the empire." Up to the outbreak of the present war the racial and national tension in Bohemia was exceedingly serious, and the permanent irreconcilability of the Czechs was the chief menace to the stability of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

THE NATIONAL DEBT OF FRANCE

G. M. STEWART.—What was the national debt of France before the outbreak of war? What is the pres-

ent national debt of France, including the allied loan and the "victory" loan? How does the French national debt compare with those of the other powers?

THE national debt of France listed before the outbreak of war was \$6,436,129,000, (American Whitaker, 1915, latest figures available, 1913.) Assuming that subscriptions to the French loan of victory reach a total of \$4,000,000,000, the total debt of France at the present time would, according to the best estimate available at the moment, be in the neighborhood of \$16,800,000,000. By the listing before the war, which is chiefly for the fiscal year ended in October, 1913, the largest national debt was that of France, with Russia second, the United Kingdom third, Italy fourth, and Spain fifth. From the outbreak of war until October of this year Germany had been the largest borrower, Great Britain the second, Russia third, France fourth, and Austria fifth. Germany's debt has increased by more than 500 per cent., Great Britain's by about 160 per cent., Russia's by about 50 per cent., while that of France has increased by less than one-third. This does not, however, include the loan of victory.

ITALY'S WAR PROCEDURE

E. P.—Why did Italy, in prosecuting her offensive, not land troops on the Dalmatian coast where they could have operated with the Serbians and Montenegrins? Was not the Austrian Navy not only inferior to Italy's, but practically shut up about Pola? What are the military reasons why an army, thus landed, having a base on the Adriatic, with a friendly country on the back, could not have operated in such a way as to seriously disturb the Austrian offensive?

THE principal reasons for the conditions stated in your question are that there are no railroads connecting the Dalmatian coast with Serbia; that if Italy adopted the course you sketch the Teuton forces would pour through the passes of the Alps and overrun Italy where she has no defense; and that Italy's reason for entering the war was solely to recover the Trentino and Istria from Austria; Italy has had nothing to do with Serbia. The Italian line of defense could not fol-

low any other line than the Isonzo. It is true that the Austrian Navy is shut up about Pola, also that the Austrian Navy is inferior to that of Italy; Italy would have no trouble in sending troops by boat to Saloniki; but Italy is not at war with Germany.

THE ITALIAN OFFENSIVE

GEORGE GRANESE.—Kindly tell me if the Italians have possession of the first line of the Austrian land forts?

IT is necessary to remember that there are two distinct battle fronts in the Italian campaign—one in the Trentino and the other along the Isonzo. In the Trentino, what may be considered to be the first line of Austrian defense is the line of forts which guard the passes of the Alps, which enter the Trentino from without—that is, from the Italian side. These have practically all fallen and are now in Italian hands. A typical case is offered by the four or five forts guarding the entrance to Storo, which comes in just near the head of Lake Garda. All these fell very shortly after the declaration of war.

Along the Isonzo front, however, the situation is somewhat different. Gorizia may be regarded as one of the forts of the first line of Austrian defense. But this has not yet fallen. The same holds true of Tolmino, somewhat north. On the other hand, Plava, Monfalcone, and several other points which are fortified have fallen into Italian hands. On the whole, however, it could not be said that the first line of Austrian land forts on the Isonzo front, which is the only offensive front, have fallen.

FORD AND THE PENAL CODE

J. S. V. V.—Does not this quixotic mission of Henry Ford violate the provisions of the United States statute regarding self-constituted diplomatic missions? Will you kindly quote the law on that matter?

THE law in question, Section 5 of the United States Penal Code, (1799,) reads as follows: "Every citizen of the United States, whether actually resident or abiding within the same, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or in any foreign country, who, without

the permission and authority of the Government, directly or indirectly, commences or carries on any verbal or written correspondence or intercourse with any foreign Government or officer or agent thereof, with an intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign Government or any officer or agent thereof in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the Government of the United States, and every person, being a citizen of or resident within the jurisdiction of the United States or in any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and not duly authorized, who counsels, advises, or assists in any such correspondence with such intent, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, and imprisoned not more than five years; but nothing in this section shall be construed to abridge the right of a citizen to apply, himself or his agent, to any foreign Government or the agents thereof for redress of an injury which he may have sustained from such Government or any of its agents or subjects." To state whether or not Mr. Ford is violating this law is, of course, not within the province of the Query Department.

THE DACIA

M. J. C.—Please give an account of the Dacia, from purchase to the present time.

DEC. 30, 1914, Edward N. Breitung announced that he had purchased the Hamburg-American liner Dacia, then at Port Arthur, Texas, and would use her to ship cotton to Germany. The United States Government approved the transfer, and the boat was placed under American registry Jan. 4, 1915. Four days later the British Government issued a warning that she would be seized if caught trading with any of the enemies of Great Britain, and on Jan. 12 the United States Government received a formal warning to that effect. A request that England allow the vessel to make one voyage to deliver her contract cargo in the time set was refused. A final warning was issued by Great Britain Jan. 27. On Feb. 1 the Dacia set out from Galveston en route for Rotterdam, with her cargo, 11,000 bales of cotton, to

be transshipped to Bremen. Her German crew had been replaced by Americans. After a halt at Norfolk, Va., she finally set sail for Europe Feb. 12. On Feb. 28 it was reported the Dacia had been captured in the English Channel by a French cruiser and taken to Brest, to be held for the action of the French prize court. France on March 23 offered to buy the cargo if her owners would establish their American citizenship; on May 20 the French Cabinet passed a bill to reimburse the owners. On Aug. 1 the French prize court announced that the Dacia was confiscated.

The court found that there was no proof that the transfer to American registry was not made to save the ship from capture according to the rules of war, but, on the contrary, the ship, under her new flag, was making a voyage for which she was loaded while under an enemy flag. Therefore, the court found the transfer "tainted with fraud and against the rights of belligerents," and ordered the ship confiscated as a prize. The judgment of the court was based on Article 56 of the Declaration of London.

The case was appealed from the prize court decision, and was still at that stage when the boat, renamed the Yser and in use by France, was sunk in the Mediterranean by a German submarine while conveying to Bizerta the passengers rescued from the Italian steamer Elisa-Francesca. The news reached this country Nov. 10. Passengers and crew were saved. It has been generally considered that a claim for indemnity by the owners of the Dacia against the French seizure would be upheld by the State Department here.

AMERICAN FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

J. V. R.—Figures of the number of foreign-born American residents of the nationalities you name are as follows: English, 876,455; Irish, 1,352,155; German, 2,501,181; French, 117,236; Italian, 1,343,070; Russian, 1,602,752; Belgian, 49,397; Austrian, 1,174,924; Serbian, Bulgarian, and Montenegrin, listed together, 21,451; European Turkish, 32,221; Asiatic Turkish, 59,702.

THE ALLIES' BLOCKADE

C. B. H.—How is it possible for the Allies to accomplish anything of importance by shutting off the food supplies to Germany without practically starving their own soldiers held prisoner in Germany? Will not Germany or any other nation give a decided preference to their own men on the firing line, and, if necessary, let their prisoners starve?

UNDOUBTEDLY Germany will not give to its prisoners any greater ration than to its own soldiers. Consequently, if its own soldiers should starve, naturally, the prisoners of the Allies who are held by Germany would be starved also. This is strictly in accord with international law. It is strictly not in accord with the most humanitarian practice that has been customary in such cases. Usually it has happened that when a nation is unable to feed its prisoners it turns them loose, but there is no obligation on Germany to do this.

From the Allies' point of view, the "sacrifice" of their prisoners in Germany to gain their national ends is doubtless on the same plane as the "sacrifice" of their soldiers at the front with the same object; in other words, a nation must expect and take for granted that the carrying on of a war and the winning of a victory will mean the death of many of its soldiers.

HANS VON WEDEL

C. H. THORLING.—Was Hans von Wedel, whose name has been frequently mentioned in connection with Franz von Rintelen in the fraudulent passport cases and other German activities in this country, shot in the Tower of London upon conviction by court-martial some time last October?

SO far as we have record, under his name, he was not. There have, however, been a number of spies executed in London during the past few months whose names have not been mentioned in the dispatches. The latest record of Hans von Wedel by name was published March 9, when it was stated that the United States Government wanted him for supposed activities in the plot to get spurious passports, and that he was believed to be a prisoner in England.

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

M. B. G.—The outstanding events in the Argentine Republic in the years following 1904 were as follows: In July, 1905, Congress passed a law providing for the conversion of the national debt; a measure providing for the conversion of the foreign debt was adopted by the Chamber in August. In February of that year a military insurrection occurred in the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, and Cordoba, but was suppressed in a few days. In June an abortive uprising took place in Santiago del Estero. In August an anarchist attempt was made on the life of the President. In October, 1905, strikes among labor and railway employees led to the proclamation of a state of siege. President Manuel Quintana, who assumed office Oct. 12, 1904, died in March, 1906, and was succeeded by the Vice President, Dr. Figueroa Alcorta.

In 1908 an appropriation of \$27,000,000 was approved to improve the harbor of Buenos Aires. In the Spring of 1909 there were serious labor disturbances, and in November of that year the Prefect of Police was killed in Buenos Aires and the President declared martial law for sixty days. Diplomatic relations with Bolivia were temporarily severed in 1909, and in 1910 the boundary dispute between the two countries went on; in January, 1911, through the good offices of the United States, diplomatic relations between the two countries were resumed. Argentina celebrated its one hundredth anniversary May 25, 1910; the International Agricultural Exposition was held in Buenos Aires in July of that year. In 1911 there was a great deal of privation in the country owing to the failure of the corn crop, and in January and February of 1912 there was a serious railroad strike. In 1912 difficulties with Italy over the Argentine quarantine regulation, which had begun in the previous year, were settled by the signing of a sanitary convention by the two countries. The mediation of Argentina as one of the A B C powers during our trouble with Mexico in 1914, and recent "Pan-American" relations, are too well known to need restatement.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[French Cartoon]

The Equation



—Le Rive, Paris.

GERMAN SENTRY: "Our 420's kill 75 of them; but their 75's, alas! kill 420 of us."

Samson in the Balkans



—© *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

THE ENTENTE DELILAH: "I cut his hair off to the roots in 1912, but it has all grown out again!"

Proof Against His Blandishments



—From *The Bystander*, London.

THE GERMAN: "I schmile und schmile, but she dake no nodise of me vodeffer! I expect she is vaiting for somepoddly else!"

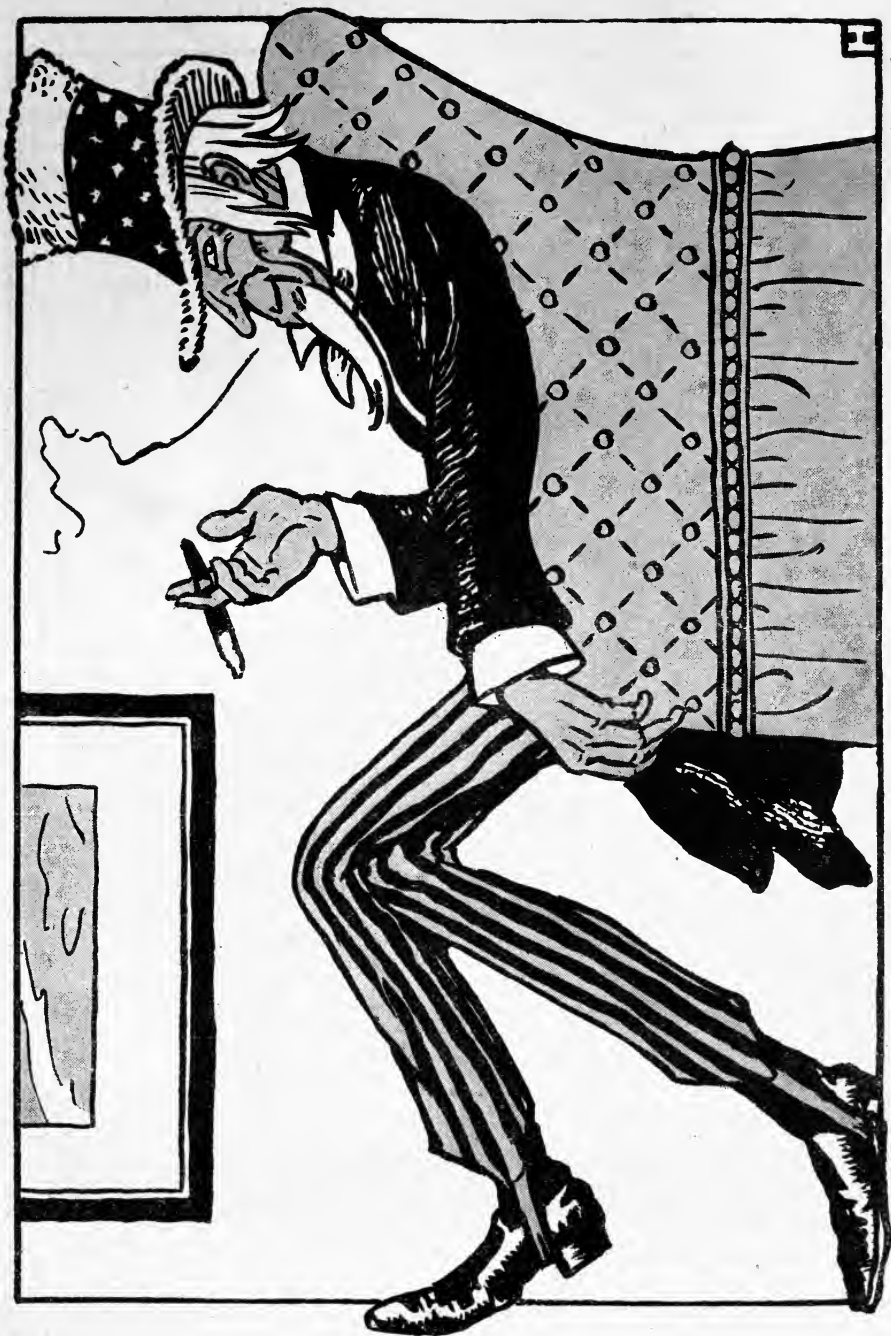
Compulsory Service



—From *London Opinion*.

DR. NORTHCLIFFE: "This fine medicine is going to cure all the ills from which this poor gentleman is suffering."

[Dutch Cartoon]
A Dilemma

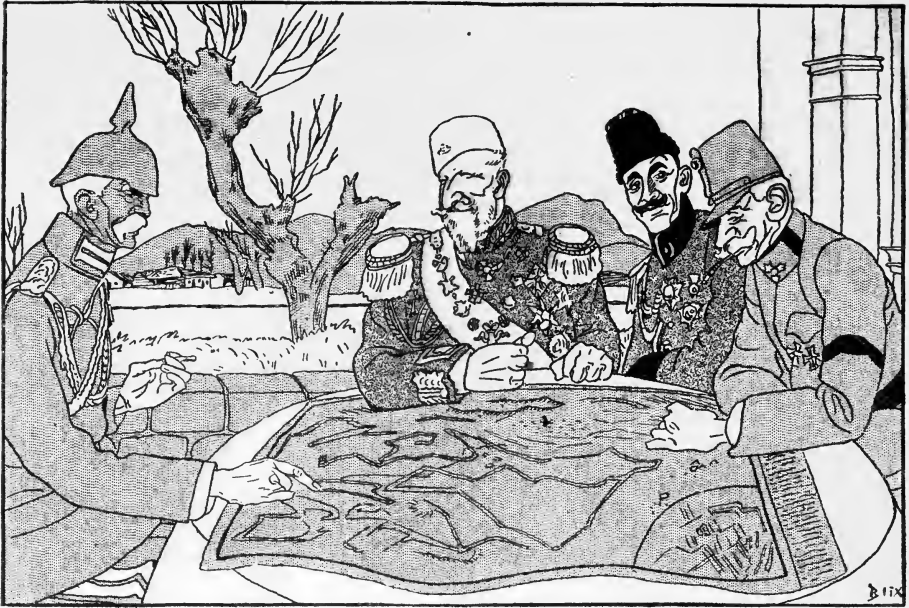


UNCLE SAM: "What shall I do? If I enter the war, then I shall have to use my munitions, without payment, against the enemy, whereas now I can sell them for a good price to my friends."

—From *De Notenkraaker*, Amsterdam.

[German Cartoon]

The Quadruple Alliance

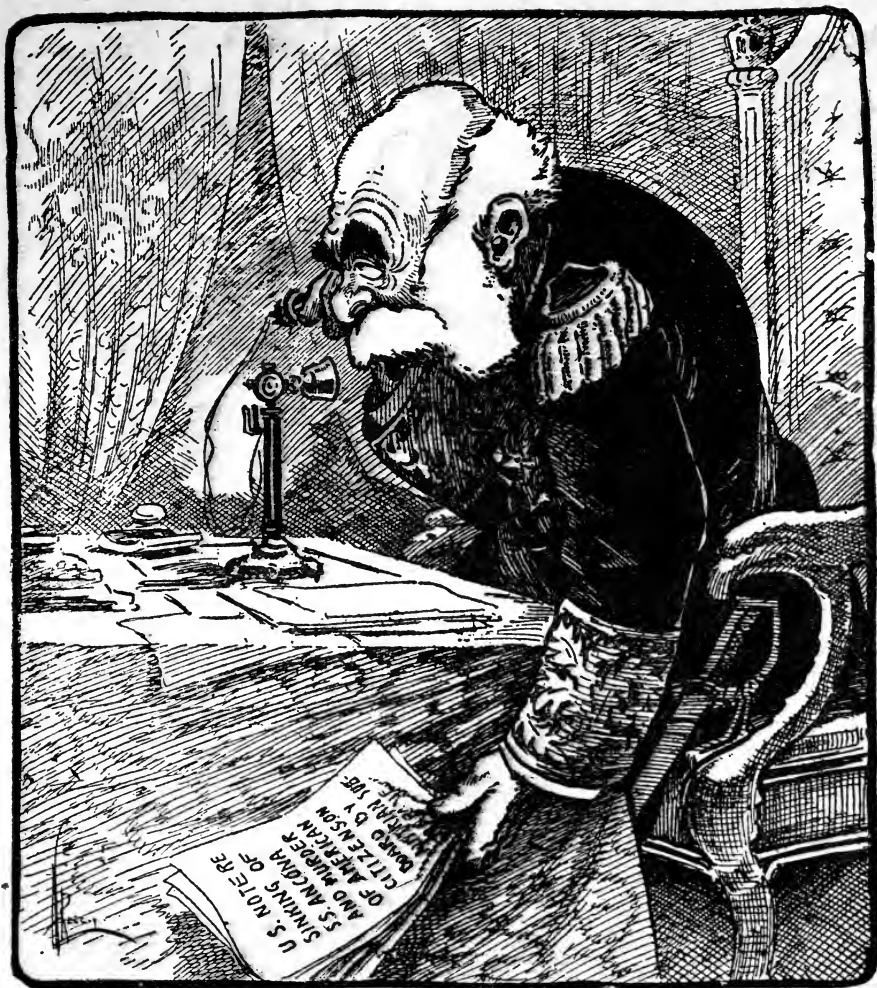


The Quadruple Entente



—© *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

Expert Advice Re S. S. Ancona



—From *The Star*, Montreal.

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "Wilhelm, I have just received a nasty note from President Wilson demanding disavowal, discontinuance, punishment, and reparation. What shall I do?"

THE EXPERT: "Procrastination it, und - it forgotten will be soon!"

[German Cartoon]

A British Autumn Elegy



--© Jugend.

"The stock of the Entente in the Orient is falling!"

[Italian Cartoon]

A Breach of Good Taste



—Travaso, Rome.

FERDINAND: "Sire, my country also may be the victim of Serbian aggression."

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "Do not speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged."

[Refers to the alleged resentment in Austria toward her German overlords.]

The Yankee Popgun

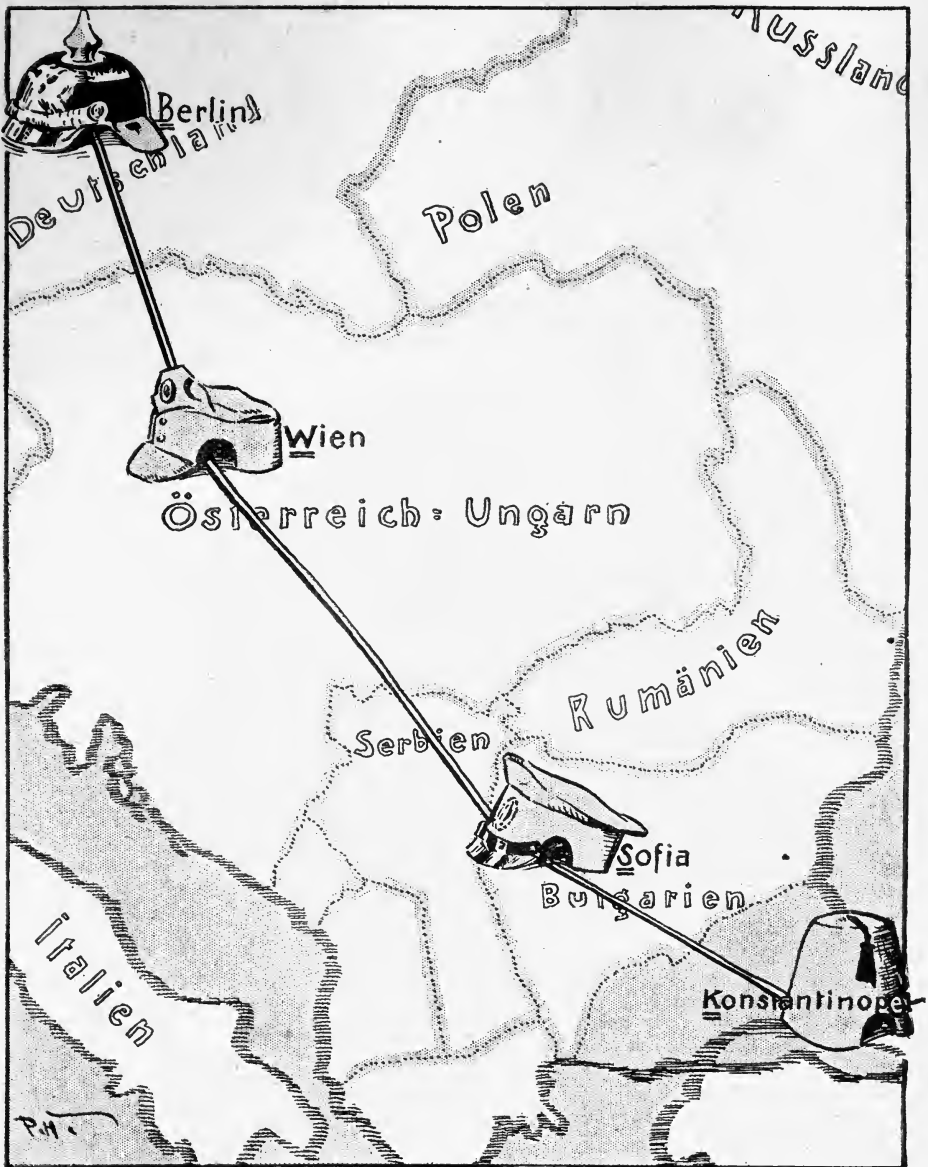


—From *Hindi Punch*, Bombay.

UNCLE SAM: "Now, then, fear and tremble! Here goes my popgun."

GERMAN EAGLE: "Ha, ha, ha, ha—"

The Berlin-Vienna-Sofia-Constantinople Express

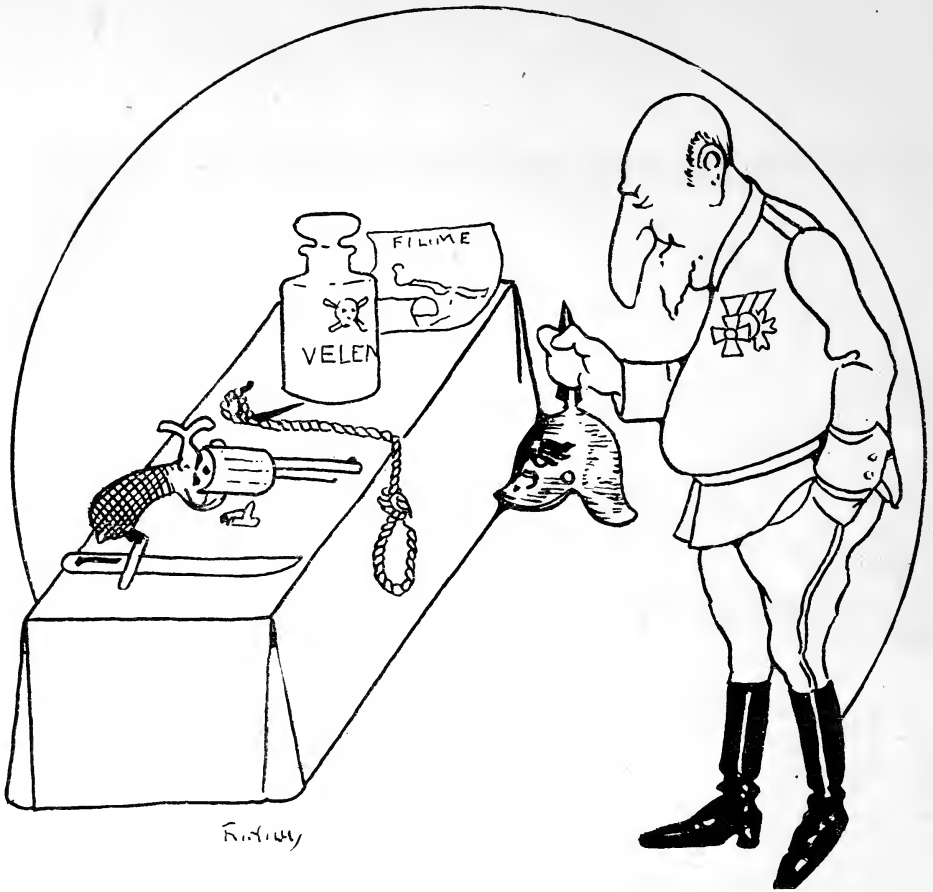


—Ulk, Berlin.

Puff, puff—and the enemy is backed off the track!

[Italian Cartoon]

His Sad Quandary

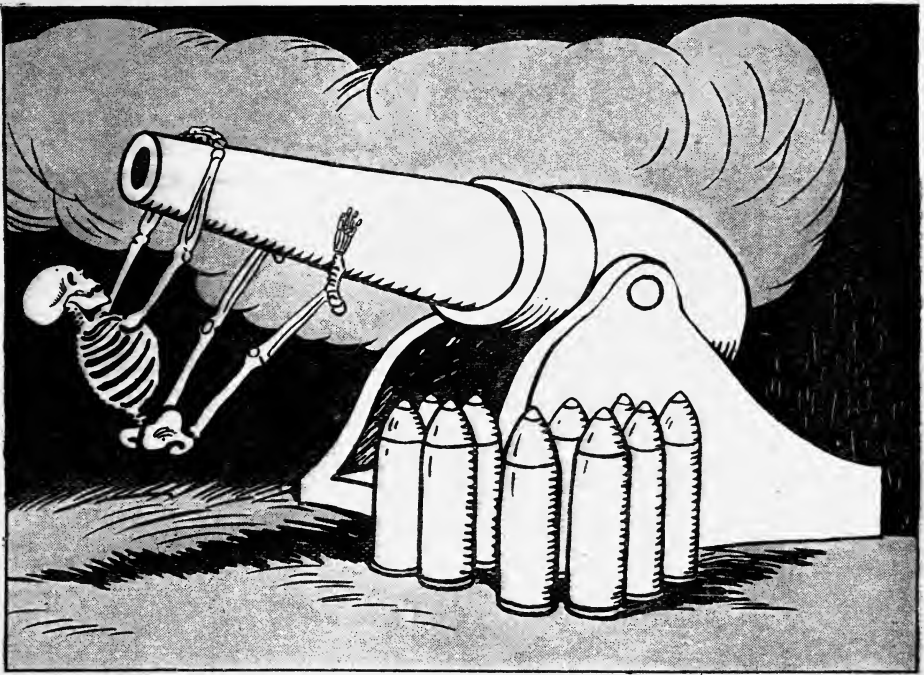


—Numero, Turin.

"Among the kinds of suicide I might choose this—a little more complicated, but surer."

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Tribute of Affection

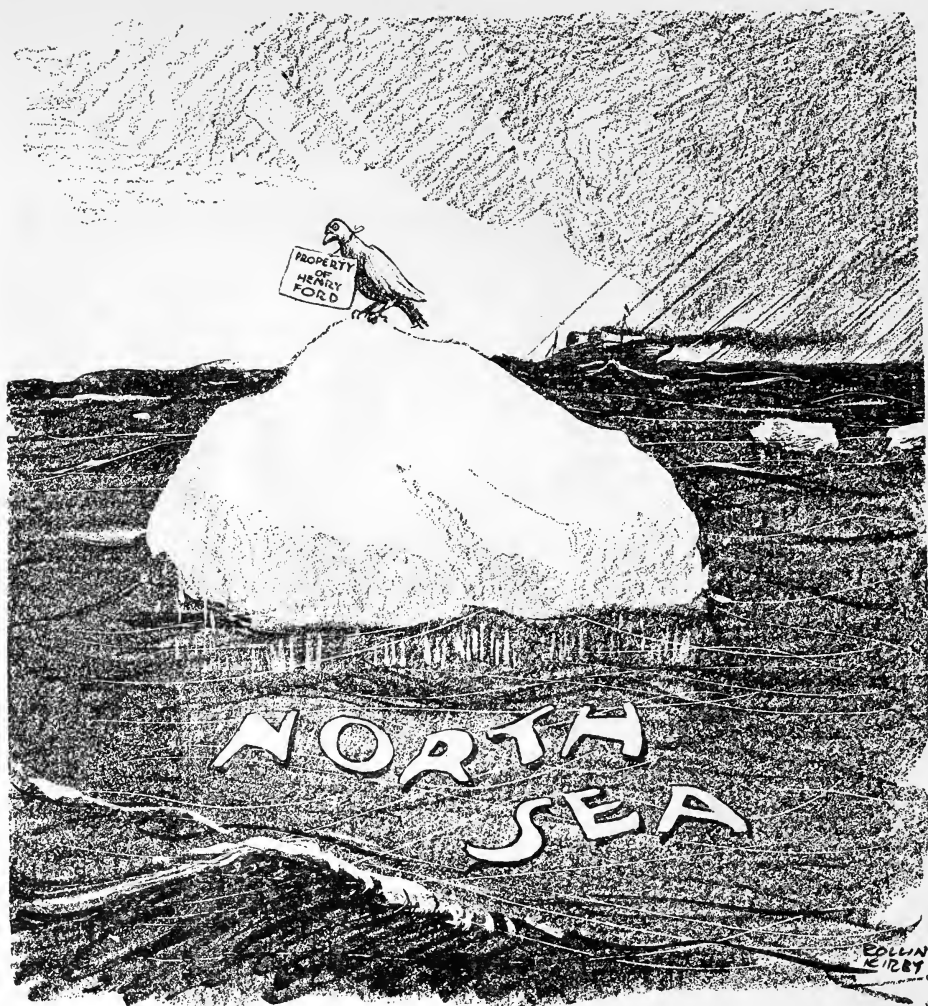


—Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

“Ah, my dear! You don't know all the sweet hours you have brought me.”

[American Cartoon]

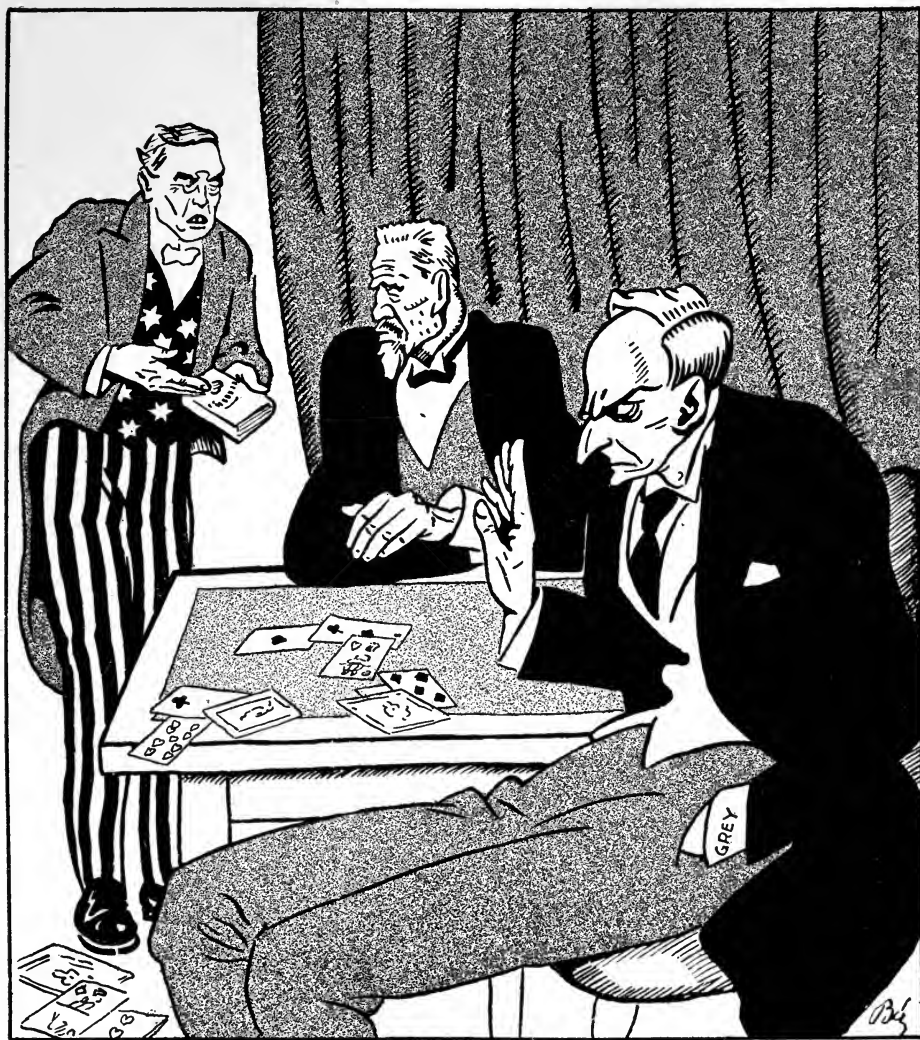
Abandoned



—From *The World*, New York.

While the Ark of Peace Puts About.

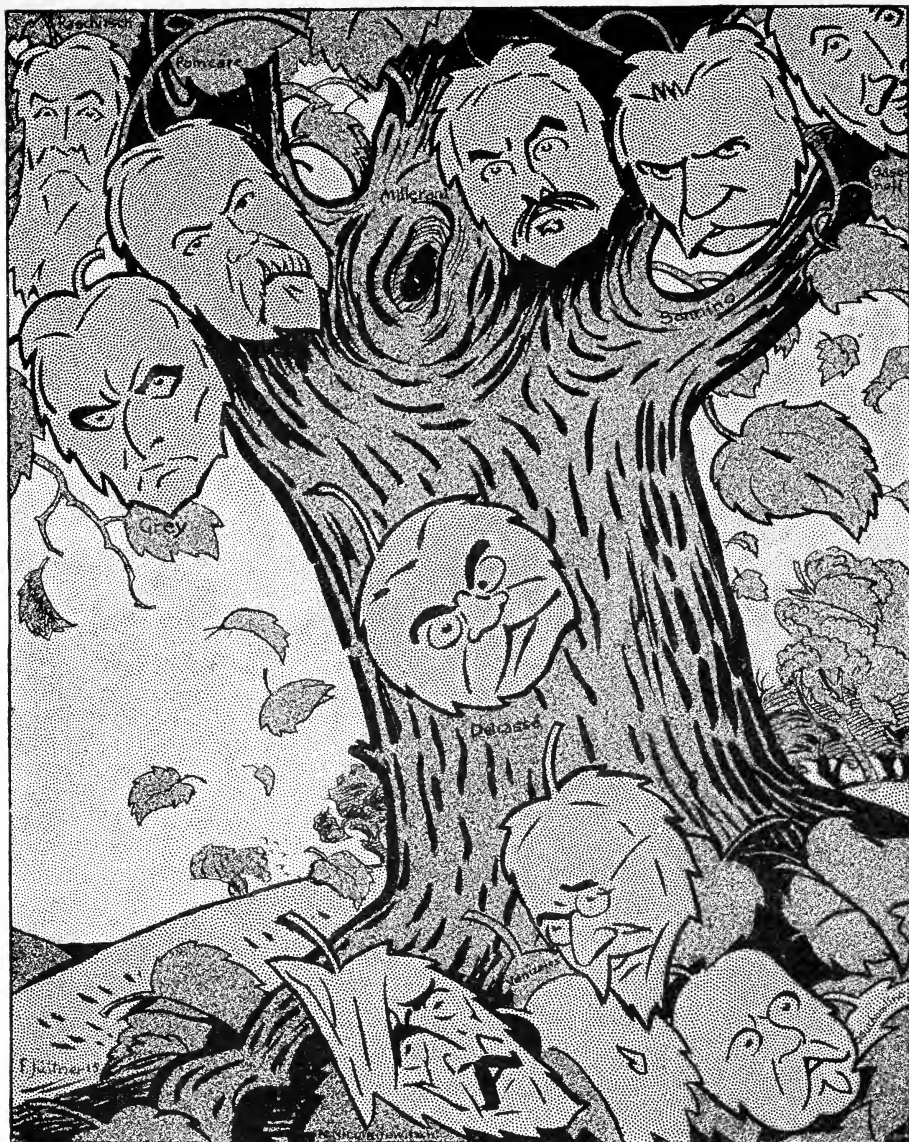
Fair Play!



—From *Borsszem Janko*, Budapest.

President Wilson urges Grey, the British Foreign Minister, and Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, to play fair with a new deck of cards. Grey apparently declines.

Death Gathers All



—© *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

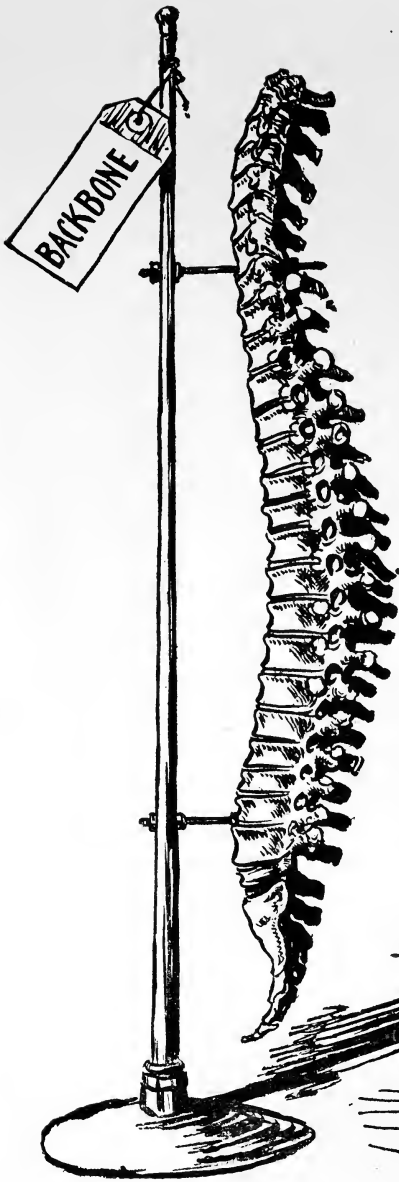
"I see them fall, leaf after leaf!"

An American Threat



—From *Pasquino*, Turin.

AMERICA TO GERMANY: "Beware! If you continue to insult me, I will make you pay dearly—(to himself)—through the goods I am exporting to you."



LOST!
**(SOMEWHERE
IN
WASHINGTON.)**

W. A. ROGERS

—From The New York Herald.

The Labor of Sisyphus



—Fischietto, Turin.

The two companions are "all in," and the rock itself, no matter how resistant, by rolling hither and yon through Europe, will at last be worn to sand.

The English Zeus and the Greek Maid



—© Jugend.

“She has scorned me when I came as an ox, a swan, a cloud, and a shower of gold—and if I attempt to approach her as a Dreadnought, then she laughs!”

Flying Peace Kites



—From *The Bystander*, London.

THE KAISER (to VON BUELOW): "Strafe the thing! It doesn't seem to rise at all."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Munition Seller



—From *L'Illustrazione*, Milan.

The Disinterested Neutrality of Uncle Sam.

An Old Game



—From *The Bystander*, London.

The Greek King is amusing himself at an old game, which usually ends badly.

William at Constantinople



—L'Asino, Rome.

MAHOMET: "Accept it! It is a keepsake of the last massacre of Christians."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events,

From December 11, 1915, Up to and Including

January 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Dec. 11—Russians repulsed at Volhynia.
Dec. 12—Germans fortify the Bug River and strengthen their Brest-Litovsk line.
Dec. 19—Russians check an offensive near Lake Miadziol.
Dec. 25—Russians seize an Austrian post near Bucacz.
Dec. 28—Russians attack fiercely on the Dniester and from Bessarabia.
Jan. 1—Russian Army crosses the Sty River.
Jan. 2-4—Russians capture heights near Czernowitz.
Jan. 7—Russians take Czartorysk town and fire on Austrian trenches before Czernowitz.
Jan. 9—Teutons driven across the Stripa River.
Jan. 11—A general evacuation of forward bases by Austrians and Germans is in progress.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Dec. 11—French guns batter Meuse trenches.
Dec. 13—British occupy crater in front of Givenchy and bombard the enemy near Ypres.
Dec. 19—Allied guns check German gas attack near Ypres.
Dec. 21-29—Savage fighting around Hartmanns-Weilerkopf results in carrying of positions by the French.
Dec. 30-Jan. 2—Germans regain lost ground in the Vosges.
Jan. 3—German mine drives Allies from Artois trenches.
Jan. 5-8—Germans shell Nancy.
Jan. 9—French withdraw from Hirzstein.
Jan. 11—Violent artillery duels in the Champagne and Argonne districts.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Dec. 11—Allied Council decides to persist in the campaign and to send heavy forces to Saloniki.
Dec. 12—Allies retire from Lake Dorrán to the Vardar Valley.
Dec. 13—Allies fall back to Saloniki base and the last yard of Serbian territory passes into the hands of their enemies.
Dec. 14—Bulgars occupy Greek frontier in following the retreat of the Anglo-French Army.
Dec. 15—Greek Army evacuates territory from Dorrán to Saloniki, leaving it in the hands of the Allies.

Dec. 16—Allies have effected a landing on the Albanian coast to relieve the Serbs; Greece and Bulgaria agree upon a neutral zone.

- Dec. 18—Allies fortify Saloniki heights.
Dec. 24—Battle between Serbs and Bulgars east of Elbassan, in Albania.
Dec. 25—German guns open on Allies on Greek front.
Dec. 27—Austrians beaten by Montenegrins in Sanjak region.
Dec. 28—Operations of the Central Powers against the Anglo-French Army in Greece temporarily suspended.
Dec. 30—British land 60 miles east of Saloniki.
Jan. 2—Montenegrins report successes over the Austrians.
Jan. 4—Bulgars reach Luma in Albania.
Jan. 10—Austrians shell Lovcen.
Jan. 11—Austrians take Mount Lovcen and occupy Serane in Montenegro.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Dec. 11—Austrians recapture advanced posts at Monte Video.
Dec. 13—Italians gain near Gorizia.
Dec. 17—Gorizia fortifications in ruins, but Austrians hold out.
Dec. 18—Italians capture Noore Peak.
Dec. 25—Austrian offensives before Gorizia and in the Corso fail.
Jan. 5—Italians advance in the Riva and Corso zones.
Jan. 6-11—Fighting continues in Riva and Corso zones; no decisive results.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN

- Dec. 11—Turks continue Gallipoli bombardment.
Dec. 19—Allies shell Ari Burnu.
Dec. 21—Announcement that British have withdrawn from Anzac and Sulva Bay, Gallipoli.
Dec. 25—Turks silence allied guns at the Dardanelles.
Jan. 9—Allies abandon last positions on Gallipoli Peninsula, escaping from the Turks without loss.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

- Dec. 13—British repulse Turkish attacks at Kut-el-Amara.
Dec. 15—Arabs attack the British near Matruh.
Dec. 23—Russians in battle near Teheran.

Dec. 27—Senussi tribesmen, advancing along the Egyptian coast, drive the British out of Matruh; Russians defeat German-Turkish force in Persia.

Dec. 30—French land forces on an island off the coast of Asia Minor, ready to deliver a blow at any Teuton-Turkish force that may operate against Egypt.

Jan. 2-9—Turks besiege Gen. Townshend at Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 10—British force under Gen. Aylmer rushes to save Kut-el-Amara, defeats the Turkish army trying to check its advance, and pursues it.

Jan. 11—British relief force halted at Sheikh Saad, twenty miles from Kut-el-Amara.

AERIAL RECORD

The Allies made many air raids on the western front to prevent the enemy's concentration of troops. Bombs were dropped on Metz, and sixteen British aircraft bombarded Comines, damaging the railroad station and the German aerodrome. On Dec. 14 a German seaplane destroyed a British aeroplane off the Belgian coast.

Raids over Italy and Austria continued. On Dec. 13 an Austrian aeroplane squadron dropped bombs on Ancona. An Italian flotilla raided the Valley of Chiapovano on Dec. 15.

Teuton aeroplanes bombarded Scutari.

NAVAL RECORD

In the Black Sea, two Turkish gunboats and a German submarine were sunk and the Turkish cruiser Sultan Selim, formerly the German cruiser Goeben, was damaged. Another Turkish transport was sunk in the Sea of Marmora.

Two Belgian relief ships, the Levenpool and the Leto, and the British battleship Edward VII. were sunk by mines.

In an engagement off Durazzo an Austrian squadron was routed and two destroyers were lost.

The Russian fleet bombarded Varna, causing considerable damage.

Two British monitors were sunk in the Tigris by the Turks.

A German armed steamer surrendered to the British on Lake Tanganyika.

The activities of German and Austrian submarines in the Mediterranean Sea continued. Among the vessels destroyed were British ships Clan Macfarlane, Glengyle, and St. Oswald, the French steamer Ville de la Ciotat, the Peninsular and Oriental liner Geelong, the Japanese freighter Kenkoku Maru, the Japanese liner Yasaka Maru, and the British passenger liner Persia. Fully 250 persons lost their lives on the Persia, including Robert N. McNeely, an American Consul.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece is still in a difficult position. Teutons were allowed to follow the Allies in their retreat across the border, but Bul-

gars were barred. Germany sent an informal inquiry to the Cabinet asking if the use of Greek territory by the Allies was not considered a breach of Greek neutrality.

England passed through another crisis on conscription. On Jan. 4 Premier Asquith introduced a compulsory military service bill in the House of Commons. This passed its first reading. Sir John Simon and three Labor members quit the Ministry. Herbert Samuel, Postmaster General, was appointed Home Secretary to succeed Sir John Simon. Important changes were made in the army. Gen. Sir Douglas Haig replaced Sir John French as Commander in Chief of the forces in France and Belgium; Sir Charles Monro succeeded Haig in command of the First British Army in France, and Lieut. Gen. Sir Archibald Murray was sent to the Dardanelles to replace Monro. Gen. Sir John Eccles, commander of the forces in Mesopotamia, was compelled by ill-health to return home. Sir Percy Lake, Chief of the General Staff in India, succeeds him.

On Dec. 11 the French cruiser Descartes seized six persons, Germans and Austrians, from the American steamers San Juan, Coamo, and Carolina. In reply to a protest from the United States Government, France ordered their release. On Dec. 29 British authorities took two German sailors from the American ship John Twohy, and the American steamer Hawaiian reported that two of her seamen had been seized at Barbados.

The United States has protested to Great Britain against the seizure and censorship of American mails.

In a note delivered to Secretary Lansing by Ambassador Spring-Rice, Dec. 13, England replied to the charges made by Consul General Robert G. Skinner that British shippers were profiting by Great Britain's blockade measure to the detriment of American trade.

Austria-Hungary replied to the American note on the Ancona on Dec. 15. This reply being unsatisfactory, Secretary Lansing, under date of Dec. 19, cabled a second note to Vienna. On Dec. 29 Austria sent a reply, granting every demand made by the United States.

Following the sinking of the liner Persia Secretary Lansing instructed the American Ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna to make informal inquiries that might lead to the identification of attacking submarines.

The German Government has sent written assurances to the United States pledging safety for passenger ships in the Mediterranean Sea and promising to punish submarine commanders who violate it. Austria and Turkey are to join in this pledge. Germany has also agreed to pay indemnity for the Lusitania outrage.



PRINCE HERMANN VON HATZFELDT
Privy Counsellor of the German Embassy at Washington, Who Helped to
Adjust the Appam Case



COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF

German Ambassador at Washington, Who Conducted Lusitania
Negotiations for His Government

(From a new drawing by E. S. Klempner.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH, 1916

Inner Germany

A Series of Articles on the Moral and Physical
Conditions of an Empire Beleaguered

By GARET GARRETT

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The following articles were written by Mr. Gareth Garrett of the editorial staff of The New York Times, after a visit to Germany for the purpose of studying conditions there in their political, social, and economic aspects. The period of this study was from the middle of November, 1915, to the end of December, 1915, which will establish the relation of the articles in time to recent and current events. They first appeared in the news columns of The New York Times during January. It may be interesting to add that although they originated in Germany they were actually written at sea, so that they passed through the hands of no military or political censor, German or English. They represent a direct experiment in neutral understanding.

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A Weirdly Silent Maelstrom

I.

WHEN you are in Berlin you may have the strange sensation of being further from the war than you were in New York. It has an odd way of seeming to recede from the senses, until it feels very remote, indeed, but weirdly so, as if you were trapped in an eddy of a great maelstrom or locked away in the padded cell of a contested citadel.

One reason for this is that you thought it would be very different and expected to feel the nearness of war. Then you are

struck by the absence of the symbols and accessories of patriotism. It is partly that. There are no flags waving. One may be in Berlin for a fortnight without once seeing a German flag. There is a saying that life is so completely regulated in Germany that the people wait for the Government to say when the flags shall come out and go in. That is technically true; only, it is not a regulation, but a custom. When the occasion is appropriate the Government buildings put out flags, which is very

seldom, and at that cue the people put out private flags. When the Government takes its flags in, the people follow suit. If you expect to see everywhere pictures and busts of the Kaiser, the Crown Prince, and the popular Generals, you are disappointed. They are all for sale in the shops, about as usual, and appear not to be in special demand.

Thrills Unprovided

But there are other reasons for the feeling of remoteness from war. The people are undemonstrative. There is no clamor, no spontaneous or manufactured excitement. There is no necessity for emotional self-laceration. A recruiting campaign, as in England, with its accompaniments of poster thrills and furious stimulations, would be, of course, unthinkable in Germany. In place of that you see, by day or night, unexpectedly, several hundred men in the civilian garb of artisans, clerks, shopkeepers, and students, moving through the street in very unmilitary fashion, accompanied by one or two under officers in gray. Each man carries a brown pasteboard box, such as tailors use. The boxes seem very light. You ask what they contain. "Nothing," your German friend says. "Each man puts into his box the clothes he is wearing, to be sent home from the military station."

This spectacle somehow sends the war still further away. Sometimes people stop on the sidewalk to pass such forth-faring human material in review, appraising it critically, with no exhibition of emotion; but if it is raining or snowing they bestow only a look, and you get a feeling that the men with the boxes have become detached from human concern.

The Human Commodity

"A week in uniform will make more difference than you can imagine," your German friend says. He is offering an apology for the quality of the commodity, that it is not all six feet high and thick in proportion. He means to say that it is better than it looks.

Several days later a new military unit, made up of a number of such raw par-

cels, displaces traffic on its way to the railway station. It is led by a band, goes bravely in its metal-heeled boots, and is, as your friend said, better material than you thought it was; but nobody is in the least enthusiastic outwardly. There is no cheering, not a shout of farewell, or a fling of good luck from the population in whose daily concerns these men were but yesterday taking part. The spectacle is viewed in utter silence. It is almost creepy. Were people ever so emotionally dumb?

A word would explain it. If you could suppose the people to be indifferent it would be positively a relief. But they are not. They feel it terrifically. On Sunday they come from all directions in great, grave masses to drive nails in the heroic wooden effigy of General Hindenburg, forty feet high, that stands in the park near the famous monument. A band plays solemn music. Conversation is repressed. Men, women, and children wait for hours in line for the turn to buy a little iron nail for a mark, mount the scaffold, and drive it in. The sound of the hammer is as clear as the strokes of a woodpecker in the woods on a Winter's day, except when the band is playing; and from that you may know how still the Germans are, assembled there by thousands from all the environs of Berlin. That is every Sunday.

Self-Repression

No, the Germans are not indifferent. They practice self-repression in an amazing degree. News on the bulletin boards of the newspapers which would plunge an English or an American street crowd into wild ecstasies is received and digested by a German crowd with a restraint quite marvelous. The discussion takes place in conversational tones. They stand before huge war maps on which the "fronts" are pegged out with colored pins, debating facts and theories in low-pitched voices. There is no lack of interest. Discussion is free. It is the manner of showing the one and conducting the other that causes the visitor to stare and wonder. He may try to explain it by the legend that is everywhere, in restaurants, theatres, railroad carriages, hotels, and street cars: "Vor-

sicht bei gesprochen. Spionagegefahr," which is to say, "Guard your speech on account of spies." But speech, in spite of that, is free enough. A German will discuss the war with strangers, even with Americans, with little mental reserve, if any, only he does it with a restraint of feeling quite unexpected in people at war, and in vociferous Germany most of all. It is as if war had become a part of normal existence, a thing to be accepted and to which all must adjust themselves alike.

Parts of Existence

At first it was different. Then they could cheer and shout and sing their hymns of hate. There is no more of that. The "Gott strafe England" stuff is put away. Hymns of hate are banished. Nobody talks any more of the end of the war as a thing you can count upon in space or time. A state of war has become the state of existence, and you make the best of it. When you cannot stand it any longer you take what is left of your family and purse and go to a restaurant to eat and drink moderately, but slowly, for the whole evening.

The restaurants are always full, the popular ones as a matter of course, for Germans will eat and drink in their solemn way, perish the world as it will; and the smart ones, too, where food is dear, because the war money is easy to spend. The hotels also flourish. Mine host, keeper of the Adlon, counted up his profits on Dec. 31, 1915, and entered the best year of his life.

At the Adlon

This is a famous place, where everybody goes because everybody else does—neutral correspondents, cotton men from Texas, German-American representatives of relief societies in the United States, spies, people whom nobody knows anything about, delegations from everywhere, diplomats, royalty, and great Generals. Royalty you know not by its airs, its boots, or any outward marks, but by the way Herr Adlon makes his bow. The playhouses and opera are crowded. You go on Monday night, when the attendance would, if ever, be light, to one of those vaudeville places where instead of seats

are long, narrow tables for serving food, and it is hard to get a place. The favorite opera is "Parsifal," which in December was produced every night for two weeks consecutively, at the Royal Opera House, with not a seat untaken from the orchestra to the top gallery, except only the royal boxes.

The passion for "Parsifal" and the disappearance of the celebrated "all-night life" of Berlin are symptoms of a chastening which has touched Germany deeply. Berlin, before the war, was in certain respects one of the most immoral cities on the Continent of Europe. Sin was less seductive there but more engulfing than in Paris; it had more of depth and less of frivolity. And this has all vanished away. The women were not dispersed merely to be out of sight. They were put to work. If you ask where and at what work the answers are vague. The police took care of them, in some efficient way; and they take care also that they shall not reappear.

The Efficient Eye

One rainy day a neutral correspondent, passing two young women who were getting wet, offered them the shelter of his umbrella. It was altogether quite innocent. The young women said they were going home from work, giggled a bit, and walked under the umbrella to the corner where they got a street car. The neutral correspondent had not gone ten paces alone when two men touched him on the shoulder, showed their police badges, and asked whether he had accosted the young women or they him. He explained what had happened.

"Did they ask you for money or invite you to go further than the corner?" they asked.

He said they had not, and began to tell who he was.

"That is all right," said the police officers. "We know who you are. We only wanted to know something about the young women."

There is nowhere in Berlin any dancing, neither in public places nor in private houses. Dancing would be frivolous. There is no gayety or light music, but

there never was really much of either one in Berlin at any time. Gayety was a kind of recklessness, and music was always serious. Berlin is not the capital of Germany; it is the capital of Prussia. In Munich it is different, for that is Bavaria, and when the fabricator made Bavarians he smiled and spilled a bit of frivolity into their souls. They have a sense of color, a gladness toward life, and a preference for comfort which the Prussian has never had and perhaps never will.

In Berlin

But Berlin is the city people wonder and ask about. Can it be true that life there in war time, a city of two million in a country cut off from the world, is taking place almost as usual? That cannot, of course, be so; and yet life in Berlin objectively is so much less off from normal that for truth of emphasis one is tempted to say, "Yes, almost."

The difference at night is the most noticeable thing. Comforts are about the same. On the hotel news stands and in the booksellers' shops you can buy *The London Times*, *The Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail*, *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, *The Literary Digest*, *The Outlook*, and some Paris papers. The difficulty is to get them into Germany in the first place, that is, through the neutral mails so far as the German frontier; there is no ban upon their circulation afterward. Within twenty-four hours after arriving at the hotel you have to go in person to the nearest police station, give on account of yourself, and get your passport stamped; before leaving you have to go again and report your destination. That is a nuisance, but not a hardship.

A Certain Smell

Traffic in the streets is not so dense as usual. There is a vile smell of benzol from the exhaust of motor cars. On a bad night it is a trick to capture a taxicab because the demand exceeds the supply. There is the interest of seeing the hitherto undiscovered potentiality of a rubber tire for wear. Those on the taxicabs are believed now to be indestructible. They wore out nominally months ago, and are still serving, but for looks.

The deficiency of taxicabs is made up by an increase in the number of horse cabs, and the horses are very poor, all the good ones having gone to war. There are a great number of to-let signs in the windows: "Zu Vermieten sofort." There is nothing but paper money above small change.

There are soldiers everywhere. Day and night you hear the beating of their bootheels on the pavement, a sound, especially in the stillness of the night, which, in its hollow, aching, rhythmic harshness, seems to hit the chord that vibrates to the thought of Prussian power. These are the first impressions one will get of Berlin in war time. The wounded one expects to see are not so numerous, not continually appearing like an oppressive presence. You see them only now and then.

The Spirit Is Fortitude

The spirit of it all is fortitude, and that had never been a Prussian virtue. Here is a picture of it. At 3 o'clock one morning, on an inch of snow, comes wheeling down the very middle of Wilhelmstrasse an old man in carpet slippers. His hands rest high on the handle bars; he sits bolt upright, looking stolidly ahead, and each time he presses on the pedals the bearings squeak for want of lubrication. He is a solitary, symbolic figure. Suddenly, and without its tuneful, well-known warning, "Kah-loo-oo-oo, Kah-lo-o-o-o," a gray war motor rushes around the corner. The old wheelman, to avoid it, turns too quickly, loses his balance, and falls off. He is the kind of German to take it very ill. You expect him to turn and speed the disappearing motor car with words designed to put the Government, the war, the world, past, present, and posterity, each in its proper place. Instead, he retrieves a slipper, shakes the snow out, puts it on, remounts his wheel, and goes on his squeaking way with not a word of any kind, without so much as looking at the car that ran him off his balance. That is Berlin in war time.

Where is the meaning in this? There is none. If you go to Berlin to find the meaning of war in the reactions of peo-

ple you shall be disappointed, and if you are a person to whom sensations are valuable for their own sake, you shall be cheated. There is a terrific price to pay. The people pay it mutely, as for something they did not buy and shall not know how to dispose of. "This," you say, "is not war. This is the acceptance of war, which is a very different thing. War, after all, is to be seen and heard in the instant of taking place."

Going to the Front

Therefore, you must go to the front. You must hear the guns. The answer will be there. You go. A party of neutral correspondents, wanting "picturesque stuff," is made up by the Foreign Office and sent to the western front to attend the Christmas Eve celebrations. It is received by the military authorities at the point where the authority of the Foreign Office ends. It is escorted down a long room filled with mud-covered soldiers, just out of the trenches, and to places at the table where the General and his staff are seated. It is like intruding. There is stiffness at first, which wears away; the General and two of his staff speak English. There is a Christmas tree, presents to hand around, and plenty to eat and drink. The General makes a speech to the soldiers, an awkward, soldierly performance, ending in the hope that next Christmas they shall all be at home again. This sentiment is enthusiastically received.

The Liquid Guns

That is all that happens, except that the sound of heavy guns comes incessantly from the front fifteen miles away, that one of the neutral correspondents gets too much to drink, and that the party's military escort says, on leaving it for the night, that if the General seemed a little stiff it must be overlooked, because at 10 o'clock that morning his only son was killed at a place somewhere on the line about thirty miles away. He heard of it just before sitting down to dinner.

The guns keep at it all night. They produce a beautiful, liquid sound which in time would become rather soothing than distracting, but it is quite unin-

telligible. You get a thrill, of course, but no meaning whatever, and the answer is further to seek. To understand it you must actually see it. That you do next. From a safe place you witness a mechanical deluge. There is another thrill, and then the disappointment. The liquid sound, the balls of smoke, then the wretched, ugly, immoral sound of shells exploding—that is all. It is a spectacle without meaning. It produced a sense of vanishing reality. That men are dying in it, some of those who sat last night around the Christmas tree—that is, of course, a fact, but one so inadequate, so unrelated, so inapplicable, as to have no relevance whatever. It is hard to realize. If one could see this fact of death itself, get close enough to be physically aware of it as the apex of the tragedy, then there should be the answer.

But if you do get close enough, if you came to the very spot, still fresh, where a shell has done its work, the thing eludes you still. The heart will not respond because the senses are involuntarily disgusted. A phrase presents itself, whether invented on the spot or recollected from a book one cannot stop to think. "Death in any form hath majesty." One wishes it were true. It isn't. The human form dismembered, scattered, mangled, emptying itself upon the ground, is but a thing to clear away. To feel sorry for it is an impulse. To find a meaning in it is posterous.

A Disappointed Quest

Your quest is at an end. That is where the riddle stops, unfinished. But Berlin, when you are there again, is somehow different. The muteness of the people, still quite void of meaning, seems more tragic. Suppose there is no answer! The war itself is not in feeling so remote as was the case before. The meaning—that is more so.

At the railroad station you see a troop train pulling out. On the platform are the women, waving handkerchiefs, and every woman is in mourning! The picture grows with thinking on it.

After dinner your hostess, in a lull of politics, turns toward the mantelpiece, where stand some photographs. You

have learned to know the mother's gesture. She reaches always for the youngest first. "He has fallen," she says simply, handing you the picture. When you hand it back she has another ready. "And this one." On putting back the third she sighs: "Ah, if it were not for the suffering it causes war might be a very beautiful thing."

"What are you thinking of?" you ask.

"My maid," she says, "who has been with me twenty years, her youngest son has fallen, too. You've no idea how close that brings us to each other."

But she, of course, was wrong. War without suffering would be utterly hideous. That is all there is to save it—until you find its meaning.

Adjusting Life to War

II.

THE German stomach is an imperious organ, very jealous of its economic rights, very touchy, accustomed to be overnourished. To trifle with its habits entails perilous political consequences. For many years it has carried on a winning feud with those who speculate in its needs for private gain. And now it hates England and clamors for the vengeance of Heaven, not on account of anything it has suffered, which according to German scientists is no more than was good for it, but because England threatened to starve it. Really it has never been hungry since the war began. If its condition had been at any time so uncomfortable as the world supposed it to be the war had then been ended.

Plenty to Eat

There is no scarcity of food in Germany actually. That is to say, there now is and has been always plenty to eat. There has been only too little of this or that, made up for by more than enough of something else. A deficit of grain is offset by an abundance of potatoes; a deficit of meat by an increased supply of fish; a deficit of fat by an abundance of honey, and so on. And as the war has now gone through two harvests, as conditions tend rather to improve than to become worse, and as the surplus food production of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Turkey now is added to the resources of Germany and Austria-Hungary, it is not easy to imagine how the German people are going to be

starved. They are eating, statistically, perhaps 15 per cent. less than they normally would, and yet, perhaps, 10 per cent. more than they need to eat. The case is somewhat better than the statistical statement would imply, since, owing to rigid methods of regulation, much waste of distribution is eliminated. A country that has normally produced only 85 per cent. of its own food, suddenly cut off from its outside supplies, must be supposed to have a deficit of 15 per cent., but where formerly was waste and now is none, the people will be able to consume 85 per cent. of the normal amount, plus the former waste, which now they also eat. That alone is a considerable factor, though it cannot be statistically expressed.

Seeing the Stomach

On entering Germany for the first time since the war began one has certain disagreeable expectations. One feels the weight of much beautiful white Dutch bread consumed in Holland, camel fashion. Here are 65,000,000 people living on diminished rations. One is prepared to see their stomachs through their eyes, and to be regarded one's self with envy, as a well-fed visitor from the outside world, where there is everything to eat. It is true that the color, texture, and quality of bread change abruptly. At the frontier station is "kriegsbrot," (war bread,) brown, sliced very thin and a little soggy. On the walls are posters, reminding travelers of their obligation to eat moderately in war time. But the cut-

let is very good, the gravy rich, the potatoes delicious, the coffee only Prussian—and the cost is altogether 2 marks and 60 pfennigs, that is, about 75 cents. This is really not so bad, and, on second scrutiny, the people look not in the least undernourished. On the railway station counter are cakes and things like pies, and ham and cheese and sausage sandwiches. On the spiesewagen, proceeding toward Berlin, the bread is lighter, in the form of rolls, there is anything one wants to eat, including butter, and one begins to part with one's recollections of the last meal in Holland. At the hotel the next morning one receives with breakfast his daily bread card, but here the bread is really very good. It is a meatless day, the waiter tells you. For lunch there is sole and other fish, with plenty of potatoes, and dainty things in sauce; but, of course, this is luxurious living. For dinner one goes to a popular restaurant to see what a meatless day is really like. There one has poached eggs, fried potatoes, string beans in sauce, and herring with coffee and very palatable bread for about 60 cents.

Cost of Living

"Living," says the pro-German American resident, "is still cheaper in Berlin than New York, though prices have gone up about 30 per cent. on the average. Here, for example," pointing it out on the bill of fare, "is a dish at 1 mark and 30 pfennigs that was formerly 1 mark; another at 1 mark 60 pfennigs that was 1 mark 20 pfennigs before, and so on down the list. Beer and wine have not gone up at all."

"Yes," one says, "but what of the very poor? This after all is a place where only those come who have money to spend. How is it in the slums?"

"There are no slums in Berlin," says the American resident. "But go yourself and look at some of the open-air markets tomorrow. There you will see what the people, the housewives, actually pay for food."

That one does. On the bank of the Spree Canal is one of the largest open-air markets, stretching away for many blocks. Its patrons are the wage earn-

ers of the industries around Berlin. There is no clamoring for food. This now is a meat day, and there is plenty of meat. Roast beef is 1 mark 10 pfennigs to 1 mark 20 per pound, (25 to 30 cents,) and yet some prefer fish.

Abiding Impressions

These are first impressions. They do not require to be modified on more extended observation; in time they lose somewhat of their importance. The problem of food supply ceases rapidly to be paramount, and at last seems hardly to be serious. Economy of consumption and efficiency of distribution were the first terms of the experiment in self-sustainment. The supply was sufficient. Down to the very lowest economic strata the people are adequately nourished. In the large cities for years before the war were people's kitchens, where wholesome food was served at very low prices. They were financed to begin with in a philanthropic or social spirit, but they were required nevertheless to be solvent on their own account. They do not pay dividends, but they are self-supporting. The patronage of these places has increased during the war, but that is all. On a meatless day, in the people's kitchen at Frankfurt, for instance, a bowl of very good barley soup and a large dish of sauerkraut and boiled potatoes may be had for 25 pfennigs, that is about 6 cents. On the five meat days meat is added, and the cost is 40 pfennigs, or about 10 cents.

Food for Nothing

To each of these kitchens in the large municipalities has been added since the war a place where cooked food is dispensed to those who have been certified as unable to pay anything. That is official charity. It is very little availed of. During a quarter of an hour you may count perhaps fifteen women, coming singly or in twos and threes, with their baskets and dishes and jars for potatoes boiled in their jackets, sauerkraut, and meat and soup. They take it away hot and serve it on their own tables at home. There are never crowds of applicants. A bread line is unknown. Only the women come; they are always

clean, respectable looking, with clothes in good order. At a guess one would say that more bread of charity is given in a bad Winter to the poor in New York alone on account of unemployment than is being given in all Germany on account of war. And the way of giving it is very different.

Attitudes

After the first week one's German acquaintances, having waited for the effect, begin to ask, "Are you sure you receive enough to eat in Germany?" Excellenz of the Foreign Office, one's host, observes that one is carelessly breaking the hollow straws that come with the sherry cobbler, and says, very solemnly, "You know we now make bread of straw in Germany." That is technically true. It is one of the things they achieved in the laboratories when the chemists attacked the food problem, but it is of no great practical consequence, because it was never necessary to be availed of. Excellenz explains the process at length, and adds, (one might have been fooled until then,) "Perhaps after you are gone," pointing to the straws, "they will be gathered up and saved for bread." Your host at a private table pretends on a meatless day to be deeply humiliated that the great dish is delicious trout swimming in a gorgeous plum sauce, and sighs, "You see how we have to live in Germany."

Food Politics

All of this seems, of course, incompatible with the facts, first, that Germany has protested so vehemently against the efforts of England to starve 65,000,000 people, making that the justification for her submarine warfare, and, second, that in the Reichstag and in the German papers, especially the socialist press, there has been a continual outcry against the rise in the cost of living, followed by commotions described as bread, meat, and butter "riots" led by the housewives of Berlin. The explanations are simple. As to the first fact, the stomach howled before it was hurt. It howled at the thought of being pinched, and it will be slow to forgive

England for its intention. As for the internal agitation, it is political.

The agrarian or agricultural interest is politically powerful. It is too tenderly treated by the Government; all the remainder of the population protests, led by the Socialists. Naturally, the interests of those who produce food would conflict with those who consume it. When the English had declared a blockade against Germany's food supply, the German Government took absolute and arbitrary control of the distribution and consumption of grain in the empire. Speculation in grain became at once impossible. Then were called in the statisticians, the physicists, the chemists and specialized scientists to decide how the grain should be apportioned between people and animals to equalize the relative values of animal and vegetable food, and in general to determine the best possible use to be made of all there was. Many problems arose. Food may go either from the soil direct to man, or from the soil through animals first, reaching man in the form of meat. Then there was the difference between city and country people to consider. City people required, generally, more meat than the others. Also, these scientists took into account the aesthetic value of food, which is important. "For," as one of them said, "if food is made too unattractive to the senses people will not eat enough, and that would be worse." Some mistakes were made. The vegetarians at first had too much their way, and the slaughter of hogs, to save the grain, was overdone. Effect—first, a glut of pork, and months afterward a famine of fat. Germany, normally, consumes a tremendous quantity of fat, more than she produces, importing vegetable oils, of which she herself produces none at all, and also large amounts of raw animal fat.

The Great Swine Slaughter

The original mistake of killing too many swine caused pork to rise very fast in price, which in turn affected the price of other meat, and of all forms of fat, including butter, and then a great row began. The Government decreed maximum prices, but did not go the whole distance and compel the pig growers to

sell. That was its tenderness for the agrarian power. The German farmer in his affection for high prices is kin to farmers anywhere else in the world. He sends three sons to war and holds back a pig for the difference between 200 and 205 marks.

The Socialist View

The Socialists in the Reichstag and in their newspapers denounced the producers of foodstuffs for their unpatriotism, the Government for not attending to them severely, and the speculators above all. The housewives blamed the retailers, and sometimes smashed their windows and overturned their open-air counters. One listening to the commotion from outside might have thought the German stomach was rioting for food. That was not the case. It was the price of food and not the quantity that made the trouble.

The position of the Socialists was this: "If there is no meat or fat, very well. We are willing to do without. But you tell us there is enough, and we believe you, and, therefore, we want it at reasonable prices."

Meatless and Fatless

And all the city people for once were with the Socialists. The Government hearkened. But instead of trying to make the producers sell at the maximum prices it sought to limit the consumption of meat and fat, hence the decree of meatless days and fatless days. Naturally, if you make first a maximum price and then limit the consumption to the supply available, the case is solved, as it was with grain. The producer has nothing more to gain by withholding his produce, whereas, if the price is fixed and the consumption is unregulated, he may hope that by withholding his produce the scarcity will cause the maximum price to be raised by the Government, as did happen several times with pork prices.

But meatless and fatless days would not limit the consumption unless people altogether observed them honestly, which, alas! they did not do. Many householders took in enough meat on meat days to last over the meatless

ones. In the public restaurants on meatless days the patronage fell off, because people stayed at home to eat in private the meat they could not be served with in public. Then began the agitation for "meat cards," like "bread cards," which would make it impossible for any one to buy in one day more than his individual allotment. But by this time the swine had begun to multiply again, cattle had become more plentiful at the same time, and in the conferences of science the vegetarians were commanding new respect, going so far as to say that the reaction had gone too far since the great slaughter and that people had better be allowed to eat more meat. And so no general "meat card" regulation came. However, butter cards were issued in places at the same time that maximum prices were decreed. When this was done the export price of butter in Norway was higher than the maximum price fixed by the Government in Berlin. For a few days there was a great scarcity of butter everywhere in Germany, but the consumption under this regulation fell so rapidly that the butter dealers in Norway and Holland were taken unawares with large stocks on hand. They cut their prices, and Germany got butter on its own terms.

A Far-Reaching Experiment

Altogether it is an economic experience of which the meaning will be clearer hereafter. A food-importing nation that does not absolutely control the paths by which its nourishment reaches it from outside must naturally be vulnerable in war, and, for that reason, uneasy in peace.

If Germany, without this lesson, had continued for another generation as it had been going, turning more and more of its energies to industrial pursuits, its importation of food might have become 25 per cent. or more of the total consumed, instead of the 15 per cent. it was in 1914, and then, without control of the sea, a career in war would be very brief. In the same light, England's problem is intensified. She cannot ever become self-sustaining in food; her stomach is in the keeping of her fleet. Probably

after the war it will be Germany's economic ideal to continue potentially self-sustaining. Her agricultural production

could by gradual means be very much increased. For England that ideal is unattainable.

Warfare On the Tribal Plan

III.

TO neutral visitors the Germans over and over address this question: "We have told only the truth, without boasting. Germany is able to go on and on, making war out of its own resources. Why is the world so incredulous?"

The proper answer to make to that is this: "It was incredible to begin with. Nobody could imagine that a modern State, importing in peace 15 per cent. of its food and the bulk of the raw materials required for its industrial process, save only iron, coal, and zinc, had suddenly become self-contained in war, as a tribe might have been in the cave age. And at the beginning of the war the Germans, perhaps least of all, could have imagined it. Is that not so?"

Things That Were Unexpected

"Yes," they say, "that is true. We didn't know we could do it."

"You would have said yourselves that it would be impossible to make a long war out of your own resources, cut off from the outside world."

"We were not prepared for what happened," they admit. "It would have seemed incredible."

The truth is that Germany was not economically prepared for war, especially for the kind of war it developed to be. In the military sense she was ready; that is to say, she had the war machine and plans to meet every contingency; and also, in financial theory, she was ready, the bankers, like the military men, having worked it all out on paper long beforehand; but in other respects she was unprepared. Of raw materials she had only the stocks appropriate for peace time, or a supply for about six months;

of food she had no special reserves, and, most surprising of all, she had very inadequate stores of ammunition.

At the end of September, 1914, the second month of war, the supply of German ammunition was almost exhausted. There was a panic about it, especially as the crisis in ammunition coincided with a crisis in military strategy, the invading army having been beaten back in France, with Hindenburg reporting at the same time that he required a great many more men and tremendous quantities of shells to hold the Russians back on the eastern front. Germany was then in a very tight place. Certain amazing events on the western front, as, for example, bayonet charges by soldiers imperfectly or not at all supported by artillery, are only now to be understood in the light of facts unknown at the time.

Long after Germany had found plenty of ammunition for herself, her allies, especially the Turks, were desperately short. There was a situation at the Dardanelles which goes to show on what slender chances turn the fortunes of war. When the allied Anglo-French fleet withdrew at dark on the day of the great attack, having lost five ships in the fight, the only Turkish fort with guns large enough to deliver a mortal shot against a modern battleship had only seventeen shells left. The German commander was in despair. A countryman of his, a newspaper correspondent, asked him how he stood. He said it was all up with the Dardanelles. He could hope with his seventeen shots to sink two or three more ships, with luck, but that would be the end of it. The fleet would then go through, and the correspondent had better hie him back to Constantinople and

get started home, unless he liked the thought of becoming a prisoner of war. But the allied fleet did not return to the attack the next morning. If it had, the current history of Europe might be very differently written. Later a German naval Captain, who had lost his ship in the North Sea and was not entitled to another command, arrived in Constantinople with permission to do anything he could find to do. He was a genius. Out of such materials as nobody else had thought of using, some old engines, a few old-fashioned machines, forgotten tools, and the very scrap heaps, by a kind of sorcery he created a munitions factory which, in a little while, entirely relieved the anxieties of the German commander in the big fort defending the Dardanelles.

The Four Problems

The unexpected factors which confronted Germany, and against which she had made insufficient preparation, or none at all, were these:

First—Economic isolation. She had never imagined such a catastrophe.

Second—Fighting on two fronts at once, east and west, with lines on both sides much longer than anybody could have foreseen. What she expected was an alternation of fighting, first on the west and then on the east. That was the military program.

Third—The length of the war. All calculations assumed a protracted war to be out of the question, for the Teutonic allies as well as for their enemies.

Fourth—The enormous quantity of ammunition required in modern warfare. Everybody greatly underestimated it. In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 there were used altogether 347,000 pieces of shrapnel. The present average consumption on the German side in this war is 4,000,000 pieces a month. That is to say, the total amount consumed in the Franco-Prussian war would now supply the lines for a little more than three days.

To meet these unexpected conditions heroic measures were necessary. The Government promptly laid its hands upon all industrial establishments and proc-

esses adaptable to the purpose, upon all raw material existing in manufacturers' and dealers' hands, and upon all the doctors and scientists whose specialized talents fitted them to help solve the problems in hand. The man best equipped by experience and qualities of mind to become economic dictator was put at the top of it all. Industries were classified. Inventory was taken of their stock. Then to a fabricator of cloth, or metal manufacturer, the dictator would say: "Your factory and your stock of raw material are now absolutely in the hands of the State. You are to work exclusively for the State. In order that the transition may not be too violent you may have 10 per cent. of your own raw material for private use during January and 5 per cent. during February; after that you are to fill only war orders for the State."

War Companies

At the same time the great German banks formed for each of the principal industries a war company, to receive orders from the State, place contracts with the manufacturers, buy and sell raw materials, and in general to finance the whole vast business at a regulated rate of profit. So you would find a foreign exchange expert from the Deutsche Bank at the head of a war company dealing in wool cloth, and a peace time specialist in American securities, whom you had once known in Wall Street, conducting large and difficult operations connected with the production of shrapnel, or perhaps absorbed in the task of erecting factories to recover cotton fibre from cotton fabrics.

Bending Industry to It

In this way the industries of Germany were commandeered, until 80 per cent. of them came to be employed directly or indirectly in the service of war. Their flexibility, at first thought, would seem extraordinary; but, on reflection, it is less wonderful, because the distinguishing fact about German industry had always been its adaptability. For years and years it had been known that whereas the English sold English goods and the French sold French goods, the Ger-

man would produce on order anything under the sun that a buyer wanted, as he wanted it, even Japanese goods, so perfectly imitated that nobody but an expert could tell the difference. If you wanted left-handed typewriters, or an engine to run upside down, the German would make it according to specification. That was his boast, and although there were many who thought it a bad thing for German industry, and that standardization of products distinctively German would in the long run be better, it was lucky in war to have an industry that could change instantly from what it was doing to what the State wanted.

Much more difficult was the problem of creating that for which no specifications were known, that is, by new processes as yet undiscovered to produce synthetically what was not to be had in any natural way, such as rubber, saltpeter, or an acid. Until then it had been thought that there were too many professors in Germany, too many doctors of this and that, too many scientists perhaps. But now their brains were commandeered or laid hands upon, like any other commodity. Scientific knowledge, which in most countries is a luxury, had long been a commodity in Germany which every industry could afford to buy a great deal of.

Cheap Knowledge

A very interesting German, discussing this subject, said: "It is not that we have the schools. Any country may have schools like ours. It is the temperament of the students. Here a young man will study five or six years and take his degree, and then be contented with 300 or 400 marks a month (\$75 to \$100) in the laboratory of an industrial organization, whereas elsewhere a young man equally equipped would think of holding a chair in a university. In Germany even a very small manufacturer can afford his laboratory and staff of scientific workers, continually engaged in solving problems peculiar to that one industry."

When the test came the results appeared. The military authorities would call in the manufacturers of a certain

group and say: "Gentlemen, here is the problem. We have got to have so much of this and so much of that, and we look to you to find the way to produce it. We shall expect you to meet here at this hour two weeks from today."

It might be sulphuric acid, or almost anything else. The manufacturers would then put it up to the men in their laboratories. Two weeks later they would meet again and exchange results. Among them, by putting all of their information together, they would find the way, and solve problems which, in peace time, with each manufacturer jealously guarding his own secrets, might have had to wait years for a solution.

Nickel and Rubber

Many problems are yet unfinished, chief of those being perhaps the problem of producing rubber in large quantities synthetically. Nickel is very scarce. But other things have been wonderfully accomplished. Substitutes have been found for cotton in the manufacture of high explosives. The possibilities of zinc wire in place of copper for conducting electricity have been discovered. All new installations now are made with zinc wire. The chemical equivalent of the saltpeter which was formerly imported from Chile has been commanded from the air, and this is a form of wealth that will perhaps endure after the war. The first costly electrical plants that were built for the process of obtaining saltpeter from nitrogen gas required Government subsidies. Lately the two largest plants have been built with private capital by men who are convinced that after the war saltpeter may be produced by this process at a cost to make competition with the Chilean product profitable.

Much Copper

Copper is really not a serious problem. That becomes clear at once to the most casual-eyed visitor. Germany is full of copper. That might have been known before. A country that had for many years been importing tremendous quantities of copper would have huge reserves in some form or other, because it is an indestructible metal. There is copper

and brass everywhere. The metal was very lavishly used. Enough could be recovered from copper roofs to supply the war industry for months, and after that enough more could be recovered from the universal brass bedstead and the door trimmings to go on with for an indeterminate time. Besides, a great deal is regularly recovered from the battlefields, which, as soon as they have been cleared of the dead, are combed by gangs sent to retrieve all kinds of material, including iron, copper, and leather.

New Wealth

Notwithstanding the fact that 80 per cent. of all German industry is engaged in war service, and in spite of all other creative disabilities, new wealth is being created in some directions and old wealth is being maintained. Rock ballast is being spread on the railways almost as in peace time. That is significant, because, at a pinch, railways so well ballasted as the German roads are may be a long time neglected without danger or loss. On the Frankfurt-Hamburg line grade elevation through the cities and other heavy work is progressing steadily. New macadam roads are building in the country, and the agricultural regions without exception are as trim and as neatly picked up as in peace time. At Leipsic the largest and perhaps the finest railway station in Europe was finished and opened in December.

The great new Hamburg - American Building at Hamburg is finishing. In Berlin the subway begun before the war is continuing to build, not feverishly, but steadily, and where a street has to be covered over, the temporary construction is of a character to astonish a New Yorker. It would never give way.

Prisoners of war, especially Russians, furnished most of the rough labor for the new construction taking place in the Winter time, and then they are very widely employed in season on the farms. They are handled in gangs, and sent from place to place on request, as Italian or other alien labor formerly was handled by the padrone system in the United States. It is very mobile labor, and very glad to work, both for relief from the monotony of camp life and for the small wages paid. It was the use of prisoners that enabled Germany to produce the sufficient crop of 1915.

Women at Work

A great deal of heavy work also is performed by women. They dig in place of men in the Berlin subway work. This work came to the surface suddenly in the heart of Berlin, and the sight of women working with shovels attracted large crowds at first. Berliners did not relish it, and feared it would be misunderstood by foreign visitors, as it often was. One is tempted to exclaim: "This is Germany in war time! It has come to this." But, on the other hand, there are no slums in Berlin, nothing in the nature of a poor neighborhood that would not compare very favorably with Seventh or Eighth Avenue. Also, the women digging in the subway are very healthy and robust, in stout, whole garments. It is not a depressing spectacle. And yet a big policeman at the corner of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstrasse dislikes it personally. When a crowd gathers he disperses it roughly, saying: "Shame! Shame! Don't stand there looking at women doing such work. You ought to be doing it if you have time to loiter," or German to that effect.



How to Pay the Piper First

IV.

STRANGERS in San Francisco after the earthquake were filled with a common astonishment and asked invariably the same question: "The money that people are spending so freely—where does it come from?" It was impossible that people should be really richer than before, and yet evidence of their seeming to be so was on every hand and in every direction, especially in places of eating, drinking, and amusement. The answer, when forthcoming, was simple enough. It was insurance money. The people at large were enjoying the capital of the few. The rich, there or somewhere, were poorer, but all the rest were for the present richer.

The Money Rich

There now is somewhat of that same phenomenon in Germany. More money is in circulation than was ever the case before, and money in hand is already half spent. There is that illusion of money prosperity which invariably accompanies currency inflation. The rich are each day poorer, and the very poor remain so, as is always the case. Between is the great other class through whose hands the money passes. In all the large cities the restaurants, the cafés, and the theatres are continually crowded with patrons. There is no dancing in Germany; that is principally what one misses. At the opera the highest-priced seats, 5 to 10 marks, as well as the cheaper ones, are all taken for every performance. At Munich the Bavarian King's famous Hofbrau Haus is as interesting as ever, and, notwithstanding a rise of 10 pfennigs in the price of beer per litre, one may have to look through several great rooms before finding a place at which to sit and drink it. On the first floor, where the people are the King's children still, petulant, noisy, unpolitical, and easily made happy, the visitor's sensation is that of falling unawares into a hive of colossal bees. They are as disinterested and as uncurious

as bees. They sit, men and women, all together at long tables, as tight as they can sit, buzzing incessantly, beating the tables with their palms, sipping amber fluid out of glasses with pewter lids that pop open when the glass is raised and close when it is put down, with a click, click, click that adds a continuous metallic note to the confusion of human voices.

But at Munich, also, is a well-known collector of porcelains who points to his beloved and beautiful things, saying: "I tell my American friends that if the war lasts much longer they can have these objects at any price they will name. I cannot afford to keep them."

At the Hofbrau Haus

The people at the Hofbrau Haus are drinking up his porcelains. So is wealth transmitted in this modern world. They do not know it. He does.

This is to put the worst of it first. Germans naturally put the other side first. They say—even bankers and economists say: "You can see for yourself how it is. Money is very abundant. The people are richer than they were before. Our money does not go abroad as England's money does. It remains here among us, and circulates endlessly."

Thinking Further

One is sure from this that it is as one suspected. The war has set economic thought on its head in Germany. Nobody is thinking straight about what is taking place. So one is obliged to answer:

"To say that the German people are really richer than before the war started is to say a meaningless thing. No neutral can understand it. Economic laws cannot, like international law, be suddenly suspended. This perpetual circulatory motion of money you boast of, and the abundance of the medium, only tend to conceal the fact that Germany is using up its capital."

To this the German banker, or the

economist, unexpectedly replies: "Of course. We know that, too. That is what capital is for. We may not be using it up as fast as you think, because at the same time we are saving a great deal more relatively than in peace times. The rich—they especially are saying. But, notwithstanding that, it is true, as you say, we are using up capital in Germany. We shall get it back. That is the point."

"You mean in the form of indemnities?"

"Yes. Either money indemnities or commercial concessions; both perhaps. Yes, both. And then you shall see."

"But when you have won the war your enemies may be unable to pay."

"They can pay," the answer is. "They will have to pay."

This idea of obtaining large money indemnities in the conditions of peace is prominent, not to say paramount, in Germany's financial calculations.

Two Ways of Paying

There are only two ways of meeting the cost of war. One way is to pay the bill as you go, out of your own resources, which entails both heroic saving and the consumption of accumulated capital. The other way is to borrow. The general practice is to adopt both methods, as England does, as France, Italy, and Russia do. They pay what they can, as they go, deriving the means partly from economy in private expenditures and partly from stores of accumulated capital; and then, besides, they borrow heavily abroad.

The advantage of borrowing is that the cost is spread over a long period of years, and may be paid off by easy installments after the return of peace, under normal conditions of commerce and trade. But Germany does not borrow abroad, at least very little, and pays almost the whole cost out of her own resources as she goes. There are advantages in this plan, too. That, indeed, would be the ideal way to pay for war—provided only that at the end you were able to replenish the stores of capital that had been used up in the process. There is at least one other advantage.

Though it lies in the region of remote contingency it is nevertheless real for purposes of present consideration. A Government that owes money only to its own people, which is the same as to say that the people owe it to themselves and each other, is obviously in a position very different from that of a Government that owes a great deal of money abroad to strangers. One could halve its debt, cut the rate of interest or repudiate it altogether, a majority of the people assenting, without impairing its credit abroad or reducing in the least the power to borrow among strangers. The other Government, owing money abroad, could not diminish the principal of its debt or alter the rate of interest without ruining its credit abroad.

Repudiation

A shrewd-minded German economist asked suddenly this staggering question: "What would be the effect if in the conditions of peace it were stipulated that all the belligerent countries should repudiate their war loans?"

After some reflection, the answer of a neutral was: "It is a very immoral thing to consider. It is too large a question to be met offhand. What shall one say? The obvious effect, of course, would be a relocation of wealth so sudden as perhaps to be very disastrous, certainly ruinous."

"No," he said, "the effect on the people at large. What would that be?"

"Perhaps, if you consider only the people at large, the noncapitalistic mass, it would be a great relief to them not to have to go on for generations, perhaps forever, paying interest on this huge, unimaginable debt that Europe is piling up. It would mean simply that they were not obliged to restore to private hands the capital that had been dispersed among them during war."

Flexible Conditions

But there again was the former problem. Germany might repudiate her war debt, or a portion of it, by reducing the rate of interest, purely as a matter of internal policy, without reference to the feelings or economic beliefs of the world outside, whereas, nations that had borrowed outside could do no such thing at

all. They would have to consider facts of international policy.

The Power to Tax

It must not be assumed from this that the thought of repudiation is working in Germany. But repudiation, besides being a very ugly word, is a matter of terms and relations. Many arrangements may be repudiation really which seem not to be, and go by other names. For example, it is very well known that the rich will be enormously taxed and super-taxed after the war, and it is already decided that war profits will be partly confiscated by a special kind of tax that may be called almost punitive. The difficulty of capturing war profits that have become widely diffused in private hands will be solved arbitrarily. A man's wealth will be compared with what it was before the war. If it has increased, the assumption will be that the increase arose from war profits, and it will bear the confiscatory tax accordingly. Corporations that are now thriving on war contracts are required to hold their extraordinary profits in suspense. They will be attended to suitably. Besides all of this, it is already suggested that an ideal way of levying an income tax after the war would be to reduce the rate of interest on the war loans. In that way the rich would pay the most, having been individually the largest purchasers of the war loans.

Buyers of the Loan

Each loan has had a wider popular base than its predecessor. Subscriptions of 100 to 2,000 marks (\$25 to \$250) were on the first loan, 926,059 in number, yielding 734,000,000 marks; on the second, 2,113,220, yielding 1,662,000,000 marks, and on the third, 2,883,799, yielding 2,165,000,000 marks. That fact, of course, is in theory if not in practice a strong protection against repudiation of interest or principal after the war, though not one that may be trusted absolutely. The people must be persuaded to see that the cost of the war in the actual sense had already been paid, and that keeping up interest and amortization payments on the loans would be merely paying money from pocket to

pocket, to the ultimate advantage of the rich.

The aspects of the case are clear enough to the bankers, the economists, and the rich. They are not deluding themselves; and yet they go on putting their money into the loan, cheerfully, patriotically, with a spirit that must be rare in the world. You may say to a banker whom you know to have put a large portion of his private fortune into the war loans: "Do you not see what will be the case? After the war taxes will be terrific, much worse than now they are, because the Government is borrowing at compound interest, paying interest on previous loans from the principal of new ones. The people under you cannot be made to pay more than they can afford." And he will answer: "The rich should pay. Why not? They expect to do it. We may be taxed 40 per cent., 50 per cent. We may have to give everything we possess. We cannot give more than all. What then? We can begin again. I am willing to do that. The people fight and the rich must pay. Yes, we see all that."

Spirit of the Rich

This is not the attitude of one, or two, or a few. It is the spirit of the rich in Germany. All will not be lost. Nobody believes that, of course. It is a patriotic exaggeration of speech, the effect of which is but to intensify the faith they have in Germany's future. On the Boerse they pay 5 marks and 20 pfennigs for the American dollar, normal price 4 marks 20 pfennigs, and, with the other hand buy—of all things!—shipping shares. They have been very strong and active, without a sea on which to sail a German ship. That is faith.

There is a considerable business doing on the Boerse, transactions all for cash, no quotations allowed for publication, and one would not guess a war was going on until one's attention is called to the fact that all the men going to and fro are above forty. "We are not much crowded now," some one says. "All our young men are in the war." But there is no speculation in the war loans. People put their money into war bonds without



THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH

Head of the Christian Church in Turkey, Whose People Have Been
Exiled and Massacred



PROFESSOR HANS DELBRUECK

A Leading German Opponent of the Annexation of Belgium

intending to take it out. Is it safe? No matter, yes or no. It is necessary to think it is.

Is the War Loan Good?

A man who first gained distinction in German banking, then became a member of the Government, and now is living in retirement, with a detached point of view, put it this way: "People are continually coming to me to ask if I think the war loan a good investment. I say to them: 'Why, if you are good, the war loan is good.' They say, 'But how?' I say, 'You are simply signing your own note. Are you good for it? That is the only question. Are you good for your own note? Can you pay your taxes? If so, then the war loan is a good investment. You will have to pay it yourself.'"

Then in the next minute he began to discuss the subject of indemnities from the enemy. Could the enemy pay? Of course. It had other things to pay with, if not the money. But what other things?

"Well," he said, "the French, for example, hold large amounts of Serbian, Swedish, and Russian bonds, Government bonds, some of them, corporation bonds for the rest, and shares besides. We say to the French Government, 'Turn over to us your Serbian, Swedish, and Russian securities, then, if you cannot pay indemnity in money.' The French Government asks how it can do that. We say, 'Buy them from the individuals with French Government securities.' Then the French Government goes to a French investor and asks, 'What have you got?' He says he has 10,000 francs of Serbian bonds, or 20,000 francs of something else, and the French Government says, 'Here are your 10,000 (or 20,000) francs; now give up the bonds.' And then the French Government turns the bonds over to Germany."

France Should Worry

"But what would happen afterward to the franc in France?"

"Oh," he replied, "that I can't tell you."

If Germany should lose, or if the war continued until, in fact, nobody could pay,

then everything would be different. If one knew when the war would end then one could think to some conclusion. As it is, with all the belligerent countries committed to a policy of unlimited liability on account of the war, and with capital being leveled and consumed at a rate for which there is no parallel in economic experience, one must conjecture and wait to see what will happen. In the meantime, the financial advisers of the German Government are making what plans they may. The problems of post-bellum finance are being considered as carefully during war as those of war had been considered in time of peace. Ways of contracting the currency immediately after the war are already being considered. That is to prevent excesses of inflation which might easily become uncontrollable. The possibility of a peace loan for purpose of rehabilitation has been discussed independently of indemnities.

Gold in Its Place

In the meantime there is an absolute embargo on gold. An American paper dollar or an American dollar in the form of a draft is worth 5 marks and 20 pfennigs, but an American gold dollar is worth only 4 marks and 20 pfennigs, as in peace time, because it cannot be taken out of the country. Only the German Government can spend gold abroad, and although it is buying a great deal of stuff abroad, even from the United States, as the rate of exchange so eloquently proves, it pays in marks at a great loss, in order to save the gold. All the necessities of existence imported into Germany are purchased by the Government—grain, fodder, animals, and whatever else is required. The field of the private trader is much restricted. And, so far as possible, the Government pays in other currency than gold. Having opened up the Balkans, from where imports would call for gold payment unless other means were provided, the Imperial Reichsbank established large bank credits in Bulgaria, against which Bulgaria issues a special kind of money to pay for what Germany buys in that country. One purpose of hoarding gold at

the Reichsbank is to be able after the war to use it for obtaining enormous credits abroad, probably, that is to say, inevitably, in the United States, for there will be no other lending country left. The Reichsbank might expect to receive three or four dollars of credit for each dollar of gold deposited in the United States.

The problems are new and vast, and for some of them there are no rules of solution; but on the whole they are regarded rationally, and for the present one may say the question of Germany's financial solvency is a matter of no

relevance. Ordinary tests do not apply. For purposes of immediate consideration one may cast money itself out of the question. The question is whether Germany, out of her own resources, can continue to feed and clothe her people, and produce the materials consumed in war. If she can do that, the money means by which production and distribution are effected are to be considered only in the light of expediency. If they conceal the fact that capital is being consumed at a rapid rate and create an illusion of popular prosperity, perhaps that is all the better. The trial will come afterward.

A People Emotionally United

V.

BISMARCK supposed that in the improbable case of two of his countrymen finding themselves in agreement about anything they would immediately fall to quarreling as to why they agreed. Germans quote this saying about themselves with evident relish. They love to disagree and to grumble. And yet they boast of nothing else so much as of their unity in war. This is not simply a contradiction. It involves an important distinction.

Wherein Is Unity

Emotionally they are united. Politically they are divided.

There are two kinds of families—those who care what the neighbors think and those who don't. The Germans had always been of the kind who don't. They wrangled out their differences with all the windows open, and spanked the children in the back yard instead of taking them quietly into the woodshed or to the cellar. The neighbors are continually expecting such a family to break up. The sons who are old enough to do so will leave home and the daughters will elope, leaving the authors of so much human discord to fight it out alone as they deserve.

It is possible, nevertheless, for the

members of a quarrelsome household to be really very fond of one another, and also to be deeply, jealously, and romantically attached to their joint possessions. If that is the case, outside interference will unite the family for purposes of fierce resistance. Its reaction to a common peril may seem to be quicker and more positive because the natural human impulse to unity of action has been hitherto baffled by internal dissensions. The boy, howling in the back yard from the effects of a fresh beating, rises with the rest to repel the meddling neighbor. The rights of the family as a unit having been established by united effort, the boy sits down where he was and resumes his howling, and the mother, who has taken his part, renews her opinions of the father.

The Grumbler

So the German Socialist rises and goes to the front in France or Russia to do his share of the fighting against the enemies of the Fatherland, on their territory, and then, on leave, returns to the Reichstag, still in his uniform, denounces militarism, states his horror of conquest in principle, and heckles his Government. If you sit down with him at luncheon he is a fair-haired, blue-eyed man, awkward

with his sword, whose mind is like a moving-picture film on which pictures from two very different worlds have become hopelessly confused. One is a world economically perfected, in which everybody is happy and comfortable, by virtue of theories which he expounds in the Reichstag and elsewhere. The other is a world in which killing is man's immediate business, and in which the enemies of the Fatherland will be vanquished forever by strength of the valor he has seen and to which he has contributed his own. When you comment upon the strangeness of his situation he says:

"Yes, my American friend, you see it is this way. On the physical battlefield there is unity. On the political battlefield there are concessions. On the economic battlefield there is no peace, and perhaps never will be until"—But he thinks, of course, that you would rather talk war, which is dramatic, living, and unwritten, than economics, which is all in books, for those to read who will. That is really to say that he himself would.

Drum Fire

"Can you imagine what drum fire is like?" he asks. "You can't," he continues, without waiting for the answer. "It is so fast that you cannot hear the guns separately. It's like the beating of snare drums, a continuous roll. The men can't stand it long at a time. Every few hours you have to take them out and send others in their place. Those who come out were already dead in one sense. They gave up hope. They expected to die. But when they are safely out hope returns. Nobody likes to die. It is a relief not to have died. They rest and think and get their nerves in order—and then you have to take them back. That is hell! Everybody knows that at least one-tenth will die this time. For one in ten it is certain death, and, worst of all, death from which escape before had been miraculous. Well, they go!"

He clenches his fist and makes the dished jump. "They go! They are not afraid of the officers' pistols. That is calumny. They are afraid not to go. It is moral authority they fear. And only Germans will do it," he adds, more quiet-

ly. "The French will not go back into the same drum fire. New men have to be found. The Italians will not pass their own dead. Only the Germans will go."

For the Fatherland

He is very proud of it, naïvely so. He has seen them go. He has made them go. Though he disbelieves in war and militarism, in aristocracy and modern diplomacy, in racial vanity and national aggrandizement, yet would he lead his men again and again into that hellish drum fire for the Fatherland.

As to the nature of the war, the Germans are wonderfully united. There is no denying this fact. They hold in common, to begin with, a tragic view of their historical position. Modern German history is a continuation of Prussian history, and Prussian history is gloomy, desperate, and dreadful. Frederick the Great making war against all the powers of Continental Europe, during seven years, at odds of one to ten, and making it as Imperial Germany to-day makes war, out of his own people's resources, requiring tremendous self-sacrifice, is a picture to satisfy every longing of the fatalistic Teutonic imagination. The world is an enemy. The odds are overwhelming. Yet the miraculous is possible.

Love of Peace

You cannot convince a German that he is not, above all, a peace-loving man, until his land is attacked. He believes it; therefore, in one sense, it is true, for a love of peace, though it may be contradicted by acts, may be a feeling and not a fact. He forgives his enemies almost anything more easily than this: that they forced war upon Germany. If you wish to debate it, he will insist that the alliance between Russia, France, and England was from its inception and in its very nature an alliance designed to thwart the growth of Germany. He will add that, even so, clear as it is and was, still he couldn't believe it himself. He couldn't imagine England taking part in the war.

After war had been declared against

Russia, Germans gathered before the British Embassy in Berlin and cheered. That is pathetically true. He asks you, Why? The fact was reported in the English newspapers at the time, and the British asked themselves the same question. Why? In like spirit Germans embraced Japanese in the streets of Berlin. But alas! the Japanese, too, went over to the side of the hostile world.

Effect of Isolation

This feeling of moral and physical isolation is a powerful unifying emotion in Germany. Fear is another. The "Slavic peril" is a dreadful conception. Pressing against the frontiers of Germany were always the Russians, multiplying calamitously and nursing an earth hunger insatiable. Do you question the earth hunger? Do you, really? Your Socialist becomes strangely emphatic. "During 100 years," he says, as if it were a State secret, "the Russians have increased their portion of earth, by conquest, by stealth, by sheer force of their mass, at the rate of 100 square miles per day." This, to the German imagination, seems a statement of appalling fact. That the monstrous expansion of the Russian Empire has taken place for the most part in Asia is no comfort at all. That is only because Germany has so far been able to protect herself, and not only herself but all the rest of Europe from the terrible earth lust of the fecund Russian. Notoriously, Russia coveted space in Europe; notoriously, she wanted dominion over the Balkan Peninsula. She wanted the eastern Caesar's place at Constantinople. And with this all-menacing power, against which Germany alone stood as the bulwark and buffer to save European civilization—with this dark power France and England had made an alliance to crush Germany commercially!

Deep Bitterness

The bitterness of this sentiment in Germany is abysmal. It is compounded of the two most potent emotional elements—fear and hate. Russia is feared; England is hated.

But for the feeling of all Germans toward Russia, as a glacial period de-

scending upon them with irresistible force, the attitude of German Socialists toward the war might have been very different. Herein lies in part the explanation of the utter collapse of the spirit of internationalism among the Socialists of Germany, whose readiness to take up arms against their fellow-Socialists in France has been the apology of the latter for having in like spirit taken up arms against Germans. Yet, until the test came, Germany was doubtful about her Socialists, who had so vehemently in peace denounced war upon any terms.

The radical Socialists were distrusted in Germany not upon social or economic grounds, but for patriotic reasons. The unpardonable sin of the Socialist was that he was in theory unpatriotic. He seemed to think he had more in common with the trade unionist of England and the syndicalist of France than with a countryman of his own on another social plane. That was why a German Socialist and a German Conservative could not be invited to the same house at the same time, or sit together at the same table anywhere. The Socialists were not people to say: "Our country first, right or wrong." They were quite capable of saying contrary things, even in a great political crisis, especially in the event of difficulty with France or England, for with French and English Socialists they had made vows of a peace which should transcend the narrow prejudices of nationalism.

Feeling Toward Russia

Then came the war. It began with Russia, and with Russians the German Socialists had nothing whatever in common. So far from that, the feeling of a German Socialist toward Russia was the same as that of other Germans. Their reactions to the Russian peril were all alike. There was the very beginning of emotional unity in war. The Emperor perceived this and gave it expression, dramatically. In his speech from the balcony he said that he no longer knew Socialists, Conservatives, Liberals, or others in Germany. He knew only Germans. France was the political ally of

Russia, and when she kept that faith there ceased to be Socialists in France, discernible as such to Germans, but only enemies, all alike fighting on the side of Russia. The logic of this, good or bad, is of no consequence whatever, so long as the subject is the state of feeling. That is as German Socialists now feel and have felt from the first. If they had not feared Russia as Germans they might have felt very differently in all respects. However, that must remain always in the region of conjecture. Nobody can say for sure what might have happened in place of what did happen, circumstances being altered.

In fear and pride, in a desolate sense of moral detachment, in a certain gloom of heart with which they are born, in the acute psychological necessity of holding fast to a faith in themselves against a world that calls them "Huns," in the quality of their imagination, in feeling a power beyond anything they knew before—by force of all of these things they are emotionally united in quite a wonderful way.

A Quarrelsome Household

It is yet a quarrelsome household within, and through the windows come sounds of political discord. The enemy, hearkening to these sounds, is led to believe that the family is about to break up in confusion, that the Government and the people are pulling apart and that the Government itself is disunited, the military power looking one way and the civil power another. The facts do seem significant. On Dec. 9 the Imperial Chancellor declared that the Government was ready to entertain peace proposals if the enemy had any to offer. A great many Germans had thought the Chancellor ought to say something more definite, that he should formulate the conditions on which Germany would consent to end the war, and that night there was a peace demonstration in the streets of Berlin. Would not any one deduce from such evidential material that the German people wanted peace and that they were divided as to the course pursued by the Government?

It is true that the Germans long for

peace; so probably do all other people now at war. It is true also that the Imperial Chancellor's "peace speech" was a disappointment to those who thought the German demands and purposes ought to be definitely formulated as a matter of political expediency; but what really happened in Berlin on Dec. 9 was misconstrued on the evidence. The Socialists in the Reichstag had several important speeches to make following the Chancellor. By mistake, possibly by design, the session suddenly and by a snap vote was adjourned immediately on the conclusion of the Chancellor's speech. The Socialists made a great row instantly, and were so clearly in the right that the vote to adjourn was reconsidered, the session was reopened, and the Socialists made their speeches, in which they criticised the Government and supported the war.

A Misunderstanding

But the afternoon newspapers went to press with the news that the Socialists had been gagged in the Reichstag. Cards at once were circulated calling up the Socialists for a demonstration, and it took place in spite of the fact that the reason for it had ceased to exist. It was to be a demonstration to protest against the fact that the Socialists had not been allowed to have their say about peace, and it took place after they had had their say, because it couldn't be stopped by its authors. It was an amiable and orderly crowd that filled Unter den Linden that night. The American Ambassador went about in it asking the people what it was about, and hardly one in ten had the faintest idea. There was no violence and apparently no thought of it. Nobody was hurt.

The Truth Afraid

The Foreign Office, however, thought news of such a gathering in the streets, after the Chancellor's speech, would be misunderstood and refused to allow the correspondents to send out the bare truth. The Foreign Office in one way was wrong, because, of course, word did get out of Germany that there had been a "peace demonstration" in Berlin. It became at once a peace riot, and within

a week French and English papers printed accounts of a collision between the people clamoring for peace and the Government wanting war, in which 400 people were killed, some by machine guns and some by clubs, pistols, and horses of the Berlin police. However, in another way—in its own way—the Foreign Office was right. The Chancellor's speech was very easily misconstrued outside. The English and French press generally treated it as a vast "bluff," and when the news of its having been so received reached Germany the natural reaction took place. Those who previously had inclined to criticise the Chancellor for refusing to state the terms on which Germany would make peace were now less certain of their own opinions and joined with the rest in wondering why anything Germany did or said toward peace seemed invariably to be misunderstood as an expression of "weakness." This had already happened so often that the dread of its repetition has become positively morbid.

Reacting to Insult

All Germans react alike to every taunt, every threat, every insult and every peril offered from without, for that is emotional. On the other hand, there are probably no two Germans alive who could exactly agree on the politics of a war that began in the faith of self-preservation and has threatened unexpectedly to become one of conquest. There are those who think Germany's destiny is inseparable from that of England, and that the sooner they can reconcile themselves to that truth the sooner the war will end. At the other extreme are those who think the way to postpone the Russian peril is to embrace it, and talk of an understanding between Germany and Russia. There are those who think Belgium ought to be annexed and those who think to annex Belgium would put an indelible stain upon the honor of Germany. There are those who think the Zeppelin raids a ghastly futility which Germany will repent of, and those who think England ought to be made to feel the war on her own soil. Why England ought to feel it so, seeing that

Germany has made war almost entirely off the soil of the Fatherland, is not to be answered rationally. There are many who condemn the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and many who don't. Some condemn it for political reasons and others on moral ground only.

Impartial Tyranny

The Imperial Government tries to be neutral. The *Berliner Post*, in a fit of enthusiasm, says in effect: "People want to know what Germany's peace terms are? Well, there need be no uncertainty that Germany will keep for its own everything it has taken. Those are its terms." And for that the *Berliner Post* is suspended by the Government. Then Professor Hans Delbrück, one of the ablest men in Germany, gives out an interview in which he argues ardently against annexation of French and Belgian territory, and says, of course, the German people will not approve of it; and then all that part of Professor Delbrück's opinion has to be deleted by the Foreign Office censor.

It is a significant fact that internal political differences have become more defined and have increased in variety, as the rim of hell within which lies the German Empire has expanded outwardly. Its expanding so has created new problems to wrangle over, and at the same time has given the family a feeling of greater security. A reverse in arms, which should throw Germany on the defensive at one point, would undoubtedly emphasize instantly the emotional unity of the people, and in the same degree diminish the political discord.

Comfortable Militarism

Necessity is greater than theory. The subject of militarism was broached to a scientist whose disbelief in it had once been scornful.

"Yes, yes," he said absently. "But after all, militarism is not a bad thing in war, is it?"

It became the business of militarism to save the Fatherland, as every German thinks, and of what use is a Fatherland than cannot be saved?

Germans In a Self-Seeing Mood

VI.

AS Huns," says Excellenz, the host, stabbing himself with the word, "we fooled the world for a long time. Then how suddenly it found us out!"

This is the beginning of an after-dinner conversation. Imagine that there are present, besides yourself, a member of the Reichstag, two members of the Foreign Office staff, a Commerzienrat, an editor, a soldier, and a professor who is writing an essay to prove that when people invent atrocity tales against their enemies they reveal their own characteristic cruelties. Excellenz, continuing, casts out the irony and asks directly: "Did our American friends believe that we could change over night and become Huns, indeed? How could they turn on us so, knowing us as they did? That is not what should happen in friendship. Why did your sympathies desert us? We wonder if you ever believed in us at all."

Truth and the Germans

It is easy to tell a German the truth, especially the truth about himself. He respects it, almost morbidly, and the more it burns the more respectfully will he receive it. Therefore, there is almost no excuse for those Americans and German-Americans who since the beginning of the war have been going about in Germany saying false and futile things, out of spite, out of malice and ignorance, or out of a shallow desire to be ingratiating. Therefore, too, all the greater need has been for those who could tell the truth, and say: "In view of what has happened it could not be different. The Americans are a sentimental people. Their sympathies are strong and volatile, controlled not otherwise than by the authority of feeling. The fact for Germany to face is not that the attitude of a certain Administration at Washington is thus or so, but that the sympathies of the American people run actively against Germany."

"But why? Tell us why?"

"In the beginning there was Belgium. Now—"

"But have you not read the ante-bellum letters of the Belgian diplomats from all the capitals of Europe? Have you not—"

Feeling Above Fact

"No, no. This is not to debate the Belgian question. It is both too late and too soon for that. What we are trying now to account for is the state of feeling in the United States. In the beginning there was Belgium. Americans heard only the cry of a people in pain, whose mortal sin was to have been in the way. There were those who desired then that the United States should intervene. The violation of Belgium, whatever else you may say for it, produced moral sentiments very damaging to Germany's cause. That was instant. Then came endless reports of German cruelties—some of them, let us say, necessary, some unnecessary, all of them deplorable from every point of view."

"But surely," interrupts the host, "intelligent people may agree not to believe atrocity tales, or, if they must believe them, then to remember that they are not typical."

About Frightfulness

"Yes, but we are talking about emotions. At last came the Bryce report on German frightfulness in Belgium. Lord Bryce is a very eminent person. He is regarded in the United States with great respect and real affection. His word would be accepted without question. Could anybody suppose that the author of 'The Holy Roman Empire,' the most sympathetic critical understanding in the English language of the German errand on earth, would consciously put upon Germany an undeserved stigma? The Bryce report produced a profound impression in the United States. It was furnished by the British Government to the American papers weeks ahead of the date of 'release,' so that there was plenty of time

to prepare it for publication, and it received tremendous circulation. For a great majority of people it put the seal upon all that had been said of German cruelty in war. After that it was harder for neutrals to find the words with which to combat the unneutral trend of American thought. The German Government also investigated what had taken place, and in due time made its report. It was a dignified performance. It was an important document in rebuttal. There are many who hold it to be intrinsically a stronger document than the Bryce report. But what did the German Government do with it? A summary of the introduction was furnished to the press—a few hundred words. The physical existence of the report itself was unknown. One day the Berlin correspondent of a Chicago newspaper saw a copy of it on a desk in the Foreign Office. 'Hello!' he said, 'what's that?' 'Why, that's the answer to the Bryce report,' he was told. He asked for a copy, and was allowed to take that one. It was already old. He posted it to his newspaper, which, some weeks later, printed considerable extracts. Other papers reprinted from that paper meagre extracts. The total publicity of the German report, as compared with that of the Bryce report, was nil. Therefore, it is correct to say that the Bryce report on German frightfulness in Belgium stands uncontroverted in the minds of American people. Do you know what that means?"

The Naive Apology

"We have never known how to do these things," says your host. "We have made many stupid mistakes. Yes, we see what that means."

"Then there was the Lusitania. One has to come to Germany to learn that the sinking of the Lusitania was regarded by the German people in two ways—in one way with a kind of military satisfaction and in another way with human horror. For three days Americans waited in tense anxiety for some word of how the tragedy had touched the German people. The moral quality of the act would be determined not by the for-

mal expressions of the German Government so much as by the attitude of the German people. But the German Foreign Office would not allow the American correspondents to say that one side of the German character, the side Americans especially knew, disapproved of the act, because, if that were said, the world might think the German people were disloyal to the Government. So of that human feeling we received not one hint; but later, through sources over which Germany had no control, we heard that at the news of the Lusitania's destruction people went cheering and exulting through the streets of Berlin."

What Hurt Most

"And you believed that!" exclaims your host. "That is what we cannot understand—that you should believe such things. You had Germans among you. You had many citizens of German blood. They could have told you how the sinking of the Lusitania would be regarded by Germans. They knew the German character and its natural reactions. But perhaps you would not have believed them."

"Perhaps not, in view of what happened. Who shall wonder at it? The sinking of the Lusitania was cheered in New York, in Chicago, in St. Louis, and in Cincinnati, both vocally and in print, by friends of Germany who in combating anti-German feeling became much more German than Germans in Germany. They behaved very badly."

Facts, Facts!

Excellenz, the host, is silent. Several others press at once for a hearing on the logic of the case. The facts—what of the facts? Is it true that the American people condemned Germany on the pleadings of emotion, without reference to the facts?

"Let us stick to feeling," you say. "That is the subject, is it not—the state of feeling in the United States toward Germany? Though the facts were altogether as Germany relates them, though they justified the act to the reason of the world, yet the sinking of the Lusitania would remain characterized as a colossal political blunder, because of its

effect upon feeling. Until then it had been thought unneutral for the United States to buy the bonds of its ammunition customers. Until then American sympathies were accessible to argument. The change was sudden. After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Wall Street opened its doors to Anglo-French bonds. Many of the same people who had denounced the sale of ammunition for profit were now for giving it in enormous quantities. And the heart was closed. Such were the political consequences of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. They might have been far worse. If for one day had been lost, besides the neutrality of the heart, the neutrality also of the head, there would now be war between the United States and Germany."

The Greatest Blunder

This statement is received in silence, but with perfect understanding. "Yes, politically it was a great blunder," says your host at length. "That may be. You are probably right. What else?"

"You complain that Americans do not take the trouble to know what is going on in Germany. Neither do you know what is taking place in the United States. German sympathizers by their attack upon life and property have produced a state of feeling which you know nothing about. It is not so much that these activities are pro-German as that they are anti-American."

"But surely," several Germans protest at once, "you cannot suppose that the German Government has any knowledge of these things. That is the lawlessness of individuals."

In Their Name

"It is lawlessness in the name of the German cause, undisavowed by the German Government or German sympathizers, and it tends to associate the cause with violence."

"But that is something we cannot help. If feeling is so easily misled in the United States, what can the German Government do? No sane person believes that the German Government would provoke disloyalty among American citizens. That would be fatal to the German cause."

"So it was. The German Government sent Dr. Dernburg to the United States to carry on pro-German propaganda. He began at once to talk of an uprising of Irish-Americans and of German-Americans. We should see what would come of our anti-Germanism. We were sitting on a volcano and didn't know it."

At this every German lifts his hands in despair. He knows all about it. There is nothing to add. The Dernburg propaganda in the United States, he admits, was an inconceivable blunder. Possibly Dr. Dernburg would say so himself, now that he sits in quite detachment at Grunewald, near Berlin, with a perspective that no propagandist could ever hope to command. It is easy to see what happened to him. In the United States he was always on the impulse of combating something; therefore he leaned forward and was out of poise. No longer a propagandist, he has recovered his vertical habits of thought, and is in private life a fairly impartial critic of both American and German affairs.

The Ghastliest Thing

The German company is thoughtful. There is still another thing; you break the silence with it. "And then those Zeppelin raids?" you say. "Nobody in Germany knows how frightful they are. The Zeppelin crews cannot tell what damage they have done. You have to wait for the English papers, and the English keep a lot of it out of the papers, in order to cheat you of your satisfaction. Therefore, you never know how ghastly the business is. We get it in the United States from people who have witnessed it."

You suddenly find resistance. Justification of the Zeppelin raids bursts all around. They are essentially retaliatory. The English and French began it. The world is a shrieking hypocrite. It goes into spasms of horror when the Germans drop bombs on London, but says almost nothing when the English and French drop their bombs on German towns, once even on a royal castle, killing innocent noncombatants on numerous occasions. The only thing is that German bombs are more effective. Is that

what the world holds against Germany? Why is it a greater atrocity to drop bombs on London than on Stuttgart?

"Intrinsically," you say, "it is no worse. And yet, the effect upon the world's imagination is bound to be very much greater. Technically and legally it is the same; but in degree and in feeling it is very different." There is no protest, perhaps owing to the utter inability of a German to imagine the world loving London more than he loves Stuttgart or any other town of Deutschland, and you are tempted to phrase the moral, "A people could not afford to be always technically right and emotionally wrong; sure only of its facts and unmindful of the feelings. The world would never understand."

A Deep Pitfall

That was too easy to say. You ought to have distrusted it for that reason alone. You remember instantly that it is not safe to fling philosophy about carelessly in a German company.

"Perhaps it is so," says Excellenz, the host. "But tell me, do you really hold that your trade in ammunition with our enemies is neutral?"

It is now your turn to take thought. The argument lies clearly in your mind. It is technically neutral; the facts are all yours. But you have been insisting upon the spirit as well as the letter of conduct. And Excellenz, continuing, turns the argument against you. "We admit that your legal attitude is perfectly correct. You have the right on your side; but if you speak of degree as altering the aspect of acts, there is a degree in this that makes it vital to us. If we should lose the war it would be owing to American ammunition. You must see that our feeling about it is affected accordingly. Can you say it is quite neutral?"

"It was neutral at first," you insist, "and if the degree of it has seemed latterly to transcend the fact of neutrality, that is a growth from circumstances over which the Americans had no control."

"If conditions were suddenly reversed," Excellenz persists, "so that the

Germans alone had access to the American markets, would ammunition be supplied in unlimited quantities to Germany or would some way be found to diminish the traffic?"

American Sympathies

"There cannot be any positive answer," you reply. "The sympathies of the American people are anti-German for emotional and political reasons. The emotional reasons have been indicated. The political reasons lie deeper. There is a belief in the United States that Germany thinks a political philosophy antagonistic to ours and that the triumph of Germany in this war would be a disaster to democracy in the world. That is not for the present debatable. It is a kind of political instinct, not to be removed by argument in the heat of the conflict. It lies in the region of feeling and must be accepted in that light."

"Yes," says Excellenz, "we can understand that; only, on the other hand, you must believe that we, too, have a kind of faith and that your trade in ammunition with our enemies, although legally correct, produces a state of feeling which cannot be reasoned away."

This conversation is reproduced at length because it summarizes hundreds of others, some shorter, some longer, but all to the same effect, provided the American has the courage to state his case and the self-belief to command for it the respect it deserves. The Germans, indeed, are glad to hear it. They have been misled and harassed by Americans who think it the part of neutrality, friendship or tact to represent their country in an aspect which none can respect.

A Certain Pharisee

A German-American politician from Chicago, his beautiful clothes bulging with letters of introduction, plumps himself into the Hotel Adlon with the happy tidings that the Wilson Administration is doomed on account of its anti-German bias; that all the New York papers have been bought over to a conspiracy to "revive the Lusitania thing," which nobody really cares about at all; that the Anglo-French loan is a dismal failure, and that he is commissioned to buy up all the

dainties in Berlin and take them out to the German soldiers in the trenches on the Russian front. He regards the correspondents distantly. Do they have difficulty at the Foreign Office? No wonder! Their editors are writing anti-German lies for English gold. He is the original truth bringer. In a week he will be "running up and down the Foreign Office like a wild Indian." They shall see this. They see, instead, a week later, a crestfallen German-American whose special pass to the eastern front has been strangely lost by somebody in the Foreign Office where "they do not know how to treat a friend when one comes." The Germans are not as credulous as they seem. They do sometimes get their incredulity in the right place. This is a typical person.

Americans in Germany

There is another type, not necessarily German-American, of either gender, whose neutrality consists in repudiating the United States as an English colony, governed jointly by the English in Downing Street and the bankers in Wall Street, the latter fattening grossly upon war orders. These people are a nuisance alike to the American Embassy, where they demand favors as American citizens, and to the German Foreign Office, where they expect other favors in return for denouncing the American Ambassador and proposing to have him sent home. They have done a great deal of harm, misrepresenting equally American sentiment toward Germany and German sentiment toward the United States.

What Shows Through the Skin

The feeling in Germany against the United States is compounded of anger, humiliation, misunderstanding, and chagrin. In veins it is very bitter, though nearly always under perfect restraint. One does not easily forget such experiences as, for instance, a conversation with a private banker who, in the course of explaining the advantages and disadvantages of Germany's position, comes suddenly, almost unawares, on the subject of American ammunition. His voice does not change; only his color rises and a

white streak appears on each side of his nose. He gets past with the remark that it will not make any difference, so far as the outcome of the war is concerned, and none afterward, he hopes, for the sake of the future trade relations of the two countries. There is not a fault in his courtesy, but one is relieved when the white streaks are gone.

There was for a while a gloomy habit of saying among Germans that if it came to war with the United States it would not matter. Americans were doing all they could against Germany anyhow, and to have them as declared enemies would be positively a relief. It might even cause them to keep some ammunition at home, which would diminish somewhat the supplies of the English and French. That mood passed, yielding to the arguments of a few who could prove that the industrial potentiality of the United States was not a thing to be underestimated. The feeling, however, does not subside, and flares out suddenly from time to time, especially in military circles.

Neutrality Suspect

The conviction that the United States is not neutral pervades every class of German opinion. The charges are mainly these, that the United States furnishes ammunition to the enemy on a scale which cannot be reconciled with a neutral spirit, that its demands have rendered Germany's submarine warfare illusory, and that it has not in like temper insisted upon its neutral trade rights against the sea power of England. The third point, last named, is now uppermost in the German mind. The letter of President Wilson's note to Great Britain was received with satisfaction. The question was, would the demands be pressed? When the case of the Ancona was acute between the United States and Austria, one of the most influential members of the Reichstag wrote an article to this effect:

"If there is any hope that President Wilson will press his case against England let us not allow the Ancona matter to become a distraction. Let us, on the contrary, remove it entirely from thought

by yielding, so that there may be nothing on our side to confuse the issue."

And when the tension between the United States and Austria was for a time so apparently dangerous that the Americans in Berlin were looking to their passports and getting their money within reach, the man in the Foreign Office who is forever an optimist on American-German relations, never for a moment allow-

ing himself to believe that they could be broken, calmly insisted that nothing disagreeable would happen.

The Austrians had believed impulsively, and had conducted their correspondence without the assistance of the German Foreign Office, but, all the same, it would be amicably settled. Nothing would come of the Ancona incident. And nothing did.

The Yearnings of Young Germany

VII.

WHATEVER has been wrong in Germany will come right at last—"after the war." The phrase is in every mouth. So many things will be very different then. Much that should have been changed long ago will change immediately, almost automatically—"after the war." Great concessions will be made to the people.

That is a prediction one hears continually, like a popular refrain. It rises in Prussia and returns as an echo from the trenches in Flanders. Its fulfillment is taken for granted. Why not? The people will have fought and won the war. The people will have made terrific sacrifices. Therefore, concessions will have to be made to them. That seems highly probable. It has happened before, after the Seven Years' War, and again after the Franco-Prussian war. One does not doubt it, even though it is an opinion in which Germans of all classes and beliefs too readily concur.

A Contrary Riddle

This riddle begins where a riddle should end. It begins when you ask for the answer.

"Yes, yes," the German critic of Germany says, as a finality, "things will be very different after the war."

"But how and wherein?" one asks. "This has been said again and again, and yet nobody who says it seems to know for certain what the people want."

To this challenge a Socialist member

of the Reichstag, after some reflection, answers: "I suppose I could define it by saying that the people want a larger measure of formal liberty." He pronounced the phrase carefully, in a way to betray the fact that he had just invented it.

"But formal liberty—that is yet a very vague thing, barely more definite than *concessions*. Make it personal to yourself. What kind of formal liberty do you want? In what ways are you chafed by things as they are?"

He looks surprised. "Personally I do not want any more liberty, formal or informal. Of course," he goes on to say, as if the other had not been serious, "the one thing the people really do want is a reform of the Prussian suffrage law."

What a German Wants

And so many Germans say when they begin to be specific about the things that will be politically different after the war. They sometimes get no further, as it takes one whole sitting first to make the Prussian suffrage law intelligible and then properly to denounce it. This is a law under which the right of suffrage is exercised by the people in three groups, according to the amount of taxes they pay. The rich, who pay one-third of all the taxes, elect one-third of the Prussian House of Parliament; the middle class, who pay the second third of taxes, elect another third, and the mass of the people, whose

taxes constitute the balance, elect by all their ballots the other third.

The law ought to be changed. The Imperial Government has said that it should be changed. Everybody says it is a reflection upon the political genius of the Prussian people for so absurd and undemocratic a law to stand. One may travel the length and breadth of Prussia, and then the length and breadth of the German Empire, asking every one if the law ought not to be changed, and every one will answer alike. If the law has any friends, even among those who are believed to benefit by it, they are not vocal. The Imperial German Government has put the seal of its disapproval upon the law. After that, who can be for it? And yet, strange to say, the law stands unreformed, and goes on not being changed, in an absurdly obvious way. It is so with many other laws in Germany. They are obeyed long after every one thinks them obsolete, every one complaining of the trouble they cause, only because they are laws. First the habit of obeying a law has to be outlived, and then it is possible to change the law.

Change Is a Tortoise

One cannot help feeling at length a kind of secret sympathy for the friendless and slow-doomed Prussian suffrage law; one suspects, too, that its fruits are perhaps better than they ought to be, else the tree had been destroyed before. So, when one finds a radical Socialist to whom the great European war will have been a calamity blind and purposeless unless it gives the Prussian the political mindedness to change his suffrage law, one is tempted to be perversely conservative.

"Granted that the Prussian suffrage law is wrong, yet the Prussian Government is in many ways a very good Government, is it not?"

"It is," he says, quite generously. "The Prussian Government is incorruptible, efficient, and just."

"It has evolved what is perhaps the best system of taxation in the world, and has distinguished itself remarkably

in the second most important field of Government activity, namely, that of education."

To this he readily assents. "But," he adds, "there is perhaps no Government in the world so unsympathetic, so callous to the psychology of the people governed as the Prussian Government is."

"Nevertheless, if you were to judge a Government not by its methods or principles of being, but by its material results alone, you would have to pronounce very favorably on the Prussian Government?"

Do They Want Efficiency?

He admits it. One comes now to the ultimate question: "Do the German people want efficient government above everything else? Between a Government that is efficient and unsympathetic and one that is inefficient and sympathetic which would they choose?"

"A Government," he says, "ought to be both efficient and sympathetic."

But one may easily believe that the yearning for democracy which underlies all the new political consciousness of Germany is in some degree a reaction from unsympathetic government.

Or again one hears a distinguished, clear-headed, imaginative editor speak calmly of the revolution that will take place after, and largely as a result of, the war. At the third or fourth repetition of the word one feels obliged to make sure of understanding.

Talking of Revolution

"Please," one says, "will you indicate what you mean by a revolution in Germany?"

"Oh, I hope you don't think I mean the kind of revolution that takes place in the streets?" he asks, surprised and a little bit pained.

"No," one says quickly, "no, of course not; but it is well to be sure of what we do mean."

Here is one who can enter into the very spirit of your problem. He knows exactly what you mean when you say that Germans talk of the great political concessions that are to be made to the people after the war, and who then, on

being pressed for a formulation of the people's demands, become suddenly and all very vague in their notions. The truth, this editor can tell you, is that Germans do not understand what they want, and cannot yet clearly specify what they need. But what they want and need is a greater measure of parliamentary government. From that all other things are bound to flow. The English and the Americans are far ahead of Germans in both the theory and practice of parliamentary government. Neither the English nor American pattern, however, would be suitable exactly for Germany. He imagines a compromise, a system under which the Ministers would be responsible to a German Parliament, as they are not to the Reichstag, and yet a system in which the Parliament, of course, would not control the Ministers. That is what the people want—a Ministry responsible to, but not controlled by, the people in Parliament represented. That is the kind of revolution he meant.

"It is difficult," you say, "but clear enough except for one thing. You want a Parliament which shall be invested with more power, whereas the Reichstag as now constituted has not known how to utilize the power it already has. Is that not the case?"

"Yes," he says, "that is the case."

To Be More Political

It is perhaps easier for a stranger than for a German to see what the German people want is to be more political, to learn how to be, and to gain thereby a greater power of direct interference in their own affairs. They are in the mass an unpolitical people. They admit it, with engaging simplicity. This is true of a people that contributed the only new thing to the sum of modern political theory in the last century, namely, socialism; but that a people that had produced Marx and his followers should be still and notoriously unpolitical, a century or two behind England, France, and the United States in parliamentary practice, is a contradiction in itself consistent.

The German character cannot help

contradicting itself in what it is and in what it does. An incompetent Parliament, afraid to use its own power, contradicts a proficiency in practical, militant socialness which is an example to the world. On your way to your room at night you are aided at every step by the most ingenious mechanical devices, including corridor lights that go out automatically the minute you have closed your door, and then in your closet you find the worst and most unmechanical trousers hangers in the world. Their genius for mass organization, mass management for handling people in statistical quantities is enormous; but their handling of a cloakroom crowd would not be tolerated in New York.

A New Germany

The war will make the mass of Germans more political. There cannot be any doubt of that. What will come of it directly may be governed by post bellum economic conditions. If they are very hard, the radical elements may be expected to rise. If they are tolerable, it may take longer to change the Prussian suffrage law as a symbol of concession to the people.

There is bound to be a new Germany, because there is a young Germany, wonderfully idealistic, very political, and unselfishly ambitious. It is without castes, prerogatives, or tyrannies. It hates Bismarck politically, because it was he who cruelly suffocated political ambition in the individual, made him a creature of the State, required of him only the virtue of obedience, and left him otherwise free to grumble, to be comfortable and to be irresponsible. It was he who made it impossible for a young man to place his talents at the service of the State, and forced him, instead, to serve science or industry.

Ideals

So think the representatives of Young Germany. They yearn to dedicate themselves to the State. The old Germany they speak of so scornfully is not the Germany of their grandfathers but that of their fathers. They stretch back their hands to the spirit of 1848. Their idol is Carl Schurz. Of him they say: "In

Germany his political talents could never have been utilized. He did not inherit the political privilege; it could not be acquired in Germany in his generation. That will be changed."

Important things are expected of the young men who return from the war. It is widely believed, it is probably true, that more constructive thought and criticism are formulating in the trenches than in all the officialdom of Germany behind. The young men in the trenches write the most wonderful letters. They show new ways of thinking altogether. They contain the crystals of a political philosophy which would create for Germany a democracy peculiarly her very own. What that would be like no one can say for sure. It remains to be evolved. But one can say what it would not be, according to the ideals of Young Germany. One would not need to have been born by any limited coincidence or to have inclined his mind in a certain way to certain things in order to become a diplomat, a politician, or a Minister. He would need only the credentials of merit, whereas, now—

Merit in Minds

"Do you know of any reason," asks a representative of Young Germany, himself past 45, "is there any reason why minds of the character and quality that have made German finance first in Europe, German commerce second in the world, and German science what it is, should not be capable of directing the affairs of the political States? Science, finance, industry, and commerce get the very best men in Germany. They are picked out of sixty-five million. The State gets inferior men because it has to choose the best it can find among perhaps two thousand. That makes a difference, doesn't it?"

The distinguished editor with whom you have talked, he who had the theory of an equilibrium of power between Ministry and Parliament—he is claimed by Young Germany. "There," says one of its enthusiasts, "is a man of rare talent. In any proper scheme of things he could hope to become himself a Minister. A brilliant political career would be open to him. But, instead, he will always remain

what he is—unless things are changed." That was to say, the editor was not one of the two thousand.

To be more political—that is what Germans want. What will be changed most by the war will be themselves, and only in so far as it changes them first will it change anything else. That is well known to Young Germany. It says: "A fine violin cannot make a fine musician. We have already an instrument in Germany on which it would be possible to play a good democratic tune. But we have first to learn how. It is perhaps more important to learn how to play the best possible tune on the instrument we have than to insist at once upon making that instrument over."

A Democratic Tune

For it is true, as everybody knows, that if the people of Germany had very greatly wanted a democratic tune they might have had it long ago. The Reichstag as it stands, elected by universal man suffrage, is an instrument the possibilities of which have been very imperfectly explored. The performers are beginners. A Reichstag composed of different men could play a tune such as has not been heard in Germany yet. Therefore, it is primarily a question of how deeply the people want what they want. Are they willing to grumble and be irresponsible? Are they of the new or the old Germany—the people in the mass? The answers must be halting. Why has it been so hard to reform the Prussian suffrage law? Is there not some basic temperamental inhibition which keeps the German unpolitical? To this interrogation one of the highest intellects of Young Germany, one who did reach a great place in the State without having been born to it, gave the following answer:

A Drop of Slave Blood

"Germany is Russia spoiled by Western methods. Take the people as you meet them in the streets. Their grandfathers were beaten by their masters. Their grandmothers kissed the hem of their lady's gown. In all of them still there is a drop of slave blood. In time it will disappear. Then we shall be political really. But for now the average

German is obedient and envious—obedient to those whom he instinctively recognizes as having been born to command, and envious of those who rise from his own level to anything higher. My own opinion is that things will change very slowly after the war—things political, I mean.”

To construct a picture of the German character of these gloomy pigments would be unfair; but not to put those colors in at all would be untruthful. There is strictly no such thing as an average German. There is the German

with the drop of slave blood; there is the German without it. There is the political German and the unpolitical German. There is every kind of person in Germany that can be found anywhere else. The proportions of X and Y kind to A and B kind determine the national character. The proportions are always changing, and now more rapidly than ever before; but the conditions under which the evolution of political thought is taking place also are changing very rapidly, and will continue to do so until the war ends.

People, Princes and Intellectuals

VIII.

WHAT is the fancied errand on which the Germans go so tragically? What message do they bring? What do they put in place of that which disappears before them? What did they take to Warsaw, to Courland, and to Serbia? What is new in Belgium? What lesson will they teach the Turk? Efficiency? Perhaps.

The First Term

The Germans are efficient. They are not a boastful people. Least of all they boast of this, which, to begin with, marks it for distinction. Besides, it has comparable and tangible results. The world has come to think of German efficiency with a kind of superstition, as something temperamental, a trait inherent, a gift, a quality of mind, a superhuman combination of prescience and will. The instances are marvelous, not separately, not as specific examples of forethought, but in their interacting relationships. There is perhaps no one item of German efficiency that might not be matched in quality by the English or the French, but the certainty that the Germans will have thought of everything beforehand, in order and sequence, is what makes them so incomparably efficient and gives the word itself a German meaning.

If a French army invading Serbia

had found a copper mine out of which to increase a diminishing supply of that precious war metal, it is possible that the Government at Paris would have been prepared to begin working it at once. That would have been an instance of forethought for the French Army to remember with pride. But when the commander of the German army in Serbia telegraphed to Berlin, “Have found a copper mine at —; please send timber and engineers,” he was not in the least surprised to receive within two hours the answer: “Timber and engineers already on the way.” They had been waiting on the Austrian frontier for several weeks. The Government knew the army would find the copper mine, and the materials and the men to work it with had been sent three-quarters of the way to save time. All of which was taken as a matter of course. That is efficiency. For the Government not to have been ready beforehand—that would have been surprising.

Instance This

If the English ran out of walnut lumber for gunstocks somebody might know where a large supply could be obtained at once; somebody might have anticipated the problem, and that would be fore-



LIEUTENANT HANS BERG

German Naval Commander, Who Brought the Captured Steamer Appam
Across the Atlantic

(Photo © by Underwood & Underwood.)



CZARINA OF RUSSIA

Who Is Active in Red Cross Work Among the Wounded
(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)

thought, deserving to be complimented. But when the German supply ran low it could be taken for granted that it had been somebody's business to provide the solution, and that the answer awaited the question, "Where shall we find walnut?" In the files, under "W-Wa-Walnut," is the information. Long before time military commanders had been requested to look for walnut trees in the territory they occupied and to report their position, size and number. It is now a simple matter to telegraph to a commander in Northern France to cut down so many walnut trees and to ship the logs, as per detailed instructions. And nobody is to be complimented.

A Kind of Preparedness

Efficiency produces a state of preparedness. It bores with a very long auger. Before the fall of Warsaw preparations began to be made for the Balkan campaign. Military engineers were on the ground working out every problem that could be imagined. It was one man's sole business to get the German army across a river at a certain place, on paper; another man's business to put it across at another point; another man's business to work out the gun ranges, from certain positions commanding the citadels of the enemy. He had not only to work them out on paper but to memorize them, backward and forward, so that months later it was amazing to the military attachés, observing the offensive against Serbia, to find a German officer directing the artillery fire out of his head, as if he were playing several games of chess blindfolded. When a German campaign is launched the parts all fit. They have been measured, cut, drilled, and numbered, like the structural steel shapes of a New York skyscraper's frame.

Unemotional Passions

Efficiency has a passion for cleanliness, tidiness, hygiene, geometrical order, and the propagation of practical knowledge. It swabs and scrubs and then polishes its conquered territory. In Poland more streets have been paved in a few months of German occupation

than in perhaps a generation before. In one town, where the condition of the market place was disgraceful, the army set immediately to work removing the surface mud, in order to get a bottom on which to lay a pavement, and was astonished and disgusted to find a very good pavement already there. Efficiency, as a matter of course, saves its army from disease and discomfort, as well from the scourge of typhus in Serbia as from the scourge of lice in Russia, and at the same time it automatically protects both the army and the civil population of Germany from the most ghastly of human plagues hitherto springing from war like a devil's second harvest. Nobody thinks about these things in Germany except those whose business it is; all the rest take it for granted, and have, therefore, more time to think of other things.

Division of Thought

This division of thought is a part of efficiency, and is remarkable in Germany, a phenomenon resembling the division of physical labor. Ideas are in request. They go into a great hopper, find their right channels, and, if available, are acted upon. It occurs to somebody that the convalescents are wasting a lot of their time and are unhappy from having nothing to do. Suggestions follow. Next one knows the convalescent soldiers are taken regularly to see the processes of industry, one day through a great printing plant, another day through an automobile factory, a third day to a museum, and so on, the conductor being one capable of explaining what is brought to view. If the men went about alone they would waste a lot of time, see a great deal, and understand very little. The convalescent officers are taught languages, especially Turkish. The cripples are taught new ways in which to be self-supporting, and as fast as they are ready they will be placed in wage-earning positions. They will not have to find them. It has occurred to somebody to suggest that the Government shall first determine a ratio and then require every industry, every employer, to take so many cripples—one or two or three

per hundred of other employes. That will be done.

Efficiency is all of these things. There are other things it is not. For one thing, it is not infallible. If you had seen, shortly after the beginning of the war, a swine conference in Berlin, at which statisticians, physicists, chemists, agriculturists, commerzienrats, and one Government official sit down to determine just how many hogs would have to be killed at once to effect a permanent equilibrium between vegetable and animal food for men, with the certainty that their conclusion would be accepted as scientific and acted upon accordingly, you would have said, "That is German efficiency." And so it was. But they killed too many hogs, and were sorry, because new problems arose on that account, notably the problem of fat.

No Miracles

For another thing, efficiency is not miraculous. It is the natural consequence of interest, patience, intelligence, industry, discipline, and perhaps also an inductive way of thinking. These are very common virtues and qualities, peculiar to no civilized people, and only perhaps somewhat more effectively combined and applicably developed among the Germans than among others. Interest is probably the item that deserves to stand first. If you are sufficiently interested in a thing you think about it so much that you end by having thought of its most hidden aspects; if you are less interested you miss and forget. If you are sufficiently interested you will take pains. If you are interested enough no trouble or sacrifice will be too great.

Not an End in Itself

Thirdly, efficiency is not an end. It cannot be that. It is rather the means to an end. Efficiency mainly consists in doing the same things better and better, and if this be regarded as an end in itself then at last people will become so preoccupied with the effort to do things better that they will never have the time or the mind to ask if those things are worth doing at all. Indeed, that is the disability of efficiency, that it may be pursued for its own sake, as an end. Critical curi-

osity about tendencies is diminished, processes tend to crystallize around the tendencies that are, and life becomes increasingly inflexible. For instance, Germany, having borrowed ideas of trade, industrialism, and colonial expansion from other countries, largely from England, became so engrossed in the undertaking by efficiency to excel her rivals that it never once occurred to her to ask whether the empire business was worth while at all, and whether her economic necessities were necessities indeed, or mere ideas. England, on the other hand, being less efficient, has asked herself over and over if the empire game was worth its cost, and has actually thought of chucking it.

Efficiency is a jewel, but to possess it you have to pay a high price, so, alas! people will no doubt go on being only as efficient as they need to be to overcome the difficulties of their immediate environments and situations, and, as it cannot be an end in itself, but a means to some end, efficiency is not a people's errand.

So What of Kultur?

So, what do the Germans bear to the world? Could it be "Kultur," spelled with a K? This is a very delicate ground of interrogation. It is almost impossible today for a German to say the word without showing pains of embarrassment, it has been so flung at his head with howls of derision since the war began. He brings it out with a tone of challenge and then resolves courageously to show you his hurt. A German in this aspect is to weep with. Kultur is not his wonderful side, and yet you have moments of wondering if he would not for this one thing, a bauble, give all those other things wherein he is wonderful indeed. He tells you wistfully of some very fine things.

There was the opening of the University of Warsaw in December. Its restoration to the Poles for the sake of Polish culture was an event into which he put all the pride and dignity of his yearning spirit; and you can feel how chagrined he was that the neutral correspondents made so little of it. The Government

had asked them to go and had provided a special train, but very few went. It happened to coincide with a time when news was "breaking" rapidly.

Learning Everything

At dinner you hear a little man telling, as a matter of casual interest, that he was obliged that morning to occupy a pulpit. Everybody laughs and he explains. So many people had come to hear his lecture that the lecture room could not hold them, so they all went into the chapel and he delivered his lecture from the pulpit. "What was the subject?" you ask. "A Mohammedan Sect of the Ninth Century," he answers simply.

Hardly had the German army of Balkan invasion swept beyond Belgrade when a competent librarian took charge of King Peter's remarkable but very untidy library and proceeded to make its first catalogue.

There is no end of such things; but all of them put together have nothing to oblige culture. They only promote knowledge. Culture is a different thing. It is a way with life. To insist upon it is to deny it. To be conscious of it is either never to have had it or to have lost it. Other things it may or may not be, but certainly, almost certainly, it is not the errand of the German people.

-Intellectualism

Perhaps the German message is one purely of the intellect. What could there be in that? The German mind is a vast and perplexing study. One of its first qualities is orderliness. Its knowledge does not lie scattered about in heaps or in miscellaneous shelf associations, like the books in King Peter's library. It is card indexed. That saves, of course, a lot of time. Its second most interesting characteristic is the preference for the inductive habit. It must begin with premises. It is doggedly industrious, patient, and thorough in superlative degrees. It has a passion for practicality. It has made knowledge one of the cheapest commodities in Germany. Any one may command it. It is knowledge without vanity, and

intensely practical rather than theoretical.

But all of these considerations lie toward efficiency. Intellectualism is something very different. It differs from mere brain efficiency as culture differs from learning. There is a fine intellectualism in Germany, but it is distrusted in Germany, looked at askance, and treated as a foreign cult. The people and the Princes have equally distrusted it. People and Princes are more like-minded than they know. There appeared in Germany a literature which the people could not understand, a kind of thought they could not think, a philosophy they knew not the first terms of, and an art they could not look at. They therefore resented it as something alien to Germany. Their Princes did likewise, possibly for lack of understanding, possibly by instinct, knowing wherein their strength lay. When the war came intellectualism was for a time almost without the pale of toleration. It had no standing with patriotism. It was foreign. Its votaries, though German by accident, were foreigners at heart.

Their Own Nobles

There was all the more enthusiasm for the Princes, the war nobles, who had remained the same, purely German, romantically barbaric, untouched by this new thing. Where were the intellectuals now? The Princes and the people together had the saving of Germany. The adoration of General Hindenburg is partly based upon this feeling. He is not noble; he comes from the only other source the people can understand—themselves. He is one of them. He will not have his portrait painted. He loves only the old things. He is, like a Prince, utterly unspoiled. And that such as these should be the heroes of war is a great delight to the people.

No, intellectualism is not what the Germans bear to the world, for that has yet to win its own way in Germany. Yet, are they empty-handed? Seventy million people in so great a feud with life, so strong in the mastery of means, so yearning in spirit, so anxious to torment themselves—have they not an errand?

That it perhaps cannot be defined is no proof of its nonexistence. Always the goal is inside the man. It creates itself in the pangs of exertion. Therefore, ef-

fort can never be quite wasted. It is very often blind. To wreck the faith one fights to save—even that might be an errand.

Delusions of German Logic

IX.

IT were better, perhaps, that a people should not try to give reasons for the faith that is in them. Many who might comprehend the faith will misunderstand or despise the reasons. The English do not reason about faith. The Germans do. Therein they mystify the world and delude themselves. Their delusion is that faith submits itself to reason, which is to suppose that the wind obeys the windmill.

A German is simply and awfully logical. So is an adding machine. Given the premises, the German will proceed by steps mechanically unerring to the logical conclusion; but he will often have accepted his premises in faith to begin with. It does not stop there. Given the premises, the Germans, perhaps alone among modern people, possibly first among people since civilization began, have the courage, the obstinacy, the will, or perhaps the madness, to push the logic of a case to its extreme and utter consequences. Other people, by intuition, by virtue, may be, of their hypocrisy, or for lack of something the German has, continually stop short of the logical extreme, perhaps only because they instinctively know the frailty of premises.

No Hypocrisy

The Germans have no hypocrisy. They have logic. Once accepted, they never question their premises and, therefore, they have no stopping places. The Anglo-Saxon says: "The logic of the case leads there, but we shall have to stop here." Why? He doesn't know. He cannot give you a decent reason. The German says: "Surely everybody can see the logic of our position." So everybody may, only, alas! logic has very little to do at last with successful human relationship.

Over and over the Germans are technically right and emotionally wrong. "Yes," they say, "we shot the Cavell woman. We did it legally. We had a perfect right to do it. Women spies have been shot before; women have been executed in all countries. Why is the world so hypocritical in these matters?" That the case of Edith Cavell was romantically different from others with which it might be compared intrinsically, that it had explosive dramatic elements, that to treat it logically was bound to produce emotional consequences of an unfortunate character—all of that seems so childish and unreasoning to a German that he can scarcely discuss it patiently.

The Case of Belgium

Or, take the case of Belgium. "Why," a German asks, "why should the world make such a row about the violation of Belgium's neutrality and remain silent about the violation of Greek neutrality by England and France, and the violation of Chinese neutrality by Japan?" He will not accept the answer that the case of Belgium was different, not intrinsically, perhaps, certainly not in logic, but in feeling. "Only because the Belgians resisted," the German says. "If they had only been a little bit reasonable they might now be the happiest and the most prosperous people in the world. And Serbia—if Serbia had only listened to reason, what she might not have had from us!"

Here begins to be touched one of those amazing contradictions which serve to keep the German mind human. But for its contradictions, baffling as they are, you could not understand the German mind at all. Himself uncorruptible in his relations with his State, not knowing what "graft" means at home,

and capable of putting his Fatherland above all other precious things on earth, he yet goes forth in the world with a conviction that people in general are purchasable and will sell even their patriotism. Why would not Belgium sacrifice its neutrality, or allow itself to be violated, for money? How stupid! and, besides, how disastrous! And as to Serbia, if she had only accepted the gold of her enemy nothing would have happened to her. She might have existed happily and prosperously for all time thereafter. That pretends to be the point of view of a German who couldn't imagine an ounce of German patriotism being exchanged for all the gold in the world.

A German Contradiction

But the contradiction is yet incomplete. A German contradiction must be thorough, symmetrical, and, by its utter lack of intuition, logical. The fatal sin of both Serbia and Belgium was to be in the way. For that they were crushed by a people who believe it is a part of their errand on earth to protect and liberate "small peoples." It is not cant or make believe. It is a living, ardent faith.

The word "liberation" calls up in the German mind the picture of German hosts in armor, waving flashing swords, marching to rescue the oppressed from the tyrant. The tyrant is Russia and the suffering people who deserve liberation happen none of them to be in Germany's way. But that is beginning to analyze emotion, and emotion will not bear it. Man first acts upon the law of necessity and then commands the imagination to idealize his conduct, so that no people can be trusted to write their own history. What seems to mark the German is not that he fails to do exactly this, but that he pretends not to do it, and teaches himself to believe that his acts are all of one texture and take place under the authority of reason alone.

That may be his unconscious protection. He is possibly the most emotional of all civilized animals, constantly in danger of being swept away on a flood of feeling. He is scandalized at the thought of going to war on the rhythm of a rakish song, like "Tipperary." He

cannot forgive the French for seeming to lack tenderness for their own dead. He is moved to tears by a tale of suffering. He cannot endure to read the horrors of war; he has almost no morbid curiosity about them.

Tenderness

In France, on the scene of a particularly bloody collision, the Germans erected an appropriate monument, generously inscribed to the dead of both sides, French and German, and the Kaiser went a long journey to unveil it himself, and this was to Germans so much a matter of course that the Foreign Office at Berlin did not know it was news. Weeks afterward it was dimly mentioned in a paragraph of Court intelligence concerning the Emperor's recent movements.

At dinner, a member of the Foreign Office, on hearing that civil prisoners in France in a certain camp were ill-supplied with the accessories of decent living, exclaims: "Oh, yes, they are becoming very rough, those French." One rubs the eyes of one's mind. But there it is. The thing was said not ironically, not resentfully, but sorrowfully. What a pity that war should have coarsened the French character and made it rough!

Involuntary Logic

And then at the mention of another painful thing, instantly, without a click, quite automatically every German mind at the table turns outward the side marked "logical." The Lusitania? Of course nobody liked having to sink a great passenger liner with all on board, but the attitude of the world toward that incident had been both hypocritical and illogical. Given the German premises, the conclusion logically follows that the Lusitania ought to have been destroyed, and that being the case, she had to be destroyed as she was because the submarine is a frail tool of war and must look to its own escape. First of the premises is that England had undertaken to starve 65,000,000 German men, women, and children by economic isolation. You cannot starve 65,000,000 people. You may cause them to become hungry enough to yield; but the second premise is that Germany cannot yield.

In every German mind the logic of the Lusitania case is airtight. In nearly every German heart there is a secret wish that it had not happened, with or without logic, only he would almost as lief destroy his heart as show it to you.

Intrinsic Differences

What is true in the case of the Lusitania is true also in the case of Belgium and in that of Serbia. That it is true in much less degree, if much at all, in the case of Zeppelin raids on London, is owing to the fact that a German cannot discern any intrinsic difference between the French dropping bombs on Stuttgart or Karlsruhe and his dropping bombs on London, even though his bombs are bigger and do more damage. If you cannot prove that there is any intrinsic difference he will decline to see any difference whatever. Only a German who has lived in England can understand why the emotional and moral consequences of a Zeppelin raid on London are greater than an aerial bombardment of Stuttgart. And yet, with or without logic, a great many Germans secretly disapprove of the Zeppelin raids. They are very loath to say so.

One does not say that the German mind has any special resources for deceiving itself. Its delusion is that it has none at all, that it is a mind incapable of self-deception. It is unaware of its own blind spots.

Blind Spots

A military authority will use an hour to prove that the idea of future hostilities between Germany and the United States, on Germany's initiative, is preposterous for physical reasons. The great lesson of the European war has been that overseas invasion under modern conditions is not feasible, except where the invaded country is very weak. How could Germany cross the Atlantic and invade the United States? You are just to think of it in terms of time and transports. It is wholly chimerical. Then right on top of that he says: "But why are you so blind to the fact that Japan is your real enemy? Some day you will have to defend your Pacific Coast against

her. That is inevitable." Germany could not cross the Atlantic to invade the United States. Japan could cross the Pacific and do it.

Or fancy that to an eminent professor, whose mind you have keenly admired, you are trying to account for the feeling that has arisen in the United States against those who have associated the cause of Germany with acts of violence against property and order. "The American people," you say, "are touched on the most sensitive point of all, that is, the point of their patriotism. It is not that the acts complained of are pro-German, but that they are anti-American. Mass meetings of German-Americans occur at which the President is denounced and the Kaiser is cheered. Such a thing could not be imagined in Germany."

Herr Professor thinks for a while and answers: "But it would be very different. You say it could not be imagined in Germany. That is true. And yet, you must remember that an Emperor and a President are by no means the same. It is possible and not improper to criticise a President. You cannot publicly criticise an Emperor."

"Well then," you say, "let us have a perfect analogy. You cannot imagine in France a mass meeting at which the people should denounce the French President and cheer the German Kaiser."

"Sir," says Herr Professor, "your analogy hinders understanding."

The Radical Trait

However, blindness in spots and the knack of self-deception are frailties of the whole human mind. If that were all, it would be easy to say that the German mind, under stress of great emotion, had become only a little more intense in defects not peculiar to itself. But one cannot escape the uneasy feeling that at some one point the German mind is radically different, just as in the non-German mind there may be a corresponding point at which to the other it seems radically different. If that were true then at a certain angle it might become utterly impossible for one mind to understand the other. Each might

hope only to recognize the other's limitation.

This is at least a psychological possibility. It would account for the apparently weird and fantastic fact that a people who could justify, condone, or even accept the sinking of the *Lusitania* as a "military necessity" should be filled with indignation and horror at the "murder" of a German submarine crew by the English in what is called the Baralong incident. It is apparently as difficult for the German to understand hot emotional killing as it is for the Anglo-Saxon to understand cold and unemotional killing. The German who gave the signal that launched the torpedo that destroyed the *Lusitania* had probably no conscious individual emotion in the act. He did not relate himself to it personally. He possibly did not think of killing human beings at all. He had been ordered to sink the *Lusitania* as a military necessity. He achieved it, and it was none of his duty, indeed it per-

haps never for a moment occurred to him, to examine the quality of the act. It would never have presented itself to him in the aspect of "murder."

The English think it "murder." They cannot think anything else. That they should treat submarine crews as "murderers," slaying them on sight in hot blood for revenge, is open to the emotional understanding of Frenchmen and Americans; but it is apparently incomprehensible to the Germans. It does not come within the logic of military necessity. To shoot a submarine crew as it swims in the water or climbs on the side of a vessel it would have torpedoed, even though that crew had but a few hours before attacked a passenger vessel without warning—that, to the German, is "murder."

It is not only that in this dimension the German mind works by itself. It is apparently unused to the thought that other minds work differently. Germany does not know how the rest of the world thinks.

The German Attitude Toward Peace

X.

THERE is in Germany plenty of raw material out of which to produce a rational peace program. But there is no peace program, rational or irrational.

There is a large body of German intelligence which assents to the propositions, first, that no nation can be crushed; second, that the military power, though it may go on winning victories, cannot end the war, and, third, that the civil power alone can end the war.

But the civil power of Germany is prostrate. It has no plan, no paramount idea, no momentum, and no cohesiveness. Political counsels are confused. The military power, on the other hand, has an objective always in view, has a direction, a purpose, a record of things achieved and a will to act. Thus, more and more authority falls into the hands of the military power, because it has a

definite way with authority, knows beforehand what to do with it, and has unlimited use for it.

And so it happens that while the military power now talks of "the mortal combat with England," which will be either in France or in Egypt, the civil power prays earnestly for the pillar of light that shall lead the way to peace, not for fear the military power may lose the mortal combat, but for fear it may win it.

That is not a paradox. It is tragedy. If the military power cannot end the war it follows that every victory received from its hands is a new obstacle in the way toward peace. This is clear to the civil power of Germany, which, though prostrate, is yet alert and intelligent. Not only does each successive triumph of German arms make a "reasonable" peace more "unreasonable" to

her enemies, a peace "acceptable" to Germany more "unacceptable" to the other side, but, besides that, a war which began for self-preservation, as every German thinks, threatens to become, even in spite of itself, a war of conquest. The military power by virtue of its successes is in a way to launch Germany upon a career of expansion which is repugnant to a great many Germans on ethical and temperamental grounds and would be regarded with dismay by a great many others on economical ground.

The True Intelligence

The economic, financial, and social intelligence of Germany knows what it was never the business of the military intelligence to consider, namely, that conquered territory may be for many years not an asset, but a liability requiring the outlay of vast amounts of capital with no hope of immediate return. East Prussia, for instance, has been a very bad investment so far, considered purely as an investment. It has probably never returned as much as 2 per cent. on the capital advanced by the Government for its development. When you think of adding Poland and the Baltic provinces of Russia as national German investments, together with enormous financial responsibilities on account of the Turkish partnership and the Bulgarian connection, the only source of capital to any and all of these being Germany, it becomes a question whether Germany could afford, for the sake of her own future, to accept any more victories from the military power.

The Civil Power Awake

The civil power is conscious of its present weakness and its future responsibilities. It must find a way to end the war. The military power is conscious only of its strength. It is conceivable to the civil power that a point may be reached at which it would become necessary to stop thinking of Germany and begin to think of Europe, a point at which Germany could not weaken her enemies without at the same time weakening herself, a point at which the only prospect left would be that of a hollow,

ghastly triumph on the scene of a ruined Europe.

From this separateness of feeling and consciousness it must not be assumed that the civil and military powers are arrayed against each other. Rather they are two aspects of the same body, since people in the aggregate, like the individual, have several aspects, of which one at a time may be so prominently displayed as to subordinate or obscure all the others.

To make a picture of it, Germany sees herself as a man who has, not upon his own initiative, become engaged in a struggle with several neighbors at once. He is stronger than any one of them; he has made headway against all of them together, and yet the odds are terrific. In his heart he does not want to kill them, because either he with them, or his children with their children, shall have to go on living together in one little world for a long time, but he cannot stop. He cannot even propose to stop, because the fighting is headlong and his enemies keep saying: "We grow stronger and he grows weaker. We have only to hold together and vanquish him utterly at last. Every blow he strikes makes him weaker, and the instant he relaxes or stops for breath we will give him the mortal thrust."

Morbid Feelings

This does not pretend to be a statement of proportional truth; it is the truth only as to the light in which Germany sees her own position. She believes that her enemies intend to crush her. Each time they say it, perhaps never to mean it literally, she takes it literally, and is morbidly confirmed in the thought that it is dangerous to say or do anything on her part that might be construed outside as a sign of weakness. She is in a position to propose an armistice and to formulate peace proposals, except for the morbid fear of heartening her enemies. But for that, the civil power might have found itself long ago. As often as it becomes vocal, as it did last December in the Reichstag, when the Chancellor offered to receive proposals from the other side, the world seems to Germany to hurl back the words, saying: "She is weakening. She is desperate. In a little while her arms

will fall, and then for the mortal thrust." The English press excitedly referred to the Chancellor's speech as "bluff," and as the "whimpering of Germany." At that, the military power, which has no political insight and is under the delusion that it can end the war because Germany is the only uncrushable nation—it says to the civil power: "You see what comes of your efforts. You are powerless. Leave it to us."

And it is left again in the hands of the military power. The war machine goes on and on. It is in danger of overrunning itself. If the civil power had the authority to stop the war machine it would probably lack the will and the courage to do so, for, after all, it is delivering terrific blows, its language is understood by the enemies, as that of the civil power is not, and the rest of it lies in the whim of fate.

The Forbidden Thought

So far only two possibilities have appeared in German thought—one, the possibility of beating the enemy into a state of helpless exhaustion; second, the possibility of finding through the civil intelligence of the belligerents a way to peace. A third possibility, which the outside world would call a probability, namely, that of Germany's physical exhaustion and utter defeat, does not penetrate the German's faculty of imagination. He simply does not consider it. For him it seems a contingency that does not exist. You have, therefore, an *impasse* of basically antagonistic assumptions. So long as Germany believes that she alone is uncrushable, and so long as her enemies believe that they are unconquerable, and both sides are under the delusion that the other will stop at nothing short of the other's utter defeat on the plane of force, there is little hope of peace through any interference of civil intelligence. There is nothing in view but a progressive exhaustion of Europe.

And all the time there exists in Germany, as was said in the beginning, the materials out of which a rational, perhaps one might say a reasonable, peace program could be produced. There is a ban on peace discussions in the press for

fear public opinion will commit itself in some unexpected way, or get itself misunderstood outside. The Government aims to keep opinion unformulated. If an editor takes leave of himself to express the extreme views of the annexationists, who believe in the right of conquest, his paper is as likely to be suppressed as that of an editor who denounces conquest and expansion on moral or ethical grounds.

War Is Not Static

There is some reason in this. The war is not a static thing. Conditions of peace which would have seemed "reasonable" to Germany a year ago would not seem reasonable now. And perhaps those that would seem reasonable today would seem unreasonable after the outcome of "the mortal combat with England," for which the military power is making prodigious preparations. Moreover, as a Socialist member of the Reichstag explained to a party of Americans one day at a luncheon:

"You have got to trade. You don't say, 'Here, now, I will give you this teapot for that sugar bowl and call it quits.' Instead, you say, 'A sugar bowl! Who wants a sugar bowl? I don't like its shape and it's very small. But, see here! Look at this teapot of mine! Isn't it beautiful? What will you give me for that?' And if you expect to gain the cream pitcher, the water bottle, and some other things, against which the other fellow will have only the sugar bowl to trade, why, of course, you are not going to state your minimum demands prematurely. That wouldn't be human nature, would it?"

The Peace That Flees

Of course not. Human nature is the fact which makes it harder and harder to find a basis for peace the more you win from another who thinks he can win them all back, though he may have to wreck the table in doing it. What are table things worth without a table to put them on or food to eat, at all?

Germany's very minimum demands at any given time past, or now, probably would have been and are less unreasonable than the world would think. There is, of course, the German who wants

everything in sight. There is the other kind of German who wants only the room in which to be let alone, and nothing more of war. Between them is every kind of opinion in degree. There is also the intelligence to see that whatever peace is made, short of the remote and horrifying peace possible to be made by the military power in a ruined Europe, will probably, almost certainly, be the political death of the men who become responsible for it. Every manner of post-bellum evil will be laid upon their heads. This is particularly true by reason of the tradition that the diplomats of Prussia have always thrown away what the soldiers won in war. However, there are Germans enough who for a rational peace would be only too willing to sacrifice themselves politically.

Materials at Hand

If one were to guess from the content of a hundred conversations with all kinds of Germans what program could be constructed roughly from the material now available, it would be something like this: Belgium to be restored to the Belgians and France to the French; cultural autonomy for Poland, that country to become a buffer State; cession of the German-speaking Baltic provinces by Russia to Germany, and German possession of a corridor through the Balkan peninsula to Constantinople. That leaves open for consideration such vexing questions as the way of trade upon the sea, the fate of colonies, and the matter of indemnities.

It is not possible in any case for a German to voice the minimum demands. He secretly reserves something which he would yield in a pinch. Professor Hans Delbrück, who is prominent in the counsels of the moderates and anti-annexationists, thinks Belgium and France are the main obstacles to peace, and that Germany would yield as to both of them. In fact, it is uncommon to find a German who thinks of holding any French or Belgian territory for Germany. If you mention Antwerp, the "pistol aimed at England's head," one German says Germany should keep it to ten who say Germany ought not to hold it, for to hold it would mean perpetual

war with England. One is surprised to find how many Germans see that England and Germany have a destiny in common if only they can find two keys to unlock it with; and how many hope for an alliance ultimately between Germany and England against the "Russian peril."

Indemnities

The question of indemnities would be very difficult. The financial authorities would undertake to insist upon them, just as the military authorities would make defensible frontiers the paramount condition of peace; but there are yet Germans of very great influence who think Germany cannot extort a penny of money from her enemies, and ought not to try, and that the future of peace rests not upon frontiers but upon understanding.

The purpose in this writing is not to suggest the kind of peace proposals that Germany might offer or entertain, but to indicate the existence of thought in Germany so varied and at many points so reasonable that the possibility of constructing a rational peace program is continually present. Every single point touched upon runs at once into complications. Difficulties without end may be raised to any one concrete suggestion; and yet the fact is that the civil power of Germany could contemplate terms of peace that at least could be discussed by the enemy.

Psychological Necessities

That no proposals have been made is owing to what may be called the psychological necessities of the situation. The German Government is almost ludicrously cautious. In December a paper in Zurich, Switzerland, printed a long article setting forth the conditions on which Germany might consider peace, and said the article was inspired by the German Foreign Office, with a view to stimulating discussion among neutrals. The article was, in fact, inspired, and for exactly that purpose. There was no doubt of this in Berlin, among informed persons; it was known even what member of the German Government prepared

the article printed in the Zurich paper. But when the German papers reprinted it from the Zurich journal, by permission of the German censor, they were careful to say in a footnote, between brackets, that the idea of the article having been inspired in Germany was, of course, unfounded.

The civil intelligence of Germany, as you may see, is working with strange and fragile material. It lacks confidence in itself. It has no point of crystallization. The head of it is more a scholar than a statesman. And it looks and faintly calls to the head of the only great power in the world that is not at war. That is the President of the United States.

You get the feeling in Europe that the people are mad and begin to know it, as if they had suddenly come awake in an asylum, all shouting together that they are sane but unable to prove it to

themselves, to each other, or to the world outside. And nobody can see a way out. There is a despondent saying that diplomacy in Europe is bankrupt.

He who might be called the economic dictator of Europe says calmly: "Isn't it nonsense? Can you imagine what it is all about? I can't. It seems to me to be the most terrible nonsense. But I see no way out of it." And he goes on cruelly bending the industrial energies of Germany to the uses of war. That is his job.

There must be a way out. Everybody keeps saying so, as if it were something that had to be true, without any reasons why. And although Americans are disliked, for obvious reasons, most Germans think the initiative for peace will come from the United States. That is why they refused to make light of the Ford expedition and wondered why Americans did.

A New View of Fatherland

• By HERMANN HAGEDORN, IN POETRY

The author of this poem is an American of German descent. He was born in New York City. He studied at Harvard, where he was for a time instructor in English. He also studied at the University of Berlin. He is the author of several plays and volumes of verse. His wife is an American.

There is no sword in my hand
Where I watch oversea.
Father's land, mother's land,
What will you say of me,
Who am blood of your German blood,
Through and through,
Yet would not, if I could,
Slaughter for you?
What will you say of one
Who has no heart
Even to cheer you on?
No heavens part,
No guiding God appears
To my strained eyes.
Athwart the fog of fears
And hates and lies,
I see no goal, I mark
No ringing message flying;
Only a brawl in the dark
And death and the groans of the dying.

For you, your men of dreams
And your strong men of deeds
Crumble and die with screams,
And under hoofs like weeds
Are trampled; for you,
In city and on hill

Voices you knew
And needed are still.
And roundabout
Harbor and shoal
The lights of your soul
Go out.
To what end, O Fatherland?
I see your legions sweep
Like waves up the gray strand.
I hear your women weep.
And the sound is as the groaning
Swish of the ebbing wave—
A nation's pitiful moaning
Beside an open grave.
Ah, Fatherland, not all
Who love you most,
Armed to triumph or fall,
March with your mighty host.
Some there are yet, as I,
Who stand apart,
And with aching heart
Ponder the Whither and Why
Of the tragic story,
Asking with bated breath,
Which way lies glory,
And which way, death?

Switzerland's Hard Position

By Professor Roman Boos

In a recent lecture before the Student's Society of the University of Zurich, Professor Boos, a noted Swiss scholar, emphasized the fact that Switzerland was experiencing the effects of the European struggle in almost everything but loss of men.

THE war plow that in these days rips open Europe's old cultural soil likewise draws its deep-cutting furrows across our land.

Export restrictions and other prohibitions of similar kind are the economic furrows, but we shall not speak of that today. Let us rather examine what are the spiritual changes in our relations with our war-torn neighbors.

The devastating effect of this cruel war has by this time been fully revealed to the Swiss people. Much of this has come to our knowledge through the transit of many wounded or interned. Most, however, of what we know about the war comes through both official and unofficial reports.

Among the deepest furrows cutting into our soil are those having to do with the German and kindred nationalities found in the ranks of our own citizens. The war has compelled us to view our interracial, political, and cultural relationships in an entirely new light. From every direction come suggestions as to what we ought to do. Newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, flood the country with well-meaning propositions; but there is one question which, curiously enough, few concern themselves about at present. That is, What is the duty of the individual in the circumstances? And this is the more to be wondered at since in our free Switzerland during normal times we continually speak of liberty in action and individuality.

In answering the question as to what the individual as such should do, it is of course clear that he must steer his course between two monstrosities. It has been well said that a neutral can only look on and suffer. During those August days of many months ago our neighbors to the west, the east, the north, took to themselves all there was of sudden impulse,

of enthusiasm, of zeal. We must confess that whatever emotion may have possessed our troops charged with guarding our borders, or however much our national spokesmen dwelt on internal affairs, it was all far and away behind the spiritual greatness that stirred the very souls of our neighbors.

There are many reasons why this was so. Our neighbors drew forth to battle for life or death; we merely had to occupy our frontier lines and hope that we should not be enmeshed in the struggle. But a thing that depressed us very much was this—that we not only feared for our national safety, but were apprehensive lest Switzerland's entrance in the war would prove a matter of conscience in view of the intermixed racial relationship with certain of our neighbors.

It is true that we do take part in the war, but just because we are not directly concerned, I am one who does not believe we need keep silence. While our neighbors are offering up their lives, certain supermoral dignitaries preach morality. I have slight patience with those who, from the safe vantage of our "peaceful isle," fling at the combatants such expressions as "murderers" and "wanton destroyers."

I am of the opinion that we would do better not to erect tribunes of judgment on our soil, but rather to strive to make our position fruitful by understanding the impulses that govern our neighbors. It should not be taken for granted that the impulsion in the warring countries was merely greed of power or capitalistic self-seeking. Exactly because we Swiss are outside the boundaries of such possible ideals ought we to study the basic causes responsible for the present state of affairs. Such investigations would bring us in direct touch with our own inner-Swiss problems.

Laying Mines on a Hostile Coast

By Gabriele D'Annunzio

Italy's most famous living poet is now a Lieutenant in the Italian Navy, and writes occasional articles describing his experiences. This poetic and graphic description of a mine-layer's work was contributed to *The London Telegraph* of Dec. 29, 1915.

IT can be said of the Italian war what Percy Bysshe Shelley said of the Medusa's head which he saw in Florence, and which he attributed to Leonardo da Vinci: "Its beauty and its horror are divine."

This night of danger and death is one of the sweetest that ever spread its blue veil over the face of the heavens. The sea darkens, and in its innumerable pulsations the nocturnal phosphorescence is already discernible. Here and there the rippled surface of the sea glitters with an internal light as a quivering eyelid, disclosing mysterious glances. The new moon is like a burning handful of sulphur. Ever and anon the black cloud of smoke rising from the funnels hides it or appears to drag it in its spirals like a moving flame.

Life is not an abstraction of aspects and events, but a sort of diffused sensuousness, a knowledge offered to all the senses, a substance good to touch, smell, taste, feel. In fact, I feel all the things near to my senses, like the fisherman walking barefooted on the beach covered with the incoming tide, and who now and then bends to identify and pick up what moves under the soles of his feet. The aspects of this maritime city are like my passions and like the monuments of Nineveh and Knossus, places of my ardor and creations of my fancy, real and unreal, products of my desire and products of time. This city is one of those tumultuous harmonies whence often the most beautiful elements of my art are born. Nothing escapes the eyes Nature gave me, and everything is food for my soul. Such a craving for life is not unlike the desire to die in order to achieve immortality.

In fact, tonight death is present like life, beautiful as life, intoxicating, full of promises, transfiguring. I stand on

my feet, wearing shoes that can easily be unlaced, on the deck of a small iron-clad on which there is only space enough for the weapons and the crew. Steam is up. The black smoke of the three funnels rises toward the new moon, shining yellow in the cloud, burning like a handful of sulphur. The sailors have already donned life-saving belts and inflated the collars which must support the head in the agony of drowning. I hear the voice of the second officer giving the order to place in the only two boats the biscuits and the canned meat.

A young officer, muscular, but agile as a leopard, who has Boldness' very eyes, and has to his credit already an admirable manoeuvre in conducting the destroyer from the arsenal to the anchorage, pays for the champagne. We drink a cup sitting around the table, on which the navigation chart is spread, while the commander of the flotilla dictates, standing, to the typist the order of the nocturnal operation, which is to be issued to the commanders of the other ships. A suppressed joy shines in the eyes of all. The operation is fraught with dangers, is most difficult, and the cup we drink may be our last.

An ensign, who is little more than a boy, and a Sicilian, who resembles an adolescent Arabian brought up in the Court of Frederick of Serbia, rubs in his hands a perfumed leaf, one of those leaves which are grown in a terra cotta vase on the parapets of the windows looking into the silent lanes of the city. The perfume is so strong that every one of us smells it with quivering nostrils. That single leaf on that terrible warship, where everything is iron and fire, that leaf of love, seems to us infinitely precious, and reminds us of the gardens of Giudecca and Fondamenta Nuove left behind.

The commander continues to dictate

the order of the operation with his soft Tuscan accent, with some same telling words that Ramondo d'Amoretto Manelli used in the epistle he sent to Leonard Strozzi when the Genoese were vanquished by the navy of the Venetians and Florentines.

Ours is a marvelous exploit. We are going to plant mines near the enemy's coast, only a bare kilometer from its formidable batteries. The ensign fastens the black collar around his neck, and will presently inflate it with his breath.

We are ready. We sail. The firmament over our heads is covered with smoke and sparks. Along the gunwale, on each side of the ship, the enormous mines in their iron cages rest on the supports projecting over the water. The long torpedoes are ready for the attack, protected by their iron tubes, with their bronze heads charged with trytol, beasts in ambush. The sailors, their heads covered, are grouped around the guns, whose breeches are open. All the available space is strewn with weapons and contrivances, and full of alert men. In order to go from stern to prow it is necessary to crouch, bend, pass under a greasy torpedo, leap over outstretched sailors, strike the leg against the fastening of a torpedo, squeeze against a hot funnel, entangle one's self in a rope, receive squarely in the face a dash of foam while grasping the railing.

I ascend the bridge. We are already clear of the anchorage. It is dark. The moon is dipping in the sea. In an hour it will have disappeared. The ship quivers at the vibration of the machinery. The funnels still emit too much smoke and too many sparks. On board all the lights are out, even the cigarettes. Darkness enshrouds alike both prow and stern. The last order megaphoned resounds in an azure dotted with sparks and stars—which are only inextinguishable sparks. A light mist rises from the water. The wake foams, and the sea ahead parts in two broad furrows along the sides of the ship, giving forth, now and then, strange reflections.

Following in our wake the second destroyer looms up darkly, and after her all the others in line. When the route

is changed to reconnoitre the coast, from the great central wake many oblique ones part, designing an immense silver rake.

The commander is against the railing, leaning out toward darkness, with his whole soul in his scrutinizing eyes. Now and then he turns his ruddy face and transmits an order with exact and sharp words. The helmsman at the wheel never once removes his eye from the compass, lighted by a small lamp in a screened niche. Clearly he is a man of the purest Tyrrenean race, a true comrade of Ulysses, with a face which seems to have been modeled by the trade wind. Near by is the signal box. "Half Speed," "Full Speed," "Slow," "Stop." Through the speaking tube the orders are transmitted to the engine room. "Four—Three—Zero."

We are making twenty-three knots an hour. The foam of the great wake glitters under the stern lights. "A little to the right."

The navigating officer is bending over the chart, held down by lead weights covered with cloth, measuring, figuring with the compass and the square, under the blue light of a shaded lamp. A great shooting star crosses the August sky, disappearing toward the Cappella.

Impatience gnaws my heart. I strain my sight to discern in the darkness the signal which has been prearranged. Nothing is to be seen yet. I descend from the ladder and move toward the stern, skirting the row of torpedoes, leaping over the outstretched sailors. From the stern the dark silhouettes of the other destroyers in line are visible. All of a sudden the signal is flashed in the direction of the prow. We are nearing the spot of our operation. Every will is strained.

"One—Two—Zero."

The speed is reduced to six knots. The funnels still emit too much smoke and too many sparks. The commander is furious. Orders are megaphoned and every word seems to crowd the adventurous air with danger. The manoeuvre is executed with a sort of rhythmic precision. Maintaining their distance, and one by one, every ship files to the starboard of us, standing black

over the foaming wake, lighted every now and then by a strange phosphorescence.

"On reaching the eastern route for the planting of the mines, extinguish the stern lights," cries the megaphone. Under the playing searchlights the enemy's coast is clearly visible. We are in low water, and the speed is further diminished.

"One—Zero—Zero."

We almost touch bottom, and proceed by feeling our course ahead. We also take soundings continuously to avoid running aground. The ships seem to pant and puff grievously, as great mammals in danger of running ashore.

"Reverse engines. Full speed!"

One of the ships feels she cannot manoeuvre any longer, having actually struck bottom, and endeavors to free herself. She lies ahead of us, and within speaking distance. We see the water glitter under the blue light of her stern lanterns. It seems to us now that every other ship is in danger. The sky is veiled. Long Medusan tresses of clouds drag the constellation as the net drags silvery fishes. The engines throb painfully.

The commander is there, all soul, defying the darkness with his eyes. What if at that moment the enemy should sight us?

"The Invitto leads."

His clear orders through a series of manoeuvres draw away the flotilla from the shallow waters and on to the safe course. Beyond, on the shore, the enemy's searchlights are seen crossing each other like white blades. Under the light the shore seems so near as to give one the illusion of being about to drop anchor. We are all tensely waiting. In a few seconds we shall be in the pre-arranged spot. Minutes seem hours. The rubber stoppers have been removed from the tubes. The mines are ready, on their supports, to be lowered into the sea. The sailors await the order standing.

The minutes are eternal. We may be detected every second. The shore is only a mile from us. The funnels are our despair. They still emit too much smoke and sparks. At last a warning is heard from the bridge.

"Ready."

The Lieutenant looks at his watch, lighting the dial with the lamp hidden in his hand. The enormous mines, whose heads are charged with destruction, are there silent, like gigantic, gray, petrified sea Medusas, fixed on their support, whose double tooth projects over the waters.

"Ready!" "Let go!"

The first mine rolls over with the sound of a shattering barrel, falls in the foaming sea, disappears.

"Ready!" "Let go!"

Eighteen seconds elapse. The second falls, followed by the third, fourth, and all the others, on every ship which maintains a diagonal course nearing the coast. In three minutes the operation is over; the mines are planted in the exact spot. The teeth of the crew gleam in a wild smile. Each sailor sees in his heart the enemy's battleships rent and sinking.

"Four—Three—Zero."

We resume our position at the head of the line, returning on our course with the initial speed. The ships seem now to me to be quivering with warlike joy. In the distance over the mainland the white beams of the searchlights still cross each other. Ever and anon a rocket explodes. Our wake now is so beautiful as to resemble a whirling milky way. A sailor mounts the bridge and gives us a cup of steaming coffee, whose aroma titillates our nostrils and our heart. We light our cigarettes.

But here is a Marconigram.

"Look out, two submarines are lying in wait for you on the safe route."

And in the first quiver of dawn, with expanded lungs, we again breathe danger and death.



Socialists and the War

How Jules Destrée and Other Socialist Leaders View the Confused Situation

IT was generally believed before August, 1914, that in the eventuality of war Socialists would endeavor to unite the workers of all countries in a common resolve not to take up arms. But today it is evident in all directions that the socialist propaganda against war has failed, and further, that profound contradictions in the socialist doctrines of war and peace have produced serious differences among the Socialists themselves. It is admitted that the International is dead, and that there will be grave difficulties to be overcome before it can be resuscitated.

By some it is asserted that pacifism is not an essential part of socialism, and by others that neutrality is not a vital socialist principle. The historic message of Karl Marx, the father of socialism, "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing but your chains to lose; you have a world to win," has fallen on deaf ears, for in all the belligerent countries the Socialists, with few exceptions, are proving themselves as patriotic as the rest of the nation by putting aside for the time their demands and with no less enthusiasm sacrificing themselves in their respective countries. The reverberation has been felt even in neutral countries. In the United States, for example, Charles Edward Russell has, according to Eugene V. Debs, sacrificed his chance of being selected as socialist candidate for President by his advocacy of preparedness, for which he has been threatened with excommunication from the party.

The attitude of British and French workers is shown by two important national congresses that have recently been held. On the concluding day, Dec. 29, 1915, of the annual congress of the French Socialist Party a strongly patriotic and pro-war manifesto was adopted by an overwhelming majority of

2,736 votes against 76. This congress was attended by 250 delegates, representing an organization with 65,000 paying members and 100 members in the Chamber of Deputies. The manifesto declared in favor of continuing the work of national defense until French territory had been liberated, the attempt at German hegemony crushed, and a durable peace assured, and until Alsace-Lorraine was surrendered to France. The ardent hope was expressed that Germany would cease to be controlled by the Kaiser and the Kaiser system. Thus, what was formerly the most strongly anti-war section of the French Nation demonstrated that it was not yet ready to think of peace. Incidentally, the manifesto was regarded as a warning to M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, to refrain from supporting with his authority the efforts of German Socialists to bring about a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, of which he is President, as a means to secure an early peace which would be favorable to Germany.

While the conference of delegates representing more than 2,000,000 British trade unionists, which met at Bristol on Jan. 26, 1916, was not, strictly speaking, a socialist gathering, it faithfully reflected the sentiment of the British Labor-Socialist movement when it adopted two resolutions of a highly patriotic nature. The first, pledging the conference to assist the Government as far as possible to carry the war to a victorious conclusion, was carried by a vote of 1,502,000 against 602,000. The second entirely approved the action of the Parliamentary Labor Party in co-operating with other parties in the recruiting campaign by 1,847,000 against 206,000.

The effect of the war on the Socialist Parties of the different European countries is seen in a highly interesting book



MAXIM GORKY

Russian Author, Who Says the War is Weakening European Civilization

(Photo © by Peter A. Juley.)



EMANUEL HAVENITH

Belgian Minister at Washington, Who Filed a Protest Against German
Taxes in Belgium

(Photo by Paul Thompson.)

by Jules Destrée, a member of the Belgian House of Representatives, entitled "Les Socialistes et la Guerre Européenne," (Brussels and Paris: G. Van Oest & Cie.) The two main points of the book are to show that the German Socialists betrayed the International and to urge that the socialist doctrine be purged of "neutralism."

M. Destrée begins by quoting the decision of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, in 1907, that the duty of Socialists in the eventuality of war was to make every effort to prevent it, and, once it had begun, to do everything possible to bring about peace. He declares that, with the exception of the German and Austrian Socialists, the party everywhere did all in its power to carry out this decision. For example, no party in the world had been more persistent and more resourceful in working for peace, international arbitration, and general disarmament than the French Socialist Party. On the eve of the declaration of war a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau was held at Brussels. As the result of the declarations made by Herr Haase, leader of the German Parliamentary group, the French delegates believed that socialist action would be parallel in the two countries, and behaved accordingly. Even on the day that diplomatic negotiations between the two countries were broken off the French Socialists appealed to their Government to make a supreme effort for peace. When hostilities were begun by Germany, the attitude of the German Socialists, "so contrary to the tendencies of the party and in absolute opposition to their formal promises, caused a painful stupor" among the French comrades, who now had no other alternative than to rally to the defense of their country.

On the 28th of July, before the outbreak of war, many meetings were held in Berlin to express the desire of the German proletariat for peace. These meetings were authorized and even protected by the police. Herr Haase was summoned to the Government offices and encouraged to pursue a vigorous propaganda in favor of peace. What was the German Government's object? M. Des-

trée asserts that it was to mislead and deceive the French Socialists and throw France off her guard:

It does not seem possible to us to believe that the men of the German Social Democracy could have consciously lent themselves to a manoeuvre so prefidious, but one must recognize that they let themselves be deceived very easily. How then can it be explained that a few days later the German Socialists, rallied by a sudden volte-face to the imperialist policy of their Government, voted unanimously for the war credits? If the Socialists of Germany are not guilty of treachery, they have at least sinned through an extraordinary absence of acuteness and courage. Even admitting that they believed in the necessity of defending themselves against czarism, it is at least certain that they can be reproached with their silence when on Aug. 4, 1914, in the Reichstag, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, announced the entry of German troops on Belgian soil, recognized himself the injustice of this violation of neutrality, and excused himself by declaring that necessity knows no law.

The story of that day, M. Destrée says, will remain "one of the most lamentable pages in the annals of the Socialist Party," for not one of the many Socialist Deputies who were present rose to express a protest, or even a regret. "From this moment we see the German Socialists becoming the obliging, and sometimes eager, servants of the imperial policy." Later, it is true that Liebknecht had the courage to vote against the second war credit in December, 1914, while Kautzky, Bernstein, and Haase in June, 1915, published a manifesto in favor of peace without annexation or conquest. But these Socialists have been repudiated, and "their action has had the effect of accentuating still more the imperialist attitude of the majority of the German Socialists, who are more and more abandoning the traditional principles of internationalism and approving of the policy of conquest pursued by the Kaiser."

M. Destrée's chapter in which he boldly denies that the neutralist attitude is the normal socialist attitude will come as a shock to many of his comrades. "Neutralism," he says, "in so far as it is a doctrine, is a doctrine of impotence, inertia, and resignation." A proclamation of neutrality may be only the ex-

pression of indifference, selfishness, cowardice, or feebleness. He argues that as law and order within the nation have been developed by the collective force intervening in conflicts between individuals, so, too, it is indispensable that in the future as among nations intervention be the rule and neutrality the exception. To show how during the last twenty years the tendency of socialism has been toward intervention, he instances the agitation and propaganda of Socialists in different countries on behalf of the Armenians, the Russian Jews, the Finns, the Boers in South Africa, and the Spanish free-thinkers during the Ferrer case, and he asks, if Socialists had had the power, would they not have backed their principles and sympathies with action? Socialists must no longer submit docilely to "the prudent, and in some cases interested, watchwords of neutrality." Further, if war is to be replaced by arbitration, the latter must become obligatory, and means must be provided that judgments be obeyed. The moral force of international arbitration "will suffice in the majority of cases. But it is also necessary to foresee extreme cases in which coercion will be indispensable."

Finally, M. Destrée makes it clear that reconciliation with the German and Austrian Socialists will be no easy matter:

Before agreeing to discuss peace terms with the German Socialists, who are not held in fief by imperialism, it will be necessary to be assured, not only of their sincerity, but above all of their influence with their Government. It is quite evident that the victory of the Allies can alone assure in a large measure the expressed desires of international socialism. The German Socialists, in so far as they have remained Socialists, ought then to wish for the defeat of their imperialists. In so far as they approve of and support the imperialists, they exclude themselves from the Socialist Party, and the new international will be formed, purified by the trial, without these faithless elements.

Another book which displays how Socialists are trying to discover what has gone amiss with their ideals is from the pen of Louis B. Boudin, one of the

most learned and distinguished exponents of present-day Marxian Socialism. In his "Socialism and War," (New York: The New Review Publishing Association,) he shatters one pet idea of Socialists when he declares that capitalism is neither warlike nor peaceful in itself, while pointing out on the other hand that the general Socialist position has never been adequately defined. He accuses Socialists for not making clear "the distinction between opposition to war under certain given conditions and opposition to it under any and all conditions."

There can be no doubt that the Socialists, particularly those of the Marxian school, the predominant school among present-day Socialists, are not absolute pacifists. Indeed, the cast of mind and mode of thought which would lead to absolute pacifism is utterly alien to them. That force and bloodshed are not, as such, repugnant to the spirit of their teachings is well known. In fact, they consider war a legitimate and sometimes unavoidable accompaniment of the revolution they preach and advocate.

Mr. Boudin believes that war is sometimes justifiable from the Socialist standpoint if the decision of it is "controlled exclusively by considerations of its result upon the international working class and its struggle for emancipation. Socialists engaging in war are still Socialists, that is to say, provided they enter into the war from Socialist, and not from nationalist, considerations." A Socialist should remember that he is not fighting a certain people, but a certain Government, representing at most the governing class of that people. But, as Mr. Boudin's critics among Socialists urge, this justification may be used equally by the Socialists of the allied countries and of Germany, and that, therefore, the confusion in Socialist thinking about war is as great as ever.

The one fact that emerges clearly from present events is that, with very few exceptions, the Socialists in all the belligerent countries are whole-heartedly sharing with their fellow-countrymen the burdens and sacrifices of war, whatever may be their reasons and motives for so doing.

What France Did for Europe

By Guglielmo Ferrero

The famous Italian historian recently summed up his impressions of travel in France in these words:

THREE times I have visited Paris since the war began—first in the early weeks of November, 1914; next in February, and the third time in December, 1915.

During the first visit Paris was still comparatively deserted and enveloped in the solemn silence in which it had wrapped itself for the coming ordeal. The gigantic battle begun in August on the Belgian frontier with the furious but vain assaults of the Germans on the Yser had ended only a few days before. France was getting her breath for an instant, with joy flashing in her eyes amid the tears which her many bereavements had caused to flow; the joy of having, after forty-four years, given back to the enemy on the Marne and Yser some of the blows received from him in 1870; the joy of having stopped his first and formidable rush, the joy of finding herself still alive, still strong, and henceforth sure of herself and of the future.

Three months later this kind of silent intoxication had vanished. A certain relative tranquillity had descended upon the vast battle front. Already there was in progress that active but discreet effort which was to create a new rampart against the barbarians, behind which Paris, henceforth in safety, was becoming re-peopled. Gazing east and west, north and south, the spirit of the people tried to measure the forces of the country and of its allies; then it compared these with the forces of the enemy and sought in that comparison to read the future.

How long would the war last? Would Italy intervene? And Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria? Would Austria really hold

out to the end? Was Germany beginning to feel the effects of the blockade?

At the end of 1915 Paris has changed yet again. The people seem no longer to think of the end of the war, so uncertain seems all foresight, and it is trying to live amid the moving armies, amid the events that are happening, as if all this were going to last a good while. The great city rings with discussions, with criticisms of strategical projects, of diplomatic plans, of philosophical and political doctrines, of paradoxes and dreams.

When the war broke out France seemed to be a little orphan in the coalition, protected by two giants against the ogre that was trying to devour her. All, or almost all, believed then that she would owe her salvation to Russia and England. Today the world has perforce become convinced that if France had not resisted like an anvil the furious blows of the god Thor, mad with rage, Europe would not have escaped the German hegemony.

Thanks to France—because she broke the first German charge—the Triple Entente had time to prepare armies, to block the Central Powers, to win Italy to its cause; thanks to France, the Entente can wait now while Russia forges a new armament to replace the one she wore out without stint in the first months of the war. The unspeakable sacrifices willingly borne by France with so much stoicism give her the right to speak with authority to the allied powers which she has saved from an irreparable disaster.

If the situation in the Orient, which was very threatening two months ago, is beginning to improve, it is because France has begun with great ability to direct the policy of the coalition.

When the Persia Went Down

By Lord Montagu

Still suffering from injuries received during his terrible experiences on the *Persia*, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu recently returned to England, where he gave a London Times representative the remarkable personal narrative herewith reproduced. It is the first full account by an eyewitness of the Mediterranean disaster in which the American Consul at Aden lost his life. The responsibility for the sinking of the *Persia* still remains unacknowledged by any of the Teutonic powers.

ABOUT 1:10 P. M. on Thursday, Dec. 30, as we were sitting down to luncheon, there was a terrific explosion just abaft the main saloon. This blew up part of the deck. The smell of the explosion at once told me what had happened. The passengers, without any sign of panic or fear, went to get their lifebelts, and then to their appointed stations. When I got to the station allotted for No. 6 boat on the port side I saw the boats being lowered on that side, but, as the ship had begun seriously to heel over, I realized that it would not be possible to get into them. I then, with great difficulty, climbed up the starboard side, trying to pull with me my lady secretary, Miss Thornton, who happened to be near. Within three minutes of being struck the ship was on her beam ends. She began to sink rapidly by the stern, and I was swept off my feet by the rush of water along the promenade deck. The next moment I was overboard. The ship sank, and I was sucked down a long way, striking my head and body against several pieces of wreckage. It seemed a very long time before I came to the surface again, though I was conscious of rising very rapidly, owing to the extreme buoyancy of my Gieve waistcoat, which certainly at that moment saved my life.

Just before the ship foundered there was the usual and inevitable uprush of steam and smoke from the engine room and stokehold. Four minutes after being struck the *Persia* was below the waves. So far as I am a judge, I am convinced that the commander, the officers, and the crew did all that was possible to be done under the terrible circumstances.

When I had recovered my senses suf-

ficiently to look around—for I was very much out of breath at first owing to the shock of the submersion—I saw the sea covered with struggling human beings, but very little wreckage. So far as I could make out, there seemed to be only three undamaged boats afloat. I swam toward a signal locker I observed near by; but I found the ship's doctor clinging to this. He appeared to be in a stunned condition, and his head apparently was injured. The locker would not support more than one person, so I left it to the doctor and made toward a boat floating upside down about fifty yards away. A number of native seamen were clinging to her, a larger number than the boat was able properly to support. Eventually I managed to climb up and get astride of the keel band on the extreme end aft. From this position I saw a boat only half filled a short distance from us, and I shouted to them to come and help us, but they rowed away. As frantic cries for help were rising up from all sides I make no complaint about their not heeding my call.

About an hour after the disaster there were left on our upturned boat six Europeans and about a score of the native crew. The others had dropped off as they became too weak to hold on. At this time the boat was suddenly righted by a big wave, and with great difficulty we scrambled into her. I then discovered that not only had she a large hole in the bottom, but that her bows were split open as well. She was in a state of extreme instability, for some of the air tanks, which showed me that she was one of the lifeboats, were smashed and others were perforated. The smallest weight on the starboard side tended to

capsize her again. This, indeed, happened many times before we were picked up, and added very greatly to our sufferings.

By sunset most of us were sitting up to our knees in water. When the sun went down on the first day there remained of the original party in the boat thirteen native seamen and firemen, two Genoese stewards, an English steward named Martin, an Italian second-class passenger, Mr. Alexander Clark, (a Scottish second-class passenger,) and myself. If it had not been for Mr. Clark and Martin, the steward, who more than once helped me to climb back into the boat when she capsized, I should have had little chance of survival. Though there was not much wind, there was a considerable swell, and nearly all the time the sea was breaking over us.

Before the night was half gone several more natives died from exhaustion, and as the bodies were washed about in the boat we made efforts to throw them overboard. The night seemed interminable. About 8 P. M. a steamer, with her saloon lights all showing, passed about one mile to the southward. I think she must have been a neutral boat. We tried to attract her attention by shouting, and the other ship's boat to the eastward burned two red flares; but no notice was taken, a submarine ruse probably being suspected.

At dawn next morning there were only eleven all told left in the boat. About three hours after sunrise we saw a two-funneled and two-masted steamer away to the southward, and our hopes were again raised. We hoisted a piece of torn flag on the one oar left in the boat, and the other ship's boat, which seemed to be floating high and well, also signaled. The ship, however, passed, westward bound, about three miles away. For the rest of the day we saw nothing. One of the native crew, about noon, managed to get a tin of biscuits from the locker in the boat under the thwarts, and we ate a little of this, though it was spoiled by salt water. We had then been nearly thirty hours without food or water. I myself had had nothing but a cup of tea and a biscuit since dinner

on the 29th. I felt the heat of the sun a good deal, as I had only a small khaki scarf for protection.

At sunset on Friday we had practically given up all hope of being saved. I said to my Scottish friend that it was the last sunset we should ever see, and he answered, "Yes, I'm afraid our number's up." I found it a great struggle to keep awake. The tendency to drowsiness was almost irresistible, but to fall asleep would have meant the end. We capsized once more about 7 P. M. through the Italian turning light-headed. He had yielded to the temptation to drink salt water. In this accident we lost the tin of biscuit and the red flares we had hoped to use during the night.

Then, about 8 o'clock, we saw the masthead lights of a steamer far away to the eastward. At first I thought it was only a rising star, for there was very clear visibility that evening. Presently I could discern her side lights, which suggested that she was coming pretty nearly straight for us. When she got closer we started shouting in unison. I led the men by calling "One, two, three—shout!" When the ship was half a mile away she ported her helm, stopped her engines, and appeared to be listening. We knew then that like other ships she expected a ruse and dare not approach until she had made further investigations. After some time she came nearer and we heard a shout from her bridge. Then her steam whistle was blown. I dared to hope, though hope had almost died within us. We tried to explain that we were helpless and had no means of getting alongside. Eventually the Captain of this ship—Captain Allen—which proved to be the Alfred Holt steamer *Ning Chow*, bound from China to London, very cleverly manoeuvred her alongside our wreckage. We were by this time like a cracked eggshell. Bow lines were passed round us by a plucky Russian and an English Quartermaster, and we were eventually hoisted on board. The Captain and his officers did all they could for us.

I should like to mention that it was Mr. Allan Maclean—a Maclean of Duart, Isle of Mull—the third officer of the

ship, who was the officer of the watch at the time and who first appears to have heard our cries. His alertness and keen sense of hearing were our salvation. I consider that it was a very courageous thing for the Captain to stop for us, as he and his officers knew they were in the danger zone and ran the risk of being torpedoed themselves while they were helping us. Once on board we began slowly to recover from the exposure and our injuries. We arrived at Malta at dawn on Jan. 3.

I have been asked by many people how long I could have held on to the boat. That I could not say, but I had made up my mind quite firmly as to how I would die. I was not going to be slowly drowned and battered to death by the waves, as a dozen or 15 men had died close to me in the boat. I also wanted to show the natives in the boat how a "sahib" would die in these circumstances. I had determined, therefore, when I knew the end was certain, to let the air out of my Gieve waistcoat and to slip quietly overboard and drown.

I would rather not speak about the thoughts which occur to one when facing death in this way for a long period, but they naturally centred around home and friends. Perhaps I may say that my knowledge of seamanship and boats and my love of the sea helped me greatly, and I think I can assert that never through the whole of the period from the blowing up of the ship until the present moment has my nerve been in the least affected. When one comes to think of the circumstances, however, I hold that our being saved at all was a miracle, just as much a miracle as many of those of olden times. We were fast approaching the final stage of exhaustion, and the chances of any vessel in the wide Mediterranean passing over a spot so close to us were infinitesimal.

In conclusion, Lord Montague again expressed the opinion that everything possible was done by the commander, officers, and crew of the ship, and that so far as he could see the ship was in every way well found and the boats in good order and condition up to the time that the vessel was hit.

The New Year

By HERBERT ASQUITH

These New Year verses were written for The Sunday Pictorial, London, by Lieutenant Herbert Asquith, second son of the Prime Minister and one of the most gifted of England's younger poets.

The Old Year goes with all its vanished flow'rs;
 Across the fields we hear the distant bells;
 To other music fade the dying hours,
 Leaving a heritage of long farewells.
 What world is this, to which the New Year comes?
 A world by God forgotten, lost to Man?
 A weary battlefield of broken homes,
 A red monotony without a plan?
 No! Love and Laughter live; and Chivalry
 Still holds the seas from sunset to the dawn;
 The sacred wells of Honor are not dry,
 And still for her the brightest blades are drawn!
 The young Crusaders go to battle singing,
 And we, who listen to that song, may know,
 Again the bells of Freedom will be ringing,
 As they were rung a hundred years ago.

Grand Admiral von Tirpitz

By Paul Louis Hervier

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY, from *La Nouvelle Revue*, Paris.]



TO see him, you would take him for an old sea wolf who has passed his life on the waves. Not a bit of it; the grand master of the German fleet has never skimmed much over the waves; he has grown old in important administrative functions, in which, moreover, he has shown

that he possesses extraordinary capacity for organization—and initiative. He has created nothing new, he has servilely copied the English fleet. So Admiral von Tirpitz is a pirate twice over.

He is tall, very solidly built, and his great white beard, forked in the middle, the better to show his grand cordon of the Black Eagle, gives him a majestic and respectable air. He frequently smiles on the slightest of pretexts. This has won him the renown of affability. But this smile does not signify much. It is a commonplace expression without eloquence, in reality a mere bit of diplomacy. How many members of the Reichstag he has walked up and down on the decks of his big ships, while he "smiled with his mustache"! Diplomacy! The Grand Admiral is a diplomat; he could have become Chancellor of the Empire, instead of Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, but he preferred to prove that "the future of Germany is on the sea"; he preferred to continue the rôle which he has held for fifty-one years, and play through the last act, which is to be his apotheosis. The *Lusitania*, the fleet safely stowed away at Kiel, the long rows of innocent victims—these things are the crown of his long career.

He is a diplomatist, but he is not a wire-puller. He has proved himself clever, not so much for himself as for the success of projects of the highest possible value for his country. Diplomacy and the tortuous progress of politics he learned in the course of many developments in which he found himself, and he has not survived the storms of parliamentary questions, surmounted the routine and the difficulties of organizations, without learning the tricks of that diplomacy, and the importance of knowing how to will at the right time and in the right way. For the last seventeen years he has occupied the same position.

Think of that! Seventeen years consecrated to a constant effort, to the realization of a precise aim, seventeen years without a single interruption, during which a sacrilegious hand might have annihilated the results of his initial efforts.

We are forced to recognize both the qualities of Tirpitz and his dexterity, but must we not also say that he has had extraordinary luck? Many of our great heads in France could have achieved marvels, if during seventeen years they had enjoyed his authority and his responsibility. More than this, Tirpitz had already consecrated thirty-five years of his existence to the study of projects to put which into execution was his dream. What a pity, for the harmony of such a life, that its evening twilight has been filled with murders, crimes, and blood!

Alfred Tirpitz was born in 1850 at Küstrin-on-the-Oder, and nothing seemed to mark out for him the career which he chose later on. At that time the German Navy was only a little group of worthless boats. In 1865 he entered the school of cadets; in 1869 he was gazetted Lieutenant; in 1875 he was Lieutenant Commander; he was already considered—and at this time he was only 25—an able organizer and a toiler ready to undertake the most gigantic effort. In

1891 Tirpitz was appointed Chief of Staff at Kiel. This gave him a post in which he could show the full extent of his powers. He did not disappoint the hopes formed of him, and he set himself determinedly at the task of creating and perfecting the submarine division. The high estimation which he had won allowed him to have his own way. He knew how to profit by it, and, by gathering capable collaborators together, he accomplished a double success. His personal prestige grew in equal measure. In 1898 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State at the Admiralty at Berlin. In this greatly envied position he had to be prepared for many ambushes, for envious rivals were plenty. Tirpitz preserved his self-confidence, and triumphed over all difficulties; he even triumphed so completely that in two years he was appointed Vice Admiral. His partisans did not call him "the Everlasting" yet, but they had found a surname for him even more laudatory, which loudly proclaimed how well his powers were recognized. He was "the Master."

"The Master" had long cherished vast projects; an incident gave him the opportunity to make them known, and his ability did the rest.

In the Autumn of 1899, Tirpitz proved, as a result of the capture of a German liner by an English vessel, that Germany could not expand without having a formidable fleet. A constantly growing commerce had to be protected against well-equipped competitors. To reward the Vice Admiral for his marvelous plan, a patent of nobility was first conferred on him. The modest native of Küstrin-on-the-Oder became von Tirpitz. What he asked for was voted in the midst of great enthusiasm.

But he was not yet content. In 1902, he gained permission to build 13,000-ton warships. In the following year he was gazetted Admiral. In 1907, he asked and received enormous supplementary credits. In 1908, Emperor William conferred on him the order of the Black Eagle, the highest and most ardently desired distinction.

Thus every effort of von Tirpitz had its success and its reward. In 1914 he

gave the Kiel Canal the last perfecting touches, and informed his Emperor that the fleet was ready. A few months later, war was declared.

Von Tirpitz is prudent, and he does not like to have stories told at his expense. With his customary diplomacy, he avoids supplying the annalists with material for picturesque articles on his high personality. Nevertheless it is he himself who tells the following story, of which he declares he is the hero:

"I was taking a walk with a friend, one very dark night in a little wood not far from Berlin, and both of us were surprised to notice the extraordinary number of glow-worms sparkling on the flower-beds and the turf. Suddenly we found in the darkness of a thicket a glow-worm whose brilliance was astonishing.

"I should like to take it home with me," I exclaimed, and started in pursuit of it. But my swift career was stopped by two cries, a cry of pain and a cry of anger.

"The cry of anger was uttered by a fat German bondholder, who was peacefully smoking an enormous cigar in the warm evening air; the cry of pain I uttered myself, for I had seriously burned my finger-ends on the glowing end of a deceptive cigar."

Von Tirpitz, so clever in piercing the darkness of politics, is perhaps as skillful in recognizing light-signals as in recognizing fire-flies!

Is von Tirpitz an Anglophobe? No! He admires the English. His children have been brought up in England, as, indeed, was his wife, and it is quite evident that his merit has consisted in having the emulation of inspiration. He has copied the English fleet. He has copied Lord Fisher's plans, he has tried to equal him, to surpass him, though without succeeding. But since the war von Tirpitz has hidden his admiration for England under a bushel. Hypocritically, he conceals his predilection for everything that is "Made in England." From the first day of hostilities he absolutely forbade his family to talk English, even at home, and it is even added that he made a bonfire of his fine scientific library of English books. He did not even spare

the English novels which were the delight of his daughters. They were guilty of the crime of being English. So he burned them. But we wager that he saved from the holocaust the admirable works which record the minutest details of the finest navy in the world, which he wished to rival in numbers without wishing to rival in honor.

The Kaiser made von Tirpitz his friend. He willingly asks his advice, and prefers his counsels to those of others who intrigue more. The reports of the Grand Admiral's retirement have always been denied; he is glued to his post, and it seems pretty certain that he will stay there so long as William has any authority in Germany.

The young Wolf von Tirpitz who formerly studied at Oxford is at the present moment a prisoner in England. The Summer which preceded the war he was received in England by Mrs. Churchill, with whom he played tennis; he was received also by the First Lord of the Admiralty. Is it not odd enough? Sub-Lieutenant Wolf von Tirpitz was on board the Mainz, which was sunk off Heligoland in August, 1915. In full uniform he swam for twenty minutes before being picked up by one of the boats of the cruiser Liverpool. He is a lucky prisoner of war. Winston Churchill him-

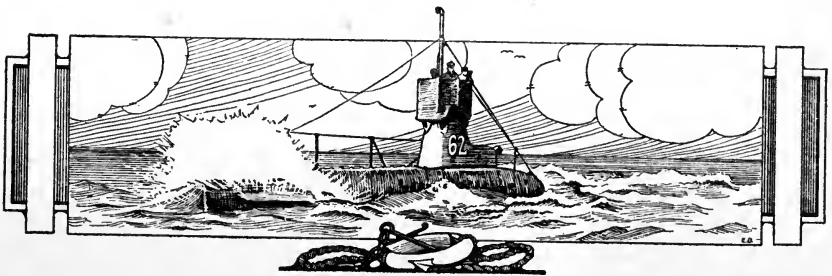
self telegraphed to von Tirpitz, Sr., to reassure him as to his son's fate.

Von Tirpitz, Sr., has not always a conciliatory and agreeable humor in spite of his eternal smile. Frederick William Wile had occasion to meet him in 1907, and this is how "The Everlasting" expressed himself:

"Why do the English papers publish such long telegrams every time we launch a cruiser? Do our newspapers get excited over every new ship England builds? Why is there this constant suspicion of our actions?"

The German battleships and cruisers remain hidden away in the shelter of the Kiel Canal, dredged out and enlarged at such a cost. The more than half-century's toil of this single man is futile.

Von Tirpitz is a curious figure. His huge beard, which droops in white threads over the decorations that star his breast, gives him a false air of Neptune. It will probably not be said of him later on in Germany that he was a great sailor, since he rode out only political storms, but he will be called a potent organizer. Throughout the world the name of von Tirpitz will remain linked with that of the Lusitania and the little children so basely murdered. He will be famed as "the reviver of piracy."



Peace Without Hate

By Jerome K. Jerome

GOD punish Germany! We believe He will. For her share (whatever in His judgment it may be) in the bringing about of this frightful war; for the crimes committed in Belgium; for the drowning of poor sailor folk and of many hundreds of helpless travelers; for the making of war more bloody and bestial than it even need be; for the senseless slaughter of unarmed citizens; for the shooting of Nurse Cavell; for the wanton laying waste of fair lands and destruction of noble works wrought with love and labor and sanctified by time; for calculated cruelty and harshness and injustice done not only upon men, but upon women and little children, one believes that in His good time He will punish Germany.

May I suggest to some of my journalistic friends, to various elderly gentlemen writing from easy chairs, to a certain number of shrill women who have not yet found work more practically useful, that we would do well to leave it in His hands? Our job is something very different. Our business is to fight for England and all for which England stands; for the right of humble folk to live their own lives, slave neither to King nor State; for freedom to every man to speak the thought within him; for justice for the weak and law for the strong.

May the Lord forgive us; we have not always been worthy of our appointed task. We have erred and strayed from the ways we should have followed and often there has been but little health left in us. But, thinking back, across the troubled pages of history, perhaps we may claim to have been not altogether unprofitable servants. It was here in this island castle, with God's deep sea for a moat, that the flag of freedom was kept flying through the long ages of violence and oppression. Here was her sanctuary, and our sailormen kept watch. Here was the rallying point for her followers from all lands; they knew their welcome

sure. Here was her council chamber, and no foe might pass the twinkling line of sentinels calling from cliff to headland.

And now the long-drawn battle has flared forth once again, and we, as ever, are fighting in the van. We shall fight better for love of freedom; for love of the green valleys that cradled her, of the English yews that made her bows, of the English oaks that built her ships, than from mere hatred of poor German peasants seized and drilled and cunningly persuaded they are fighting for their Fatherland.

Speaking to some wounded soldiers not long ago, I interpolated a remark that these German enemies of ours were "not all bad." It sounds trite and obvious, but I feel sure that in a meeting of civilians I should have been howled at. My pale-faced but kindly audience indorsed it with a cheer. Our soldiers are fighting like gentlemen for the faith that is in them; for love of the old land; for love of pleasant English ways; of the dear folk at home. Fighting without malice, without hatred. I see letters from the men who are doing, not talking, giving, not demanding. They have no use for this gospel of hatred. They speak of their German prisoners as "poor fellows," pitying them. They record a little shamefacedly the many acts of kindness they have done them.

There was a letter published in *The Cambridge Magazine* a month or two ago from a youngster fighting in Flanders who now lies in some forgotten grave. It was for love of man, not hate, that he had offered his own young life. He had taken up the sword for freedom; for the breaking of the chains of militarism threatening to enslave all Europe; for peace and the coming together of the nations.

Before we glibly denounce Germany let us be sure that we have got rid of the Hun in ourselves. This clamor for reprisals, for slavish copying of every act

of brutality that Germany invents—what is it but the response of Hun to Hun? It does not come from the soldiers. It comes from our comfortable stay-at-homes. We call for vengeance on submarine crews, leaving our soldiers to pay the penalty. What benefit have we gained by obediently imitating Germany's use of poisoned gases? God's winds are neutral. There are those who would have us retaliate for the Lusitania by sinking German merchant ships without warning. Our sailors refused to do the dirty work at the bidding of our journalists.

We will do better to play the game according to English ideals, not German. We are not out merely to conquer the German people. We are out to conquer German ideas. The German idea that might is right, that there is no law above the sword.

One might, speaking to fellow-Christians, be excused for suggesting that hate is an evil thing in itself. History has proved that it is something worse. It is a folly and a blunder. It is not a good business proposition. Nelson's one mistake was to tell us that our duty was to hate every Frenchman like the devil. Unless he had intended to add "for present purposes only." Our patriotic press a few years ago was urging us to "roll France in the mud." There is an old Spanish proverb which runs: "Say not, Fountain, I will never drink again of thy waters."

"Never again," is fool's talk. One hears it after every railway accident. After every shipwreck. After every war that has ever been waged. Europe will emerge from this war and the map, unless looked at very closely, will have much the same appearance that it had before. There may be one color for Poland instead of three. Alsace and Lorraine will have returned to France, and that one last corner still soiled by Turkish rule may, one hopes, have been cleaned out. The main features will remain. Ger-

many, bruised and battered, her arrogance and her bombast knocked out of her, but still alive and vigorous, will set to work to build herself anew. Ten years after peace is signed—every school-boy knows it—we shall be buying from Germany, selling to Germany. In twenty years we shall be playing tennis with them and teaching them golf, and thirty years later it is quite possible they in their turn may be our allies.

This song of hate does not suit the English voice. Our soldiers make fun of it; the only manly thing to do. Hatred during war time may be necessary to a few poor creatures incapable of fighting for love of country. But now that the end of the contest is coming into sight it will be well to get rid of it. There is, we are told, "a time to love and a time to hate: a time of war and a time of peace." It will be well when we lay aside the sword to be prepared to lay aside our hate. It may in some quarters be considered bad taste. But in this matter I would personally rather listen to the voice of Edith Cavell than to the most strident speakers of the anti-German league. Edith Cavell did a fine thing when she laid down her life for her country. There are many who do that. Poor, feeble, evil men and women have done that. Hundreds of our nameless lads do it every day.

The finest thing she did, not only for her country but for the men and women of all lands, was when she put aside all hatred, all bitterness.

"Standing as I do in view of God and eternity, I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness toward any one."

We, too, are standing before God and eternity, and His judgment is awaiting us. For us, too, patriotism is not enough. Our victory must be not only over the Germans but over ourselves. We must have no hatred, no bitterness.

By no other means will peace be "conclusive."

Spiritual Effects of the War

By the Rev. R. J. Campbell
Minister of the City Temple, London

The interesting passages printed below contain the substance of a long article by the noted minister of the City Temple which appeared in *The British Weekly* of Jan. 13, 1916:

TAKEN on the whole, we have been living for wrong values and are now paying the price. As the great German thinker, Rudolf Eucken, kept on telling us for years and years before the war began, civilization had got into a cul de sac; we had fallen into the habit of looking for all our good on the outside of life. Men tend to become like their pursuits, and the ordinary man of the western world had become so wrapped up in considerations of material good as to be gradually rendering himself incapable of imagining or desiring any other kind of good. (By the way, one of the saddest disappointments to me, as to many others, in connection with the war, is the fact that Eucken has now gone right over to the Prussian militaristic side and denounces England as the main cause of the outbreak of hostilities and the friend of barbarism as opposed to enlightenment. Well, well!)

If there were one country more than another of which his indictment was true it was Germany, but we were all more or less tarred with the same brush, and now we are finding it out. If you had asked a Greek statesman in, say, the days of Pericles what civilization was for, what the object of statesmanship was, he would have told you at once, to make good citizens. If you were to ask any European statesman the same question today, he would have no answer unless it were to say that getting the greatest amount possible of comfort, ease, and abundance were what was aimed at.

For the moment, or so it would seem, the nations are wistfully taking account of the eternal once more. How much this means we cannot yet be sure; it may mean a return to the time-honored observances of the Christian faith, and it may not.

Ours is not the only country that is feeling it. Perhaps I may be permitted to insert here an extract from a private letter I wrote home to the correspondent in question: "Last night in a French restaurant I picked up a copy of the *Echo de Paris*, one of the best-known daily newspapers in France. In the most conspicuous position on the front page I found an article beginning thus: 'Sometimes one hears the question asked, Do you truly believe that after the war France will be changed? Assuredly I believe it, and, indeed, she is changed already.' The leader writer goes on to enlarge upon this at length, and includes in his article a letter from a French soldier, written from the trenches to some friend or preceptor—perhaps a priest; I do not know. Here is a paragraph from it:

"I have lived without faith. I was raised without religion. I am not baptized. I was married outside the Church. This cannot continue. I have recourse to you to guide me and help me apply a remedy to this disorder. I mistrust myself, knowing the force of habit and of liberal sophisms. Understand me: It is not merely the formality of the act of baptism that matters. It is the inward order. I need discipline, I need to join a secular organization, to serve. I believe it is my duty as a man and a Frenchman, you see."

Remember that this letter and the article incorporating it constitute the chief editorial in a prominent daily paper in France, and those who read these words can judge for themselves what is happening to the soul of the nation.

The renaissance of faith in France is not wholly caused by the war, however, as I can myself testify. In the early part of 1914, just before Lent began, I happened to be in Rouen, and found the cathedral crammed to the doors with men of all social grades, night after

night, for the holding of conferences on the person and work of our Lord Jesus Christ. There was no service; the altar was unlighted; there were only two priests present, and these did not seem to be doing more than giving a start to the proceedings; the rest was in the hands of the men themselves. I was told it was the same, more or less, all over the country, Paris not excepted. What a change from the aggressive atheism which controlled the statecraft and the public opinion of a few years before!

The trials and sufferings consequent upon the war are helping to intensify it in spite of the deep disappointment, and even bitterness, engendered by the pro-Germanism or, to say the least, moral supineness of the Vatican in face of German atrocities and flagrant breaches of international good faith. The churches are full, fuller than in England, so far as one could judge—perhaps not fuller than on Sundays, but day by day throughout the week. Pathetic streams of people are ever passing in and out, coming to pray in silence before the altar for those dear to them, and then going back to their daily toil.

As to our own soldiers in the same territory opinions differ. I can but de-

scribe them as I found them. It was a strange experience to take church parade in camp, or, better still, an ordinary evening service in one of the numerous large huts erected within the war zone, and compare it with what used to be in the old days. The psychological atmosphere was very remarkable, especially in the case of men who had been in the trenches. There was an intensity, an eagerness to hear, a reverence and responsiveness not usual, I should imagine, among the same class at home.

What those brave fellows wanted was to hear and ask about supersensuous realities, about God, the soul, and the life to come. The last Sunday night before I came away was wet and stormy, and I had to drive about ten miles to conduct evening prayer and give an address at a certain camp. I thought nobody would be there, but the place was crammed from end to end. I wonder if many London churches were equally full at the same hour; I doubt it. And would these same soldiers to a man have been found in church a year and a half ago? I doubt it still more. Life takes on a new perspective for those who are looking death in the face day after day, and doing it not for themselves, but for the land they love and a cause greater still.

Belgium's Unconquerable Spirit

Declaring that Belgium would never make a separate peace with Germany, Alfred Lemonnier, editor of Indépendance Belge, the mouthpiece of Belgians in London, added in an interview cabled to New York on Jan. 24:

Germany has compelled Belgium, through the Société Générale, to give assurance that all of this \$240,000,000 of tribute will be paid, and has taken home Belgium's wealthiest men as hostages. She will find that Belgium will exact full retribution for this when the day of reckoning is at hand.

Thanks to the noble generosity of America, the Belgians left in the conquered territory are being fed. England's hospitality enabled 200,000 Belgian refugees to find homes and occupation here. Nearly every one of the Belgians in England is working either in munition factories at pay averaging \$10 a week, or has work in households or relief work at substantial pay. Belgium has 160,000 men on the fighting line in the small strip of her country which has not been invaded. These men are going to hold the line, with the help of the Allies, until the day of peace, unless in the meantime they happily succeed in driving the enemy out.

The outlook is not hopeless for Belgium. With unconquerable spirit she will stick to the battle, no matter what alluring offers may come from Germany. With other belligerents, Belgium believes in her heart that the war must not end until Germany is beaten down. Europe is unsafe until Prussianism is crushed, and Belgium is in the fight to help do it.

The Famous St. Mihiel Salient

By Richard Harding Davis

In this article the well-known American author tells of a visit to a French trench dug deep in a chalk mine, and describes the German position, the holding of which has cost thousands of lives.

PARIS, Jan. 18, 1916.

WE left the white swans smoothing their feathers, and through rain drove to a hill covered closely with small trees. The trees were small because the soil from which they drew sustenance was only one to three feet deep. Beneath that was chalk. Through these woods was cut a runway for a toy railroad. It possessed the narrowest of narrow gauges, and its rolling stock consisted of flat cars three feet wide, drawn by splendid Percherons. The live stock, the rolling stock, the tracks and the trees on either side of the tracks were entirely covered with white clay.

The French Marquis who guided "Mon Capitaine" and myself to the trenches either had built this railroad, or owned a controlling interest in it, for he always spoke of it proudly as "my express," "my special train," "my petite vitesse." He had lately been in America buying cavalry horses. Concerning them he has a most intimate knowledge, as for years he has owned one of the famous racing stables in France. The last time I had seen him he was in silk, mounted on one of his own thoroughbreds, and the crowd, or that part of it that had backed his horse, was applauding him; and, while he waited for permission to dismount, he was smiling and laughing happily. Yesterday, when the plow horses pulled his express train off the rails, he descended and pushed it back, and, in consequence, was splashed, not by the mud of the race track but of the trenches. Nor in the misty, dripping, rainsoaked forest was there any one to applaud him. But he was still smiling and laughing, even more happily.

The trenches were dug around what had been a chalk mine, and it was difficult to tell where the mining for profit

had stopped and the excavations for defense began. When you can see only chalk at your feet and chalk on either hand, and overhead the empty sky, this ignorance may be excused. In the boyaux, which began where the railroad stopped, that was our position. We walked through an endless grave with walls of clay, on top of which was a scant foot of earth. It looked like a layer of chocolate on the top of a cake.

In some places, under foot was a corduroy path of sticks, like the false bottom of a rowboat, in others we splashed through open sluices of clay and rain water. You slid and skidded, and to hold yourself erect pressed with each hand against the wet walls of the endless grave.

We came out upon the "Hauts de Meuse." They are called also the "Shores of Lorraine," because to that province, as are the cliffs of Dover to the County of Kent, they are a natural barrier. We were in the quarry that had been cut into the top of the heights on the side that now faces other heights held by the enemy. Behind us rose a sheer wall of chalk as high as a five-story building. The face of it had been pounded by shells. It was as undismayed as the whitewashed wall of a schoolroom at which generations of small boys have flung impertinent spit balls. At the edge of the quarry the floor was dug deeper, leaving a wall between it and the enemy, and behind this wall were the posts of observation, the nests of the machine guns, the raised step to which the men spring when repulsing an attack. Below and back of them were the shelters into which, during a bombardment, they disappear. They were roofed with great beams, on top of which were bags of cement piled three and four yards high.

Not on account of the sleet and fog,

but in spite of them, the aspect of the place was grim and forbidding. You did not see, as at some of the other fronts, on the sign boards that guide the men through the maze jokes and nicknames. The mess huts and sleeping caves bore no such ironic titles as the *Petit Café*, the *Anti-Boche*, *Chez Maxim*. They were designated only by numerals, businesslike and brief. It was no place for humor. The monuments to the dead were too much in evidence. On every front the men rise and lie down with death, but on no other front had I found them living so close to the graves of their former comrades. Where a man had fallen, there had he been buried, and on every hand you saw between the chalk huts, at the mouths of the pits or raised high in a niche, a pile of stones, a cross, and a soldier's cap. Where one officer had fallen his men had built to his memory a mausoleum. It is also a shelter into which, when the shells come, they dive for safety. So that even in death he still protects them.

I was invited into a post of observation and told to make my entrance quickly. In order to exist, a post of observation must continue to look to the enemy only like part of the wall of earth that faces him. If through its apparently solid front there flashes, even for an instant, a ray of sunlight, he knows that the ray comes through a peephole, and that behind the peephole men with field glasses are watching him. And with his shells he hammers the post of observation into a shambles. Accordingly, when you enter one, it is etiquette not to keep the door open any longer than is necessary to squeeze past it. As a rule, the door is a curtain of sacking, but hands and bodies coated with clay, by brushing against it, have made it quite opaque.

The post was as small as a chart room, and the light came only through the peepholes. You got a glimpse of a rack of rifles, of shadowy figures that made way for you, and of your Captain speaking in a whisper. When you put your eyes to the peephole it was like looking at a photograph through a stereoscope. But, instead of seeing the lake of Geneva, the Houses of Parliament, or

Niagara Falls, you looked across a rain driven valley of mud, on the opposite side of which was a hill.

Here the reader kindly will imagine three stickfuls of printed matter devoted to that hill. It was an extremely interesting hill, but my Captain, who also is my censor, decides that what I wrote was entirely too interesting, especially to Germans. So the hill is "strafed." He says I can begin again vaguely with "Over there."

"Over there," said the voice in the darkness, "is St. Mihiel."

For more than a year you had read of St. Mihiel. Communiqués, maps, illustrations had made it famous and familiar. It was the town that gave a name to the German salient, to the point thrust in advance of what should be his front. You expected to see an isolated hill, a promontory, some position of such strategic value as would explain why for St. Mihiel the lives of thousands of Germans had been thrown like dice upon a board. But except for the obstinacy of the German mind, or, upon the part of the Crown Prince, the lack of it, I could find no explanation. Why the German wants to hold St. Mihiel, why he ever tried to hold it, why if it so pleases him he should not continue to hold it until his whole line is driven across the border, is difficult to understand. For him it is certainly an expensive position. It lengthens his lines of communication and increases his need of transport. It eats up men, eats up rations, eats up priceless ammunition, and it leads to nowhere, enfilades no position, threatens no one. It is like an ill-mannered boy sticking out his tongue. And as ineffective.

The physical aspect of St. Mihiel is a broad sweep of meadow land cut in half by the Meuse flooding her banks and the houses of the *Ferme Mont Meuse*. On each side of the salient are the French. Across the battleground of St. Mihiel I could see their trenches facing those in which we stood. For, at St. Mihiel, instead of having the line of the enemy only in front, the German has it facing him and on both flanks. Speaking not as a military strategist but

merely as a partisan, if any German commander wants that kind of a position I would certainly make him a present of it.

The Colonel who commanded the trenches possessed an enthusiasm that was beautiful to see. He was as proud of his chalk quarry as an Admiral of his first dreadnought. He was as isolated as though cast upon a rock in midocean. Behind him was the dripping forest, in front the mud valley filled with floating fogs. At his feet in the chalk floor the shells had gouged out holes as deep as rain barrels. Other shells were liable at any moment to gouge out more holes. Three days before, when Prince Arthur of Connaught had come to tea, a shell hit outside the Colonel's private cave and smashed all the tea cups. It is extremely annoying when English royalty drops in sociably to distribute medals and sip a cup of tea to have German shells invite themselves to the party. It is a way German shells have. They push in everywhere. One invited itself to my party and got within ten feet of it. When I complained, the Colonel suggested absently it probably was not a German shell but a French mine that had gone off prematurely. He seemed to think being hit by a French mine rather than by a German shell made all the difference in the world. It nearly did.

At the moment the Colonel was greatly interested in the fact that one of his men was not carrying a mask against gases. The Colonel argued that the life of the man belonged to France, and that through laziness or indifference he had no right to risk losing it. Until this war the Colonel had commanded in Africa the regiment into which criminals are drafted as a punishment. To keep them in hand requires both imagination and the direct methods of a bucko mate on a whaler. When the Colonel was promoted to his present command he found the men did not place much confidence in the gas masks, so he filled a shelter with poisoned air, equipped a squad with protectors and ordered them to enter. They went without enthusiasm, but when they found they could move about with impunity the confidence of the entire command was gained.

The Colonel was very vigilant against these gas attacks. He had equipped the only shelter I have seen devoted solely to the preparation of defenses against them.

We learned several new facts concerning this hideous form of warfare. One was that the Germans now launch the gas most frequently at night when the men cannot see it approach, and, in consequence, before they can snap the masks into place, they are suffocated and, in great agony, die. They have learned much about the gas, but chiefly by bitter experience. Two hours after one of the attacks an officer seeking his field glasses descended into his shelter. The gas that had flooded the trenches and then floated away still lurked below. And in a moment the officer was dead. The warning was instantly flashed along the trenches from the North Sea to Switzerland, and now after a gas raid the underground shelters are attacked by counterirritants and the poison driven from ambush.

I have never seen better discipline than obtained in that chalk quarry, or better spirit. There was not a single outside element to aid discipline or to inspire morale. It had all to come from within. It had all to spring from the men themselves and from the example set by their officers. The enemy fought against them, the elements fought against them, the place itself was as cheerful as a crutch. The clay climbed from their feet to their things, was ground into their uniforms, clung to their hands and hair. The rain chilled them, the wind, cold, damp, and harsh, stabbed through their great coats. Their outlook was upon graves, their resting places dark caverns, at which even a wolf would look with suspicion.

And yet they were all smiling, eager, alert. In the whole command we saw not one sullen or wistful face.

It is an old saying, "So the Colonel, so the regiment."

But the splendid spirit I saw on the heights of the Meuse is true not only of that Colonel and of that regiment, but of the whole 500 miles of trenches, and of all France.

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To the Soldiers of France

By Raymond Poincaré

President of the French Republic

President Poincaré issued the following New Year's address to the soldiers of France:

LIKE you, my noble friends, I have read with emotion the messages which the Mayors of the large cities addressed to you on New Year's Eve. The same language, with scarce a shade of difference in accent, has gone forth to you from all the French cities, and it is easy for me to-day to extract from these numerous witnesses the unanimous thought of the country.

Everywhere, as you have seen, there is maintained without effort that sacred solidarity which sprang to life spontaneously seventeen months ago under the threat of the enemy. How could the civil population do otherwise than follow the example of union and harmony which you are giving it? In the trenches and on the battlefield you give little thought, I believe, to the personal opinions of each other. The importunate memory of civil discords does not come to disturb the fraternity of arms which binds you one to another in the consciousness of a common danger and a common duty.

You have your eyes fixed on an ideal which constantly turns your attention away from secondary objects, and you know that your patriotic mission will permit no divided thought. While you are sacrificing yourselves thus wholly to the safety of the nation, is it not natural that those Frenchmen whose age, health, or function prevents their facing the perils and fatigues of war at your side should work, at least, to repel evil suggestions of hatred and to conserve jealously the public peace?

The Mayors of France have told you of some of the charitable enterprises born of this happy union of hearts. Most of these institutions are intended to succor you, your aged parents, your children, your wives, your wounded or im-

prisoned brothers. Even in the cities furthest from the front your image is thus continually present to all minds, centring upon the tragic realities the thoughts of those who might otherwise forget them. The mourning which has darkened so many firesides also imposes a pious obligation of reserve and gravity upon those families that are privileged to be less cruelly stricken. All French hearts are brought closer by the same trials, and there is not one of us who does not listen with respect to the manly lesson of the dead; a lesson of courage, of patience, and of good-will; a lesson of calm, of confidence, and of serenity.

You have seen passing before you the long procession of the cities and countries. You have heard their shouts. Not one discordant voice was raised. There is everywhere the same cool and thoughtful resolution to hold on, to endure, and to conquer. Everybody understands that the stake of war is formidable, and that it includes not only our dignity but our life.

Shall we be tomorrow the resigned vassals of a foreign empire? Will our industry, our commerce, our agriculture ever become tributary to a power which openly boasts of aspiring to universal domination? Or shall we safeguard our economic independence and our national autonomy? It is a terrible problem, and it admits of no half-way solution. Any peace that shall come to us in a suspicious form and with equivocal words, any peace that offers us squinting concessions and bastard combinations, will bring us, under its deceptive appearances, only dishonor, ruin, and slavery. The free and pure genius of our race, our most venerated traditions, our most cherished ideas, our most delicate tastes, the interests of our fellow-citizens, the fortune of our land, the soul of our country, all that our ancestors have bequeathed us, all that belongs to us, all that constitutes our very selves would be

the prey of German brutality. Who, then, would wish, by impatience or by weariness, to sell thus to Germany the past and future of France?

Yes, truly, the war is long, and harsh, and bloody. But think how much future suffering is avoided by our present sufferings. No Frenchman wished for this war, none would have committed the crime of wishing it. Every Government that has ruled in France since 1871 has tried to avoid it. Now that it has been declared in spite of us, we owe it to ourselves to carry it through, with our faithful allies, to victory, to the annihilation of German militarism and the total restoration of France. To let ourselves fall even into a momentary weakness would be to betray posterity and show ourselves ingrates toward our dead.

Is not obstinate perseverance in the will to conquer, then, the surest means of victory? In the war which you are waging so bravely in France, in Belgium, and in the Orient, the rôle of destructive en-

gines has taken on an essential importance, and the imperative duty of the public authorities is to furnish you daily with more powerful weapons and more abundant munitions. But moral force, too, is an element that is mistress of final success. The nation that is conquered will not necessarily be the one that shall have endured the greatest losses, or that shall have undergone the most miseries: it will be the one that grows weary first.

We are not going to grow weary. France has confidence because you are there. How often have I heard your officers say: "Never, in any age, have we had a finer army. Never have men been better trained, braver, more heroic than ours!" Everywhere that I have seen you I have felt myself tremble with admiration and hope. You will conquer. The year now opening will bring you, my friends, the pride of finishing the defeat of the enemy, the joy of returning to your homes, and the sweetness of celebrating the victory there amid those you love.

Proclamations of Two Emperors

THE CZAR

The Russian Emperor's New Year order to his armies, issued Jan. 14, (Jan. 1, old style,) was as follows:

THE year 1915 has passed full of acts of self-sacrifice by my glorious forces. In the hard struggle with an enemy, strong in numbers and rich in all resources, they have harassed him and have checked his invasion, their breasts forming an invincible protecting shield of the fatherland.

On the threshold of the new year, 1916, I send you my greetings, my brave warriors. In heart and thought I am with you fighting in the trenches, imploring the aid of the Most High upon your work, valor, and courage.

Bear in mind that without decisive victory over the foe our beloved Russia is not in a position to secure her independence and the right to profit by her toil or to develop her natural wealth. Therefore possess yourselves thoroughly of the conviction that without victory

there can not be and there will not be peace. Whatsoever toils and sacrifices it may cost us, we must give victory to our country.

I had occasion recently to greet certain regiments on the fields of Molodechno and Wileika, famous for the battles in September. I then felt the warm heart, the high spirit, the firm determination of all to do their sacred duty in defense of their country.

I enter on the new year believing strongly in the grace of God, in the moral power, unshakable resolution, and fidelity of the whole Russian Nation, and in the martial valor of my army and navy.

THE KAISER

Proclamation by the German Emperor, General Headquarters, Jan. 12, 1916:

For the second time I shall celebrate my birthday amid the clash of arms. In spite of the heroic deeds and glorious successes of the German and allied powers, the great struggle for existence imposed upon us by the envy and the hatred

of the great powers is not yet at an end. The heart, the mind, and the strength of the German people at the front and at home must be concentrated on the one great aim, namely, to secure final victory and a peace which will permanently safeguard the Fatherland as far as is humanly possible against a repetition of hostile attacks.

I therefore beg all this year, as last, on the occasion of my birthday, to abstain from the customary festivities and demonstrations, and to confine themselves to loyal prayers. Whoever on this day

feels himself compelled to give further special expression of friendly sentiments may do so by making charitable gifts to heal the scars of war. All may be sure of my warmest thanks.

May the Lord God be further with us and our arms. May He accept the heavy sacrifices which have been joyfully offered on the altar of the Fatherland in order to strengthen the firm structure of the empire and to secure a happy future for the German people.

I request you to bring this proclamation to the knowledge of the public.

The Sultan's Parliamentary Address

The Ottoman Parliament was called together in regular session Nov. 14, 1915. The Sultan delivered the manuscript of his speech to the Grand Vizier, who, after having kissed the document, passed it to the First Secretary of the Sultan, Ali Fuat Bey, who read as follows:

THE events which have happened since the 19th of December, 1914, glory be given to the Almighty, have realized the wishes expressed in my imperial address, read on that day, in the same way as they justified the hope which I expressed, namely, that these events would assure the salvation and the happiness of the Moslem world and of the Ottomans.

The tremendous onslaughts which have been directed by the land and sea forces of the British and French against the Dardanelles and the Gallipoli Peninsula, in order to make it easier for the Russians to invade Constantinople, for the possession of which they have been striving for the past two and a half centuries, have been repulsed by the resistance, the bravery, and the absolute self-denial of the Ottoman army and navy, whose courage has won the admiration of the whole world. Our foes suffered colossal and tremendous losses, and their defeat has given us the assurance that the road to Constantinople is unpassable, while it forced our proud enemies to seek the help of the Balkan States. This defeat has helped to disclose all the machinations of our enemies in the Balkans, and has been

instrumental in enabling our powerful allies to dislodge the Russian armies from the Carpathians, from Galicia, and from Poland; to destroy the strong fortresses of our secular enemy, and to nullify all the hopes which the Triple Entente had placed on the Russian troops.

In kneeling gratefully before the All-Powerful, Who gave the Ottoman people a chance to redeem its glory and honor, I pray Him to accept my thanks, and I pray Him also to grant victory to the other glorious soldiers of my empire, who are fighting on the frontiers of the fatherland and on the other fronts. When the glorious armies of our allies, which with indescribable bravery have taken all the fortresses of the enemy and broken the offensive power of the Russian troops, turned to the Balkans, the Bulgarian army joined them. This serious step, which transformed our triple alliance into a quadruple, will quicken the realization of the final victory, and it was to this end, namely, to facilitate and secure such a turn of the Balkan situation as would serve our interests, that we consented to rectify our frontier with our neighbors. The treaty covering this change will be submitted to your approval.

I pray the Almighty to grant success to the laudable effort displayed by you for the salvation of the country, and I declare this session of Parliament open.

America's Perils and Defenses

By Woodrow Wilson
President of the United States

At the end of January the President made a tour of the Middle West to present the urgent need of military preparedness to the people in a series of public addresses. Beginning in New York and ending at St. Louis, he addressed large and attentive audiences in a dozen cities, speaking always extemporaneously, yet with a facility and power that attracted world-wide attention. The substance of the whole series is typified in the portions herewith reproduced.

[From the Cleveland Speech.]

THE times are such, gentlemen, that it is necessary that we should take common counsel together regarding them. I suppose that this country has never found itself before in so singular a position. The present situation of the world would, only a twelve-month ago, even after the European war had started, have seemed incredible, and yet now the things that no man anticipated have happened. The titanic struggle continues. The difficulties of the world's affairs accumulate.

What are the elements of the case? In the first place, and most obviously, two-thirds of the world is at war. It is not merely a European struggle; nations in the Orient have become involved as well as nations in the West, and everywhere there seems to be creeping, even upon the nations disengaged, the spirit and the threat of war.

All the world outside of America is on fire. Do you wonder that men's imaginations take color from the situation? Do you wonder that there is a great reaction against war? Do you wonder that the passion for peace grows stronger as the spectacle grows more tremendous and more overwhelming?

And do you wonder, on the other hand, that men's sympathies become deeply engaged on the one side or the other? For no small things are happening. This is a struggle which will determine the history of the world, I dare say, for more than a century to come. The world will never be the same again after this war is over. The change may be for weal or it may be for woe, but it will be fundamental and tremendous.

And in the meantime, we, the people of the United States, are the one great disengaged power, the one neutral power, finding it a little difficult to be neutral, because, like men everywhere else, we are human; we have the deep passions of mankind in us; we have sympathies that are as easily stirred as the sympathies of any other people; we have interests which we see being drawn slowly into the maelstrom of this tremendous upheaval.

And all the while the nations themselves that were engaged seemed to be looking to us for some sort of action, not hostile, but sympathetic. Hardly a single thing has occurred in Europe which has in any degree shocked the sensibilities of mankind that the Government of the United States has not been called upon by the one side or the other to protest and intervene with its moral influence, if not with its physical force. So that it is as if we were the great audience before whom this stupendous drama is being played out, and we are asked to comment upon the turns and crises of the plot. And not only are we the audience and challenged to be the umpire, so far as the opinion of the world is concerned, but all the while our own life touches these matters at many points of vital contact. * * *

And America has done more than care for her own people and think of her own fortunes in these great matters. She has said ever since the time of President Monroe that she was the champion of freedom and the separate sovereignty of peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. She is trustee for those ideals, and she is pledged, deeply and permanent-

ly pledged, to keep those momentous promises.

She not only, therefore, must play her part in keeping this conflagration from spreading to the people of the United States, she must also keep this conflagration from spreading on this side of the sea. These are matters in which our very life and our whole pride are imbedded and rooted, and we can never draw back from them. * * *

The military authorities of this country have not been negligent; they have sought adequate appropriations from Congress and in most instances have obtained them, so far as we saw the work in hand that it was necessary to do. And the work that they have done in the use of these appropriations has been admirable and skillful work. Do not let anybody deceive you into supposing that the army of the United States, so far as it has had opportunity, is in any degree unworthy of your confidence.

And the navy of the United States. You have been told that it is the second in strength in the world. I am sorry to say that experts do not agree with those who tell you that. Reckoning by its actual strength, I believe it to be one of the most efficient navies in the world, but its strength ranks fourth, not second. And you must reckon with the fact that it is necessary that that should be our first arm of defense, and you ought to insist that everything should be done that it is possible for us to do to bring the navy up to an adequate standard of strength and efficiency.

Where we are lacking more, perhaps, is on land and in the number of men who are ready to fight—not the number of fighting men, but the number of men who are ready to fight. Some men are born troublesome, some men have trouble thrust upon them, and other men acquire trouble. I think I belong to the second class. But the characteristic desire of America is not that she should have a great body of men whose chief business is to fight, but a great body of men who know how to fight and are ready.

What we want is to associate in training with the army of the United States men who will volunteer for a sufficient

length of time every year to get the rudimentary acquaintance with arms, the rudimentary skill in handling them, rudimentary acquaintance with camp life, rudimentary acquaintance with military drill and discipline, and we ought to see to it that we have men of that sort in sufficient number to constitute an initial army when we need an army for the defense of the country.

We have no such body of men in the United States, except the National Guard. Now, I have a very great respect for the National Guard. I have been associated with one section of that guard in one of the great States of the Union, and I know the character of the officers and the quality of the men, and I would trust them both for skill and efficiency, but the whole National Guard of the United States falls short of 120,000 men.

I believe that the Congress of the United States ought to do, and that it will do, a great deal more for the National Guard than it ever has done, and everything ought to be done to make it a model military arm; but that is not the arm that we are immediately interested in. We are interested in knowing that there are men all over the United States prepared, equipped, and ready to go out at the call of the National Government upon the shortest possible notice.

I merely want to leave you with this solemn impression that I know that we are daily treading amid the most intricate dangers, and that the dangers we are treading among are not of our making and are not under our control, and that no man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth. These are solemn things to say to you, but I would be unworthy of my office if I did not come out and tell you with absolute frankness just exactly what I understand the situation to be.

You have laid upon me this double obligation: "We are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep us out of this war, but we are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep the honor of the nation unstained."

Do you not see that a time may come

when it is impossible to do both of these things? Do you not see that if I am to guard the honor of the nation I am not protecting it against itself, for we are not going to do anything to stain the honor of our own country; I am protecting it against things that I cannot control, the action of others. And where the action of others may bring us I cannot foretell. You may count upon my part and resolution to keep you out of the war, but you must be ready if it is necessary that I should maintain your honor. That is the only thing a real man loves about himself.

Some men who are not real men love other things about themselves, but the real man believes that his honor is dearer than his life; and a nation is merely all of us put together, and the nation's honor is dearer than the nation's comfort and the nation's peace and the nation's life itself. So that we must know what we have thrown into the balance; we must know the infinite issues which are impending every day of the year, and when we go to bed at night and when we rise in the morning, and at every interval of the rush of business, we must remind ourselves that we are part of a great body politic in which are vested some of the highest hopes of the human race.

[From the Chicago Speech.]

Somebody must keep the great stable foundations of the life of nations untouched and undisturbed; somebody must keep the great economic processes of the world of business alive; somebody must see to it that we stand ready to repair the enormous damage and the incalculable losses which will ensue from this war, and which it is hardly credible could be repaired if every great nation in the world were drawn into the contest.

And do you realize how nearly it has come about that nearly every great nation in the world has been drawn in? The flames have touched even our continent by drawing in our Canadian neighbors to the north of us, and, except for the South American continent, there is not one continent upon the whole surface of the world to which this flame has not spread.

When I see some of my fellow-citizens

spread tinder where the sparks are falling I wonder what their ideal of Americanism is, and, I dare say, you realize the solemnity of the feeling with which I come to address audiences of my fellow-citizens at this time. I cannot indulge in the reckless pleasure of expressing my own private opinions and prejudices; I speak as the trustee of the nation, called upon to speak its sober judgments and not its individual opinions, and therefore it is with the feeling of this responsibility upon me that I have come to you tonight or have approached the other audiences that I have had the privilege of addressing upon this journey.

It is a very terrible thing, ladies and gentlemen, to have the honor of the United States intrusted to your keeping. It is a great honor, that honor of the United States. In it runs the blood of generations of men who have built up ideals and institutions on this side of the water intended to regenerate mankind, and any man who does violence to right, any nation that does violence to the principles of just international understanding, is doing violence to the ideals of the United States.

Now, we may have to assert these principles of right and of humanity at any time. What means are available? What force is at the disposal of the United States to assert these things? The force of opinion? Opinion, I am sorry to say, did not bring this war on, and I am afraid that opinion cannot stay its progress.

This war was brought on by rulers, not by peoples, and I thank God that there is no man in America who has the authority to bring war on without the consent of the people.

No man for many a year yet can trace the real source of this war. But this thing we know: That opinion did not bring it on, and that the force of opinion, at any rate the force of American opinion, is not going to stop it.

I would be ashamed of my intelligence if I did not understand the significance of indubitable facts, and it may be that large bodies of our fellow-citizens were resting in a false security based on an imaginary correspondence of all the

world with the conceptions under which they were themselves conducting their own lives. It is probably a fortunate circumstance, therefore, that America has been cried awake by these voices of the disturbed and reddened night, when fire sweeps sullenly from continent to continent, and it may be that in this red flame of light there will rise again that ideal figure of America holding up her hand of hope and of guidance to the people of the world, saying:

"I stand ready to counsel and to help; I stand ready to assert, whenever the flame is quieted, those infinite principles of rectitude and peace which alone can bring happiness and liberty to mankind."

[From the St. Louis Speech.]

Some of these days we shall be able to call the statesmen of the older nations to witness that it was we who kept the quiet flame of international principle burning upon its altar while the winds of passion were sweeping away every altar in the world. Some of these days they will look back with gratification upon the steadfast allegiance of the United States to those principles of action which every man loves when his temper is not upset and his judgment not disturbed.

The peace of the world, including America, depends upon the aroused passion of other nations, and not upon the motives of the nation itself, and it is for that reason that I have come to call you to a consciousness of the necessity for preparing this country for anything that might happen.

Now, here is the choice, and I don't see how any prudent man could doubt which side of the alternative to take. This is the alternative: Either we shall sit still and wait for the necessity for immediate national defense to come, and then call for raw volunteers, who probably for the first few months would be impotent as against a trained and experienced enemy, or we shall adopt the ancient American principle that the men of the country shall be made ready to take care of their own Government. You have either got to make the men of this nation, in sufficient number, ready to defend the nation against initial disas-

ter, or you have to take the risk of initial disaster.

Think of the cruelty, think of the stupidity, of putting raw levies of inexperienced men into the modern field of battle. We are not asking for armies; we are asking for trained citizenship which will act in the spirit of citizenship, and not in the spirit of military establishment. If anybody is afraid of a trained citizenship in America, he is afraid of the spirit of America itself. I don't want to command a great army; I want to command the confidence and support of my fellow-citizens.

Of course you will back me up and come to my assistance, if I know you. But will you come knowing what you are about, or won't you? Will you come knowing the character of the arms that you carry in your hands, knowing something of the discipline of organization, knowing something of how to take care of yourself in camp, knowing something about all those things it is necessary to know, so as not to throw human life away? It is handsome, my fellow-citizens, to sacrifice human life intelligently for something greater than life itself, but it is not handsome, for any cause whatever, to throw human life away.

The plans now laid before the Congress of the United States are merely plans not to throw the life of American youth away. Those plans are going to be adopted. I am not jealous and you are not jealous of the details. No man ought to be confident that his judgment is correct about the details. No man ought to say to any legislative body: "You must take my plan or none at all." That is arrogance and stupidity; but we have the right to insist—and I don't think it will be necessary to insist—that we will get the essential thing.

That is the principle, the system by which we can get a trained citizenship, so that, if it becomes necessary to defend the nation, the first line of defense on land will be more adequate and an intelligent line of defense. I say on land, because America apparently has never been jealous of our men if they are only at sea. And America also knows that you can't send volunteers to

sea, unless you want to send them to the bottom, too. The modern fighting ships, the modern submarine, and other instruments of modern naval warfare must be handled by experts. America has never debated or disputed that proposition, and all we are asking for is a sufficient number of experts and a sufficient number of vessels at their disposal.

Do you realize the task of the navy? Have you ever let your imagination dwell upon the enormous stretch of coast from the Canal to Alaska, from the Canal to the northern coast of Maine? There is no other navy in the world that has to cover so great an area, an area of defense, as the American Navy.

And it ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the greatest navy in the world. But, as I say, you have never been jealous of armed forces at sea. You have been jealous of the armed force on land, and I must say that I share with you the jealousy of a great military establishment. But I have never shared any prejudice against putting arms in the hands of trained citizens,

whose interest is to defend their homes and their security and not to serve any political purpose whatever.

There is no politics in national defense, ladies and gentlemen. I should be sorry to see men of different parties differ about anything but the details of this great question, and I do not find any essential difference.

The judgment of America is not based upon sentiment, but upon fact, and I say to you that nothing has encouraged me more upon this trip than the consciousness that America is awake to the fact.

The strength of America is in that part of it which is not vocal. The voice of America is a very still, but a very powerful voice. My constant endeavor at Washington is to hear that voice, and I believe it has brought to me in unmistakable accents the resolution of this country to do whatever is necessary and essential to do in order that no man may question the honor and perfect integrity, or disregard the rights of the United States of America.

One of the Foreign Legion

By O. C. A. CHILD

So, from this cottage, when the dawn shall break,
I am to go, content, I trust, to make
My last adieu—to fall when rising sun
Flames o'er yon hill—content that I have won!

They call me spy! Well, let them have it so!
The papers that they prize—they little know
How I prepared them so they might be found,
And we might win, while I lie under ground!

And she, ah, she who rests in room above!
Fair land of France, in all your years of love,
You ne'er have made one fairer to the eye
Than my sweet bride who sleeps, unknowing, nigh.

Would it be wrong to wake her from her dreams,
For just a space, ere yet the crimson beams
Of sun shall flash their warning through the sky?
An hour's solace, ere I go to die!

Farewell, dear heart! Rare soul of living grace!
My arms shall clasp your land in last embrace—
My lips, still warm from yours, shall fondly press
The soil of France in their last long caress!

The Rights of Nations

Formal Declaration of the American Republics Regarding Violation of Neutral Territory

A new Declaration of Independence, applying the fundamental rights of man to the nations of the world, large and small, was prepared and unanimously adopted by the American Institute of International Law, assembled at Washington, D. C., Jan. 6, 1916, and was made public Jan. 23 by Dr. James Brown Scott, its President. The institute is composed of 105 members—five from each of the twenty-one American Republics—with Secretary of State Lansing and two ex-Secretaries of State on the delegation from the United States. Of late this body has taken on an almost official character, and its latest pronouncement, though it makes no direct mention of European powers, promises to have historic interest.

After a preamble, based on the Declaration of the Independence of the United States, the text proceeds:

THE American Institute of International Law unanimously adopts at its first session, held in the City of Washington, in the United States of America, on the 6th day of January, 1916, in connection with and under the auspices of the second Pan-American Scientific Congress, the following five articles, together with the commentary thereon, to be known as the Declaration of the Rights of Nations:

I. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

This right is and is to be understood in the sense in which the right to life is understood in national law, according to which it is unlawful for a human being to take human life unless it be necessary so to do in self-defense against an unlawful attack threatening the life of the party unlawfully attacked.

In the Chinese Exclusion Case (reported in 130 United States Reports, Pages 581, 606,) decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1888, it was said that:

To preserve its independence, and give security against foreign aggression and encroachment, is the highest duty of every nation, and to attain these ends nearly all other considerations are to be subordinated. It matters not in what form such aggression and encroachment come, whether from the foreign nation acting in its national character or from vast hordes

of its people crowding in upon us. The Government, possessing the powers which are to be exercised for protection and security, is clothed with authority to determine the occasion on which the powers shall be called forth; and its determinations, so far as the subjects affected are concerned, are necessarily conclusive upon all its departments and officers.

[An English case, *Regina vs. Dudley*, also is cited.]

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other State composing the society of nations, and all States have the right to claim, and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

The right to equality is to be understood in the sense in which it was defined in the following passage quoted from the decision of the great English Admiralty Judge, Sir William Scott, later Lord Stowell, in the case of *The Louis*, reported in 2 Dodson's Reports, Pages 210, 243, 244,) decided in 1817:

Two principles of public law are generally recognized as fundamental. One is the perfect equality and entire independence of all distinct States. Relative magnitude creates no distinction of right;

relative imbecility, whether permanent or casual, gives no additional right to the more powerful neighbor, and any advantage seized upon that ground is mere usurpation. This is the great foundation of public law, which it mainly concerns the peace of mankind, both in their political and private capacities, to preserve inviolate. The second is that, all nations being equal, all have an equal right to the uninterrupted use of the unappropriated parts of the ocean for their navigation. In places where no local authority exists, where the subjects of all States meet upon a footing of entire equality and independence, no one State, or any of its subjects, has a right to assume or exercise authority over the subjects of another.

[The text further cites Chief Justice Marshall's decision in the case of *The Antelope*, 1825, and the address delivered by Elihu Root, in his capacity as Secretary of State of the United States at the Pan-American conference in Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1906, as follows:]

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

This right is to be understood in the sense in which it was stated by Chief Justice Marshall in the following passage of his judgment in the case of the *Schooner Exchange*, (reported in 7 Cranch's Report, Pages 116, 136, 137,) decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the year 1812:

The jurisdiction of the nation, within its own territory, is necessarily exclusive and

absolute; it is susceptible of no limitation not imposed by itself. Any restriction upon it, deriving validity from an external source, would imply a diminution of its sovereignty, to the extent of the restriction, and an investment of that sovereignty, to the same extent, in that power which could impose such restriction. All exceptions, therefore, to the full and complete power of a nation, within its own territories, must be traced up to the consent of the nation itself. They can flow from no other legitimate source.

This consent may be either express or implied. In the latter case it is less determinate, exposed more to the uncertainties of construction; but, if understood, not less obligatory. The world being composed of distinct sovereignties, possessing equal rights and equal independence, whose mutual benefit is promoted by intercourse with each other, and by an interchange of those good offices which humanity dictates and its wants require, all sovereignties have consented to a relaxation, in practice, in cases under certain peculiar circumstances, of that absolute and complete jurisdiction within their respective territories which sovereignty confers. This consent may, in some instances, be tested by common usage, and by common opinion. * * *

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

This right is to be understood in the sense in which it was stated in the following passage from the judgment of *United States vs. Arjona*, (reported in 120 United States Reports, Pages 479, 487,) decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1886, holding that, as each nation had by international law the exclusive right to fix its standard of money, it was the duty of the United States as a member of the society of nations to protect the money of a foreign country, in this case, Colombia, from forgery:

But if the United States can require this of another, that other may require it of them, because international obligations are of necessity reciprocal in their nature. The right, if it exists at all, is given by the law of nations, and what is law for one is, under the same circumstances, law for the other. A right secured by the law of nations to a nation or its people is one the United States as the representatives of this nation are bound to protect.

Britain's Compulsory Service Law

Below is the full text of the first and only British law for compulsory military service that has been enacted since the Magna Charta insured the personal liberty of Englishmen. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons on Jan. 6, 1916. The vote on the first reading was 403 to 105; on second reading, 431 to 39, and on third reading, 483 to 36. It became a law on Jan. 27, and was put into force on Feb. 10 by proclamation of King George.

UNMARRIED MEN'S OBLIGATION

I.

1. Every male British subject, who, on the 15th day of August, 1915,

(a) Was ordinarily resident in Great Britain; and

(b) Had attained the age of 18 years and had not attained the age of 41 years; and

(c) Was unmarried or was a widower without children dependent on him;

shall, unless within the exceptions set out in the First Schedule to this act, be deemed as from the appointed date to have been duly enlisted in his Majesty's regular forces for general service with the colors or in the reserve for the period of the war, and to have been forthwith transferred to the reserve.

2. The Army act (with the exception of Section 96 thereof, which relates to the claim of masters to apprentices) and the Reserve Forces acts, 1882 to 1907, and any orders and regulations made thereunder, shall apply accordingly to any man who is so deemed to have been enlisted and transferred to the reserve; and if any question arises in any legal proceeding under any of those acts, orders, or regulations whether any man is a man who is under this section deemed to have been enlisted and transferred to the reserve or not, the court may require the man to give evidence on the question, and if satisfactory evidence is not given to the contrary the man shall be deemed to have been so enlisted and transferred.

3. Provision shall be made under Section 20 of the Reserve Forces act, 1882, for information being obtained from men who are transferred to the reserve under this section as to preference for naval service in case their services are needed for that purpose.

EXEMPTED CASES

II.

1. An application may be made at any time before the appointed date to the Military Service Tribunal established under this act by or in respect of any man or class or body of men for a certificate of exemption from the provisions of this act:

(a) On the ground that it is expedient in the national interests that he or they should, instead of being employed in military service, be engaged in other work; or

(b) On the ground that the man by or in respect of whom the application is made has any person dependent on him who, if the man was called up for army service, would be without suitable means of subsistence; or

(c) On grounds of ill-health or infirmity; or

(d) On the ground of a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service; and the Military Service Tribunal, if they think it just in the circumstances, may grant such a certificate.

2. Certificates of exemption from the provisions of this act may also be granted by any Government department, after consultation with the Army Council, to men, or classes or bodies of men, in the service or employment of that department, or to men or classes or bodies of men employed in any work which is certified by the department to be work of national importance, and which comes within the sphere of the department.

If any question arises whether any person or body of persons is to be treated as a Government department, or as a separate Government department, for the purpose of this provision, or whether any work comes within the sphere of one department or another, the question shall

be referred to the Treasury, and the decision of the Treasury thereon shall be final for the purpose of this section.

3. Any certificate of exemption may be absolute, conditional, or temporary, as the authority by whom it was granted think best suited to the case, and in the case of an application on conscientious grounds, may take the form of an exemption from combatant duties only.

4. The Military Service Tribunal shall be constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Second Schedule to this act, and any decision of the Military Service Tribunal shall be subject to appeal as provided in that schedule.

III.

1. A certificate of exemption may be reviewed by the authority by whom it was granted at any time on the application either of the holder of the certificate or of any person generally or specially authorized for the purpose by the Army Council, and may be withdrawn or varied if the authority are of opinion that, in the circumstances of the case, the certificate should be withdrawn or varied.

2. It shall be the duty of any man holding such a certificate, if the circumstances which led to the granting of the certificate are changed, to give notice to the authority mentioned in the certificate that the circumstances are so changed; and if he fails to do so, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding £50.

3. Where a certificate of exemption ceases to be in force owing to the withdrawal of the certificate or the failure to comply with the conditions on which the certificate was granted or the expiration of the time for which the certificate was granted, the man to whom the certificate was granted shall, as from the date on which the certificate so ceases to be in force, be deemed to have been enlisted and transferred to the reserve in the same manner as if no such certificate had been granted.

4. If for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of exemption any person makes any false statement or false representation, he shall be liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a

term not exceeding six months with or without hard labor.

5. Where an application has been made by or in respect of any man for a certificate of exemption, he shall not be called up for service with the colors until the application has been finally disposed of.

IV.

This act may be cited as the Military Service act, 1916, and shall come into operation on such day as his Majesty may fix by proclamation, not being more than fourteen days after the passing thereof.

The appointed date for the purposes of this act shall be the twenty-first day after the day on which this act comes into operation.

FIRST SCHEDULE—EXCEPTIONS

1. Men who are resident in Great Britain for the purpose only of their education or for some other special purpose.

2. Men who are members of his Majesty's regular or reserve forces or who are members of the territorial force and liable for foreign service.

3. Men who are serving in the navy or the royal marines, or who, though not serving in the navy or royal marines, are recommended for exception by the Admiralty.

4. Men who at the date of the passing of this act were in holy orders or regular ministers of any religious denomination.

5. Men who hold a certificate of exemption under this act for the time being in force, or who have offered themselves for enlistment and been rejected since Aug. 14, 1915.

SECOND SCHEDULE—TRIBUNALS

1. There shall be a Military Service Tribunal for each local registration district under the National Registration act, 1915, in Great Britain, or for any division of any such district which may be adopted for the purpose by the registration authority of the district, consisting of such persons, not less than five and not exceeding twenty-five in number, as may be appointed for the purpose by that authority.

2. There shall be appeal tribunals, acting within such areas as his Majesty may appoint, consisting of such persons

as may be appointed for the purpose by his Majesty.

3. Tribunals may act through committees appointed by them, consisting wholly or partly of members of the tribunal.

4. There shall be a central tribunal for Great Britain, consisting of such persons as may be appointed for the purpose by his Majesty.

5. His Majesty may by Order in Council make regulations with respect to the procedure of the Military Service Tribunals, the Appeal Tribunal, and the Central Tribunal; and so far as provision is not made for procedure by those regulations, the procedure of the tribunal shall be such as may be determined by the tribunal.

APPEALS

1. Any person aggrieved by the decision of a Military Service Tribunal, and any person generally or specially authorized to appeal from the decision of that tribunal by the Army Council, may appeal against the decision of a Military Service Tribunal to the Appeal Tribunal of the area.

2. Any person aggrieved by the decision of an Appeal Tribunal, and any person generally or specially authorized to appeal from the decision of that tribunal by the Army Council, may, by leave of the Appeal Tribunal, appeal to the Central Tribunal.

The Real Danger of Conscription

By Arthur J. Balfour

In the course of a long speech for the Compulsory Service bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour said:

THERE are those who say that this is the thin edge of the wedge of a system of permanent conscription. I believe that the danger is all the other way. If anybody asked me what I think the danger of the future military organization of this country is I should say that we should rely after this war too much upon the notion that we can call armies out of the ground by a wave of the wand. I am afraid that the fact that we have under the stress of these abnormal times done what no nation has ever done yet will delude us into a false security and we shall be apt to believe that when the moment of danger came a similar miracle can always be performed.

There is one other argument which I must notice which is not quite so definite, though it rather resembles the one with which I have attempted to deal. There are those who say, "If this House once indulges in the luxury of compulsion the whole spirit of militarism will grow up among our people; we shall become a nation with the same ideals as Prussia or as Prussianized Germany; we shall become a militarist nation." I think that is a wrong belief. The spirit of this peo-

ple has produced its institutions; it is not its institutions that have produced the spirit. Prussia was a militarist nation in the bad sense of the word long before universal service was introduced. Prussian historians refer with pride to Frederick the Great, and Frederick the Great's predecessors—but particularly Frederick the Great—as their very ideal of what a sovereign should be, and to Prussia under Frederick the Great as their very ideal of what the German Nation should be.

Militarism is an affair of the heart; it is an affair of the disposition of the nation. And nothing will make me believe that anything will change this country, whose traditions have been unchanged. We exaggerate the changes which have occurred; we talk of the glorious Revolution and of the great Reform bill, and all the rest of it; but we have never changed. And don't tell me that a national disposition which has lasted in this way through continuous centuries is going to be modified root and branch because a bill is brought in for England and Scotland, excluding Ireland, to deal with a promise made by the Prime Minister that married men are not to be asked to serve at the front until unmarried men, who have no reason for not serving, are compelled to do so.

Ireland's Part in the War

By John E. Redmond, M. P.

This recent utterance of the noted Irish leader goes frankly to the heart of the subject and will be read with interest by Irishmen the world over.

I HAVE long felt that if conscription in any form were passed for Great Britain, and if Ireland were excluded, Ireland's whole attitude toward this war was likely to suffer cruel and unjust misrepresentation. But the situation has arisen and we must face the facts. As I understand the situation, conscription in Ireland would be impracticable, unworkable, and impossible. Conscription, if enforced in Ireland to-day, or sought to be enforced, instead of leading to an increase of the number of Irishmen in the army, would in my opinion have the opposite effect. It would undoubtedly paralyze the efforts of myself and others who have worked unsparingly and not unsuccessfully since the commencement of this war, and it would play right into the hands of those—a contemptible minority among the Nationalists of Ireland—who are unsuccessfully trying to prevent recruiting and to undermine the position and power of the Irish Party because of the attitude we have taken up.

On this question of military service, Ireland has always stood in a separate and distinct position from England. I will not go back into the far past, but allow me to point out that, when the territorial system was established in this country, you refused to extend it to Ireland. The old Irish militia was practically abolished, and nothing was put in its place. In my opinion that was a grave blunder.

When Lord Derby's scheme was established in Great Britain another separate and distinct scheme was established in Ireland. It was established as the result of a conference held in the Viceregal Lodge, presided over by the Lord Lieutenant, where I had the honor of sitting in council with many of the leaders of the Unionist Party from the North of Ireland, and where we unanimously founded a scheme we all had.

At that conference the War Office took us into their confidence, and the General commanding the troops in Ireland, General Friend, told us what it was that the War Office asked Ireland to do. He said we were not asked to create any new units. He pointed out that we had from Ireland already fifty-three battalions—sixteen of the old regiments and thirty-seven of the three divisions of the new army—and he told us that all we were asked to do was to maintain those regiments at their proper strength, and that to do so from 1,000 to 1,100 men a week would have to be recruited; and he said that if that number were obtained "we shall then have a satisfactory inflow of recruits." That was the demand put before us by the War Office. So far as that is concerned, over 10,000 have been recruited. Now we have at the present moment twenty-six reserve battalions, and when we are asked for 1,100 men a week, I say that the scheme which was put on foot has been and is being successfully worked.

The Lord Lieutenant, who is the Director General of Recruiting in Ireland, said in the House of Lords about three or four days ago that it was not true to assert that the movement was a failure. The fact that recruiting is going on in a fairly satisfactory way in Ireland is proved, I think, by the letter which Sir E. Carson wrote in refusing to come with me to a recruiting meeting in Newry. He gave as his reason the following: "I have already from time to time made known in Ulster my views as to supporting our comrades at the front by keeping up the necessary reserves, and I am glad to know from the most recent reports [the letter was dated Dec. 6] that such opinions are being very patriotically replied to."

I am sure he does not want to do now what he did not want to do in his speech, and that is to draw distinctions

between one part of the country and the other.

I have endeavored to get the figures with reference to these reserve battalions, and it is a strange thing in all these matters how difficult it is for us to get from the War Office the correct figures. Although I have a list it is not a complete list, and I cannot quote it as an authoritative list, although it comes from a gentleman in high command in Ireland. I find that the Third Royal Irish Regiment in Dublin has 2,000 men; the Third Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in Derry has 2,000 men; the Third Royal Irish Rifles in Dublin, 2,000 men; the Third Royal Irish Fusiliers at Lough Swilly, 1,600; the Third Connaught Rangers at Kinsale, about 1,600; the Third Royal Dublin Fusiliers in Cork, over 2,000; the Royal Irish Fusiliers in Belfast, 900; the Fifth Royal Irish Rifles in Belfast, 870, and the Fifth Royal Dublin Fusiliers, 1,150. The gentleman who sent me these figures sent them at the commencement of December. Recruiting has gone on ever since, and I take it for granted those numbers have been increased.

Recruiting in Ireland has really, on the whole, been very satisfactory. In the towns, in my opinion, it has been amazing. Towns, large and small, all through the country have recruited in a most satisfactory way. It is true that the agricultural parts of Ireland have not provided as many men as some people, perhaps, expected, and that remark is true of the agricultural parts in the north just as it is true of the agricultural parts in the south, and it is true of the agricultural parts in England. The truth is you can never get as large a proportion of men from the agricultural parts as you can from the towns.

I will endeavor to put this matter on what I think is a wider plane of statesmanship and common sense. The view expressed by the Chief Secretary (Mr. Birrell) the other night, in a speech full of inspiration and sound statesmanship, is the view which I think men of all parties ought to take. Remembering the very recent past, I ask any fair man if Ireland's attitude as a whole has not been something almost miraculous? I speak

not now of the valor of Irish troops in the field; I speak not now of the Irish Guards at Mons, or the Royal Irish Regiment at Ypres, or the Dublins and Munsters at "V" Beach, who, although their names were never mentioned in the official dispatch, performed an achievement which General Sir Hunter Weston, in a speech made to them the next day, told them was without parallel in the history of feats of arms. I speak not of the Munsters and Dublins at Suvla. I will not allude any further to the experiences at Suvla or to the Dublins and Inniskillings at Saloniki, where, we are told, they saved the British and French armies. I will not allude to what was done by the Leinsters, the Connaughts, the Royal Irish Fusiliers, or the Royal Irish Rifles—regiments from all parts of Ireland, and I am as proud of the Ulster regiments as I am of the Nationalist regiments.

I do not want to boast of these things. We Irishmen are inclined to take them as a matter of course. They merely keep up the tradition of the race. But I say, apart altogether from the performances of the Irish troops in the field, that Lord Kitchener's words are true—the words that he wrote to the Viceregal Conference in Dublin a couple of months ago, when he said that in the matter of recruiting, "Ireland's performance had been magnificent." Let me ask any fair-minded man this question: If five years ago any one had predicted that in a great war in which the empire was engaged that 95,000 recruits would have been raised from Ireland and that there would be 151,143 Irishmen with the colors, would he not have been looked upon as a lunatic?

Last August General Botha sent me this cablegram: "I entirely indorse your view that this victory"—he was speaking of his great victory—"is the fruit of the policy of liberty and the recognition of national rights in this part of the empire." General Botha had enormous difficulties to face, serious racial animosity and bitter national memories. Does any fair-minded man think that General Botha could have overcome those difficulties as he did if the war had

broken out just after the recognition of those national rights to which he referred and before they had come into operation? And yet I honestly believe that General Botha's difficulties were in reality rather small compared with the difficulties which my colleagues and myself had to face in Ireland.

It is true that the overwhelming sentiment of the Irish people is with the empire for the first time. That fact is of incalculable value, and its value has been felt in every corner of the empire. If the sentiment of the Irish people at home had not been with you in this war, the effect would have been felt everywhere in the self-governing dominions. The result of what has happened has been that a wave of enthusiasm has stirred the heart of every man of Irish blood in every one of your dominions. I was told the other day by a gallant wounded Australian from Anzac that a large proportion—he said 20 per cent.—of the Australians and also a large proportion of the Canadians are men of Irish blood. Only a couple of days ago I received a New Year's card from the commanding officer and the other officers of a regiment just raised in Vancouver, commanded by Irishmen and composed of Irishmen. They call themselves "The Vancouver Irish Fusiliers." Then not long since in Cape Town green flags were presented by General Botha's wife—I might remind the committee that she is a member of the historic Emmet family

—to an Irish regiment raised in the Dominion where a wave of enthusiasm has filled the hearts of the men of Irish blood. That was a striking result of the action we were able to take to bring the sentiment of Ireland into line with that of the rest of the empire. This state of things is of incalculable value also in America. If any one is inclined to doubt, let him refer to the Foreign Office for information.

The other day the sovereign in a letter of good-bye and congratulation to the third and last of the Irish new divisions for the front said he was confident that they would not only maintain but add to the glorious traditions of the Irish regiments. His confidence was well founded. I say to you, "Let Ireland go her own gait in this matter." Believe, when we make professions such as we have made, that we are honest men who mean what we say. Trust to us to know the best methods of getting recruits for your army. Do not attempt to drive a people who have already gone further than yesterday you could have hoped or believed. Do not weaken the hands of men who are straining every nerve to allay suspicion and to arouse enthusiasm in this cause among their fellow-countrymen. Do not carp at or belittle Irish efforts. I believe this country may rely with confidence, until victory in this war has vindicated liberty and justice, upon the loyal support and the gallantry of the Irish race.

Kipling's Tribute to the British Navy

Rudyard Kipling closes his eloquent little book, "The Fringes of the Fleet," (Doubleday,) with this tribute to the navy of Great Britain:

The civilian only sees that the sea is a vast place, divided between wisdom and chance. He only knows that the uttermost oceans have been swept clear, and the trade routes purged, one by one, even as our armies were being convoyed along them; that there was no island nor key left unsearched on any waters that might hide an enemy's craft between the arctic circle and the Horn. He only knows that less than a day's run to the eastward of where he stands the enemy's fleets have been held for a year and three months, in order that civilization may go about its business on all our waters.



CARDINAL MERCIER

Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium
(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)



GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO

Italian Poet and Dramatist, Now a Lieutenant in His Country's Navy

British Blockade Methods

Official Statement of How England's Sea Power Is Used in the Present War

A BRITISH White Paper issued Jan. 4, 1916, gives a full "account of the manner in which the sea power of the British Empire has been used during the present war for the purpose of intercepting Germany's imports and exports." A summary of the more important sections of it may well begin with the "Conclusions," which are as follows:

(I.) German exports to oversea countries have been almost entirely stopped. Such exceptions as have been made are in cases where a refusal to allow the export of goods would hurt the neutral concerned without inflicting any injury upon Germany.

(II.) All shipments to neutral countries adjacent to Germany are carefully scrutinized with a view to the detection of a concealed enemy destination. Wherever there is reasonable ground for suspecting such destination, the goods are placed in the prize court. Doubtful consignments are detained until satisfactory guarantees are produced.

(III.) Under agreements in force with bodies of representative merchants in several neutral countries adjacent to Germany, stringent guarantees are exacted from importers, and so far as possible all trade between the neutral country and Germany, whether arising overseas or in the neutral country itself, is restricted.

(IV.) By agreements with shipping lines and by a vigorous use of the power to refuse bunker coal, a large proportion of the neutral mercantile marine which carries on trade with Scandinavia and Holland has been induced to agree to conditions designed to prevent goods carried in these ships from reaching the enemy.

(V.) Every effort is being made to introduce a system of rationing which will insure that the neutral countries concerned only import such quantities of the articles specified as are normally imported for their own consumption.

As no blockade was declared against Germany until March, 1915, the White Paper explains, the Government had to rely exclusively on the right to capture contraband. The discussion of this subject continues:

"Under the rules of prize law, as laid down and administered by Lord Stowell, goods were not regarded as destined for an enemy country unless they were to be discharged in a port in that country; but the American prize courts in the civil war found themselves compelled by the then existing conditions of commerce to apply and develop the doctrine of continuous voyage, under which goods which could be proved to be ultimately intended for an enemy country were not exempted from seizure on the ground that they were first to be discharged in an intervening neutral port. This doctrine, although hotly contested by many publicists, had never been challenged by the British Government, and was more or less recognized as having become part of international law.

"When the present war broke out it was thought convenient, in order, among other things, to secure uniformity of procedure among all the allied forces, to declare the principles of international law which the allied Governments regarded as applicable to contraband and other matters. Accordingly, by the Orders in Council of Aug. 20 and Oct. 22, 1914, and the corresponding French decrees, the rules set forth in the Declaration of London were adopted by the French and British Governments with certain modifications. As to contraband, the lists of contraband and free goods in the Declaration were rejected, and the doctrine of continuous voyage was applied not only to absolute contraband, as the Declaration already provided, but also to conditional contraband, if such goods were consigned to order, or if the papers did not show the consignee of the goods,

or if they showed a consignee in enemy territory.

"The situation as regards German trade was as follows: Direct trade to German ports (save across the Baltic) had almost entirely ceased, and practically no ships were met with bound to German ports. The supplies that Germany desired to import from overseas were directed to neutral ports in Scandinavia, Holland, or (at first) Italy, and every effort was made to disguise their real destination. The power which we had to deal with this situation in the circumstances then existing was: (1) We had the right to seize articles of absolute contraband if it could be proved that they were destined for the enemy country, although they were to be discharged in a neutral port; (2) we had the right to seize articles of conditional contraband if it could be proved that they were destined for the enemy Government or its armed forces, in the cases specified above, although they were to be discharged in a neutral port. On the other hand, there was no power to seize articles of conditional contraband if they could not be shown to be destined for the enemy Government or its armed forces, or noncontraband articles, even if they were on their way to a port in Germany, and there was no power to stop German exports.

"That was the situation until the actions of the German Government led to the adoption of more extended powers of intercepting German commerce in March, 1915. The allied Governments then decided to stop all goods which could be proved to be going to, or coming from, Germany. The state of things produced is in effect a blockade, adapted to the condition of modern war and commerce, the only difference in operation being that the goods seized are not necessarily confiscated. In these circumstances it will be convenient, in considering the treatment of German imports and exports, to omit any further reference to the nature of the commodities in question, as, once their destination or origin is established, the power to stop them is complete. Our contraband rights, however, remain unaffected, though they, too,

depend on the ability to prove enemy destination."

Giving figures to show that over 92 per cent. of the German exports to the United States have been stopped under this policy, the memorandum takes up the more complicated problem of German imports:

"The goods which Germany attempts to import are consigned to neutral ports, and it need hardly be said that the papers on board convey no suggestion as to their ultimate destination. The conditions of modern commerce offer almost infinite opportunities of concealing the real nature of a transaction, and every device which the ingenuity of the persons concerned, or their lawyers, could suggest has been employed to give to shipments intended for Germany the appearance of genuine transactions with a neutral country. The ports to which the goods are consigned, such as Rotterdam and Copenhagen, have in peace time an important trade, which increases the difficulty of distinguishing the articles ultimately intended to reach the enemy country from those which represent importations into the neutral country concerned for its own requirements. If action had to be taken solely on such information as might be gathered by the boarding officer on his visit to the ship, it would have been quite impossible to interfere to an appreciable extent with German imports, and the allied Governments would therefore have been deprived of a recognized belligerent right.

"In these circumstances, unless the allied Governments were prepared to seize and place in the prize court the whole of the cargo of every ship which was on her way to a neutral country adjacent to Germany, and to face the consequences of such action, the only course open to them was to discover some test by which goods destined for the enemy could be distinguished from those which were intended for neutral consumption.

"The first plan adopted for this purpose is to make use of every source of information available in order to discover the real destination of sea-borne goods, and to exercise to the full the right of stopping such goods as the information ob-

tained showed to be suspect, while making a genuine and honest attempt to distinguish between bona fide neutral trade and trade which, although in appearance equally innocent, was in fact carried on with the enemy country.

"For this purpose a considerable organization has been established in the Contraband Committee, which sits at the Foreign Office and works in close touch with the Admiralty, Board of Trade, and War Trade Department. Nearly every ship on her way to Scandinavian or Dutch ports comes or is sent into a British port for examination, and every item of her cargo is immediately considered in the light of all the information which has been collected from the various sources open to the Government, and which, after nearly a year and a half of war, is very considerable. Any items of cargo as to which it appears that there is a reasonable ground for suspecting an enemy destination are placed in the prize court, while articles as to the destination of which there appears to be doubt are detained pending further investigation.

"Delays caused by the elaborate exercise of the belligerent right of visit and search are very irksome to shipping; and many shipping lines who carry on regular services with Scandinavia and Holland have found it well worth their while to make agreements with his Majesty's Government under which they engage to meet our requirements with regard to goods carried by them, in return for an undertaking that their ships will be delayed for as short a time as possible for examination in British ports. Several agreements of this kind have been made; the general principle of them is that his Majesty's Government obtain the right to require any goods carried by the line, if not discharged in the British port of examination, to be either returned to this country for prize court proceedings or stored in the country of destination until the end of the war, or only handed to the consignees under

stringent guarantees that they or their products will not reach the enemy. The companies obtain the necessary power to comply with these conditions by means of a special clause inserted in all their bills of lading, and the course selected by the British authorities is determined by the nature of the goods and the circumstances of the case.

"In addition to this, some of these companies make a practice, before accepting consignments of certain goods, of inquiring whether their carriage is likely to lead to difficulties, and of refusing to carry them in cases where it is intimated that such would be the case. The control which his Majesty's Government are in a position to exercise under these agreements over goods carried on the lines in question is of very great value. * * *

"As to the results of the policy described in this memorandum, the full facts are not available. But some things are clear. It has already been shown that the export trade of Germany has been substantially destroyed. With regard to imports, it is believed that some of the most important, such as cotton, wool, and rubber, have for many months been excluded from Germany. Others, like fats and oils and dairy produce, can only be obtained there, if at all, at famine prices. All accounts, public and private, which reach his Majesty's Government agree in stating that there is considerable discontent among sections of the German population, and there appear to have been food riots in some of the larger towns. That our blockade prevents any commodities from reaching Germany is not, and, under the geographical circumstances, cannot be true. But it is already successful to a degree which good judges both here and in Germany thought absolutely impossible, and its efficiency is growing day by day. It is right to add that these results have been obtained without any serious friction with any neutral Government."



Changes in British Trade Policy

By Walter Runciman

Cabinet Minister and President of the London Board of Trade

(Portion of a speech delivered in the House of Commons Jan. 10, 1916.)

LET the House be assured we are looking ahead. We are anxious to prosecute the war with all our strength, but peace may come before some of us expect, and we must not be taken unawares.

There are some of these great questions which strike at the root of national prosperity, and in these we must ask for the co-operation of the dominions. Reference was made to the production of raw materials in this country and in the dominions. The control of metals passed years ago to Frankfort. It was Frankfort that dictated the production of metals even in our own dominions. The influence of Frankfort in Australia was so great that the Australian Government went to the extreme length on the outbreak of war of canceling by legislation every contract in which the great metal organization of Frankfort was concerned.

We have control within the British Empire of some of the most valuable metals upon which our prosperity depends. So far as these metals were concerned nothing could have been more whole-hearted than the support given to us by the dominions. At the beginning of the war we pointed out how largely we were dependent upon them. The dominions at once took the most drastic action, so that we have an abundance of manganese. Tungsten and wolfram we can get in sufficient quantities; spelter and zinc are being produced in increasing quantities every month.

We must carry further our investigations into the control of oil. We never seem to get to the bottom of that. We must see to it that the control of oil within this country or the dominions does not pass out of British hands.

In regard to shipping it is necessary that we should overhaul our position. The important thing in this: that so far

as our empire is concerned no privileges should be given to any foreign shipping which are not enjoyed by our own.

Heavily subsidized foreign lines ought not to have the same run of our ports as those which receive no artificial assistance.

I do not wish to see an increase of subsidies so far as we are concerned. But there are other ways of dealing with a very complex and difficult question. Why, for instance, should the great North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American liners—the Kaiser a shareholder in one and Prince Henry in the other—be allowed to originate their voyages at Hamburg or Bremen, come to the Isle of Wight and take large bodies of passengers on board, and escape all harbor dues, while, for all practical purposes, getting full advantage of Southampton Harbor, and our own liners sailing out of that port having heavy dues to pay? The mind of the Board of Trade is proceeding along the lines of remedying this state of affairs.

The Colonial Secretary was Chairman of the Cabinet Committee which recently made arrangements whereby the trading of British vessels between foreign countries was put under strict control, in order that the empire might receive the full advantage of our own merchant shipping. We may have to go further. As events change, as markets fluctuate, as the difficulty of carriage by sea becomes greater, causing a heavy rise in freights, it may be necessary to make changes, and no one would ask that, having taken a step, we should regard it as final.

We are mobilizing for imperial purposes and for the purposes of the Allies the whole economic strength of the British Empire.

While the war is on I believe we ought to do everything in our power to injure and ruin German finance.

To that end we should do everything

in our power to cripple, cramp, squeeze, and destroy her trade. We must at the same time lay the foundation for future action. A demand has been made that we should increase the number of articles on our contraband list. It is the longest contraband list the world has ever seen. The House knows that in some directions Germany has had an outlet which it was not in our power to prevent. She had for some time a certain amount of traffic in the Baltic. We have since singularly interfered with that.

Our submarines have almost stopped the supplies of ore from Scandinavia. At all events they have so diminished those supplies that the German iron works have been short of the greatest necessities of their manufacture for some months past.

There is no doubt that there is not a single neutral which does not consider itself unfairly treated. Not that that ought altogether to decide our action. Many neutrals have done fairly well out of the war. I do not believe that neutrals were ever better treated than they have been by us in this war. The leakage through Italy ceased when Italy declared war. There was a leakage through Switzerland before we came to an arrangement which has impeded the traffic, and through Holland before we came to an arrangement with the Netherland Overseas Trust. Through Scandinavia material may still be passing, but in much smaller quantities. I should be prepared without too fully outraging neutral rights to go even further in the injury of German trade.

Fortunately there are some things we can do in which neutrals can have no concern. We can prevent Germany getting a supply of wool without neutrals being aggrieved. Australia prohibited the export of wool outside the British Empire, and when, in course of time,

it was found that we could not consume all the merino she produced we made an arrangement whereby the surplus merino went to the United States, to a concern which did not export. Australia has throughout acted in striking harmony and enthusiasm with us. That has been extended to the wheat market as well. She took possession of her entire wheat crop, and Australian wheat is coming home in increasing quantities for ourselves and our allies. We provided her with more tonnage, and we regret that the shortage of tonnage has prevented our bringing over the whole wheat crop. Regarding frozen meat, Australia and New Zealand have said they will place every animal passing through the abattoirs at our disposal.

An economic war should be well within the range of our powers, and when ending this war we ought not to give Germany a chance of reconstructing her economic machinery. The longer she holds out the worse it will be for her.

When I said the other day that Germany was commercially a beaten nation I was described on the strength of that statement as the blindest of Englishmen. He would be blind who would say that Germany is not a commercially beaten nation. Her ships are swept off the seas, her commercial travelers in South America or in China or Ceylon are idle. The amount of goods she gets out as the war goes on will be smaller and smaller.

If Germany is not a commercially beaten nation there was never a beaten nation in this world.

And when the war comes to an end and when, beaten at sea and, I hope, beaten ashore, she may wish to embark on that new economic campaign, it is for us to see to it when making peace that she does not raise her head.



India Loyal to Britain

By Sydney Brooks

IF I were asked, as an Englishman, what incident in the war has given me the greatest and least checkered satisfaction I should answer unhesitatingly, "India, and the part she has played in it and the spontaneous, irrepressible uprising of her peoples and Princes in defense of the British Raj." We have suffered in this struggle some reverses and many disappointments. We have blundered and we have paid the penalty. But one feature of the conflict has brought us nothing but pride and a sort of wondering humility—I mean the magnificent rally of the empire as a whole and of every single section in it to the cause of a motherland which for nineteen out of every twenty British subjects is no motherland at all, but a symbol of alien rule and distant, unguessed-at power.

It is a demonstration that must have amazed and chagrined the Germans even more than it has gratified us. They did not believe that even the self-governing dominions would hold together under the shock of this or any other war. Yet Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have plunged into it with a passion and effectiveness that today are more powerful than when the trumpet first blew, eighteen months ago. And the "weak spots" of the empire, on which the German General Staff counted so confidently, have proved less weak than they looked.

I suppose few Americans have read the Parliamentary paper known as Cd 7624. Yet it is an enthralling document. If British rule in India were to come to an end tomorrow I could wish for it no nobler memorial than these few official pages recounting the offers of support tendered to the King-Emperor at the outbreak of the war by the Princes and peoples of the great dependency. They have the glow and romance of the Iliad. Reading them, one might think that the gorgeous East had summoned all its stores of chivalry and martial loyalty,

of wealth and fighting prowess, and were laying them without reserve at the feet of its Emperor. The seven hundred rulers of the native States in India offered with one accord their personal services, the resources of their principalities, their private treasures and jewels, their horses, camels, and troops, and vast sums of money for hospital ships, machine guns, aeroplanes, motor ambulances, and all the appliances and accessories of modern war that came within the reach of their ample purses.

From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin messages of loyalty and proffers of assistance poured in upon the Viceroy from thousands of religious, social, and political associations, from societies and individuals of all classes and creeds, from native meetings and native-controlled organs of local administration, and from tribe after tribe and State after State beyond the border. The Dalai Lama of Tibet placed at once 1,000 troops at the disposal of the Government, innumerable Lamas all over Tibet offered up prayers for the success of British arms, and when the news came of the conquest of German Southwest Africa flags were hoisted on all the hills around Lhasa.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that we in England summoned the native troops to fight in Flanders. It was the imperative demand of India that sent them there. Nothing less than that supreme proof and consecration of the position of India in the partnership of empire would content Indian opinion.

Great Britain accepted the Indian offer because it could not be refused, because to have declined it would have been in the circumstances an error of sentiment and statesmanship that would have chilled and humiliated every Indian under our rule. Throughout India there was but one voice and one wish. Political agitation suddenly and utterly ceased. Instead of an India of gloom, resentment, and unrest, the lightnings of the war revealed to us the great depend-

ency in a state of exuberant loyalty, and fearful only lest full advantage should not be taken of its spirit of devotion and the services it was yearning to render.

Without denying that the unrest of recent years had been genuine and deep-seated, it really looked, when the pinch came, as though India as a whole was reconciled to our rule and preferred us, with all our faults and our stupidities, to any other claimants. India, therefore, was not neutral. India was passionately partisan. With all grudges and divisions laid aside, India closed up her ranks and took her stand side by side with Great Britain as a single, thrilling unit. The spectacle made many an Englishman wonder what his country had done to deserve so moving a tribute of devotion and how it could be repaid.

British rule in India never of course rested, and never could rest, upon force. At their maximum the white troops did not amount to more than 75,000 men, while the native force stood at about 160,000. In a country of a million and a half square miles and among 300,000,000 people such a force was simply swallowed up and forgotten. As a matter of fact, millions upon millions of Indians go through life without once seeing the gleam of a British bayonet or the face of a British soldier. The absurdity of regarding them as "overawed by brute strength" needs no further demonstration than these bare figures.

The Germans and the Indian irreconcilables are perfectly right in saying that now is the golden chance to turn the British out of India. Never were we less able to hold India by force than at this moment; never would an uprising or even serious disturbances in India place us in a position of greater difficulty. And yet this precisely is the moment we have chosen to empty India of practically all the trained and seasoned British troops and of over half of the best native troops.

It sounds like madness, but it is nothing of the kind. It is the only way in which we can at once gratify the martial instinct of India and prove the sincerity

of our confidence in the disposition of the Indian multitudes. If they wish to overthrow us, they have only to combine to do so. But our belief is they have no such wish and that we can safely run risks which among a people who detested us and who were only waiting for an opportunity to rise against us we should not dare to run. That faith has been justified.

Do not imagine for a moment that because the Indian contingents have been transferred from Flanders to other and more congenial fields of action, the great experiment of employing them in a European war has failed. It has, on the contrary, been a signal success. I am not thinking merely of the stubborn part they played in stemming the German lunge at Calais or of India's contribution not alone of 200,000 trained men, but of horses, mules, and munitions. I am thinking chiefly of the very genuine sense of comradeship which has sprung up on the battlefield between the British and Indian soldiers, of the undying memories of English kindness and care which the wounded natives will carry back to India with them, and of the profound impression that has been made upon their minds by the spectacle of British power extended to its uttermost.

East and West have never come so near to meeting and understanding one another as during the past year and a half. The causes for which we British are fighting are as dear to the mind and conscience of India as they are to ourselves. Nowhere, not even in America, has Germany's treatment of Belgium aroused such an intense and instinctive repugnance as in India. Nowhere is the sanctity of pledges better appreciated, and nowhere is there a keener realization of the difference between the German and the British attitudes toward these "scraps of paper." Germany has not gained a friend, an admirer, or even an apologist in India since the war began, and the Indian Advisory Committee, which is attached to the German General Staff, might just as well not have come into existence.

Appeal of the Belgian Bishops

A Letter Unparalleled in Christian History, Addressed to the Catholic Prelates of Germany

Though this much-discussed letter of Cardinal Mercier and the Episcopate of Belgium was known to have been written last November, its full text remained unknown to the outside world until it was published at Havre on Jan. 14, 1916. It first reached the United States through the columns of The New York Evening Post. The Kaiser refused to allow it to reach the German clergy, and Cardinal Mercier recently went to Rome and sought to have it forwarded through official channels, but apparently without success.

Nov. 24, 1915.

To their Eminences the Cardinals and their Lordships the Bishops of Germany, Bavaria, and Austria-Hungary:

AS Catholic Bishops, you, the Bishops of Germany on the one hand and we, the Bishops of Belgium, France, and England on the other, have been giving for a year an unsettling example to the world.

Scarcely had the German armies trodden the soil of our country than the rumor was spread among you that our civil population was taking part in military operations; that the women of Visé and Liège were putting out your soldiers' eyes; that the populace in Antwerp and Brussels had sacked the property of expelled Germans.

In the first days of August (1914) Dom Ildefonds Herwegen, abbot of Maria Laach, sent to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines a telegram in which he begged him, for the love of God, to protect German soldiers against the tortures which our countrymen were supposed to be inflicting on them.

Now it was notorious that our Government had taken useful measures so that every citizen might be instructed in the laws of war; in each commune, the arms of the inhabitants had to be deposited in the communal house; by posters, the population was warned that only citizens regularly enrolled under the flag were authorized to bear arms; and the clergy, anxious to aid the state in its mission, had spread, by word of mouth, by parish bulletins, by posters on church doors, the instructions given by Government.

We were habituated for a century to the rule of peace, and we had no idea that any one, in good faith, could attribute to us violent instincts. We were strong in our right and in the sincerity of our peaceful intentions; and we answered calumnies about "free shooters" and "eyes put out" with a shrug of the shoulders, since we were persuaded that the truth would be known, without delay, of itself.

The clergy and episcopate of Belgium had personal relations with numerous priests, members of religious communities, and Bishops of Germany and Austria; the Eucharistic Congresses of 1909 at Cologne and 1912 at Vienna had given them the opportunity of nearer acquaintance and mutual appreciation. So we felt assured that Catholics of the nations at war with our own would not judge us lightly; and, without troubling himself much about the contents of Dom Ildefonds's telegram, the Cardinal of Malines limited his reply to an invitation to preach gentleness toward ourselves—for, he added, "we are told that German troops are shooting innocent Belgian priests."

From the very first days of August crimes had been committed, at Battice, Visé, Berneau, Hervé, and elsewhere, but we wished to hope that they would remain isolated deeds; and, knowing the very high relations which Dom Ildefonds had, we put great confidence in the following declaration which he sent us on the 11th of August:

I am informed, at first hand, that formal orders have been given to German soldiers by the military authorities to

spare the innocent. As to the very deplorable fact that even priests have lost their lives, I allow myself to bring to your Eminence's attention that, within these last days, the dress of priests and monks has become the object of suspicion and scandal, since French spies have used the ecclesiastical costume, and even that of religious communities, to disguise their hostile intentions.

Meanwhile, the acts of hostility toward innocent populations went on.

On Aug. 18, 1914, the Bishop of Liège wrote to Major Bayer, Governor of the City of Liège:

One after the other, several villages have been destroyed; notable persons, among whom were parish priests, have been shot; others have been arrested, and all have protested their innocence. I know the priests of my diocese; I cannot believe that a single one of them would have made himself guilty of acts of hostility toward the German soldiers. I have visited several ambulances, and I have seen German soldiers cared for in them with the same zeal as Belgians. This they themselves acknowledge.

[The entire text of the letter of the Bishop of Liège is appended to the Bishop's appeal. His protest was renewed on Aug. 21 to Gen Kolewe, who had become Military Governor of Liège; and again, on Aug. 29, to His Excellency Baron von der Goltz, Governor General of the occupied provinces of Belgium, who was lodging at that time in the Bishop's palace at Liège.]

The letter remained unanswered.

In the beginning of September, the Emperor of Germany covered with his authority the calumnious accusations of which our innocent populations were the object. He sent to Mr. Wilson, President of the United States, this telegram, which, so far as we know, has not hitherto been retracted:

The Belgian Government has publicly encouraged the civil population to take part in this war, which it had been preparing carefully for a long time. The cruelties committed in such a guerrilla war, by women and even by priests, on doctors and nurses have been such that my Generals have finally been obliged to have recourse to most rigorous methods to chastise the guilty and to prevent the sanguinary population continuing its abominable, criminal, and odious deeds. Several villages and even the City of Louvain have had to be demolished (excepting

the very beautiful Hôtel de Ville) in the interest of our defense, and for the protection of our troops. My heart bleeds when I see that such measures have been made inevitable and when I think of the numberless innocent people who have lost home and goods as a consequence of those criminal deeds.

This telegram was posted up in Belgium, by order of the German Government, on Sept. 11. The very next day, Sept. 12, the Bishop of Namur demanded to be received by the Military Governor of Namur, and protested against the reputation his Majesty the Emperor sought to give to the Belgian clergy; he affirmed the innocence of all the members of the clergy who had been shot or maltreated, and declared that he was ready himself to publish any culpable deeds which might be proved.

The offer of the Bishop of Namur was not accepted, and no answer was made to his protestation.

Thus calumny was able to pursue its course freely. The organ of the Catholic Centre rivaled the Lutheran press; and the day when thousands of our fellow-countrymen, ecclesiastics and laymen, of Visé, Aerschot, Wessemael, Herent, Louvain, and twenty other places, all as innocent of acts of war or cruelty as you and we, were taken off as prisoners and passed through the railway stations of Aix la Chapelle and Cologne, and, for mortal hours, were given over as a show to the unwholesome curiosity of the Rhenish metropolis, they had the grief to know that their Catholic brethren vomited over them just as many insults as did the Lutherans of Celle, Soltau, or Magdeburg.

Not one voice was lifted up in Germany to take the defense of the victims.

The legend which was transforming innocent into guilty persons and crime into an act of justice thus became accredited, and on May 10, 1915, the White Book—an official organ of the German Empire—dared to adopt it on its own account, and to circulate in neutral countries these odious and cowardly falsehoods:

There is no doubt that German wounded have been stripped and finished, yes, and frightfully mutilated by the Belgian population, and that even women and

young girls have taken part in such abominations. Wounded soldiers have had their eyes put out, their ears, nose, fingers, and sexual organs cut off, or their bowels opened; in other cases, German soldiers have been poisoned, hanged to trees, have had boiling liquid poured over them, and been sometimes burned, so that they have endured death in atrocious pain. Such bestial proceedings of the population not only violate obligations expressly formulated by the Geneva Convention concerning the attention and care due to the wounded of an enemy army, but they are contrary to the fundamental principles of the laws of war and humanity.

Put yourselves for a moment in our place, dear brethren in the faith and priesthood.

We know that these shameless accusations of the Imperial Government are, from one end to the other, calumnies—we know it and we swear it.

Now, your Government invokes for its justification witnesses that have been subjected to no check and to no cross-examination.

Is it not your duty, not only in charity, but in strict justice, to enlighten yourselves, to enlighten the faithful of your flocks, and to furnish us with the occasion to establish judicially our innocence?

You owe us this satisfaction in the name of Catholic charity which dominates national conflicts. You owe it to us—today—in strict justice, because a committee, covered by at least your tacit approbation, and composed of all that is most distinguished in politics and science and religion in Germany, has undertaken the patronage of the official accusations and confided to the pen of a Catholic priest, Professor A. J. Rosenberg of Paderborn, the task of condensing them in a book entitled "The Lying Accusations of French Catholics against Germany," and has thus put on the back of Catholic Germany the responsibility of the active and public propagation of the calumny against the Belgian people.

When the French book, to which German Catholics oppose their own, saw the light, their Eminences Cardinal von Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne, and Cardinal von Bettinger, Archbishop of Munich, felt it necessary to address to their Emperor a telegram in these words:

Revolted by the defamation of the German Fatherland and its glorious army contained in the book, "The German War and Catholicism," we have the heartfelt need of expressing our sorrowful indignation to your Majesty in the name of the whole German episcopate. We shall not fail to lift up our complaint even to the Supreme Head of the Church.

Very well, Most Reverend Eminences, Venerated Colleagues of the German episcopate, in our turn, we Archbishops and Bishops of Belgium—revolted by the calumnies against our Belgian country and its glorious army, which are contained in the White Book of the empire and reproduced in the German Catholics' answer to the work published by French Catholics—we feel the need of expressing to our King, to our Government, to our army, to our country, our sorrowful indignation.

And that our protestation may not run counter to yours, without useful effect, we ask you to be willing to aid us to institute a tribunal for searching inquiry of evidence and counterevidence. In the name of your official tribunal, you will appoint as many members as you desire, and as it pleases you to choose; we will appoint as many more, three for example, one each side. And we will ask of a neutral State—Holland, Spain, Switzerland, or the United States—to appoint for us a "superarbiter" who will preside over the operations of the tribunal.

You have taken your complaints to the Sovereign Head of the Church.

It is not just that he should hear only your voice.

You will have the loyalty to aid us to make our voice heard also.

We have—you and we—an identical duty, to put before his Holiness tried documents on which he may be able to base his judgment.

You are not ignorant of the efforts we have made, one after another, to obtain from the power which occupies Belgium the constitution of a tribunal of investigation.

The Cardinal of Malines, on two occasions—Jan. 24, 1915, and Feb. 10, 1915—and the Bishop of Namur, by a letter addressed to the Military Governor of his province, April 12, 1915, both solicited the formation of a tribunal to be composed

of German and Belgian arbiters in equal number and to be presided over by a delegate from a neutral State.

Our efforts met with an obstinate refusal.

Yet the German authority was desirous to institute investigations. But it wished them to be one-sided—that is, without any judicial value.

After it had refused the investigation demanded by the Cardinal of Malines, the German authorities went into different localities where priests had been shot and peaceful citizens massacred or made prisoners, and there—on the depositions of a few witnesses taken haphazard or selected discreetly, sometimes in presence of a local authority who was ignorant of the German language and thus found himself forced to accept and sign blindly the minutes made—it believed itself authorized to come to conclusions which were afterward to be presented to the public as results of cross-examination.

The German investigation was carried out, in November, 1914, at Louvain, in such conditions. It is, therefore, devoid of any authority.

So it is natural that we should turn to you.

The court of arbitration, which the power occupying our country has refused us, you will grant us—and you will obtain from your Government the public declaration that witnesses can be cited by you and by us to tell all they know, without having to dread reprisals. Before you, under cover of your moral authority, they will feel themselves more secure and be encouraged to bear witness to what they have seen and heard; the world will have faith in the episcopate of our two nations united; our common control will give authenticity to the witness borne and will guarantee the fidelity of the report. The investigation thus carried out will be believed.

We demand this investigation, Eminences and venerated colleagues, before all else, to avenge the honor of the Belgian people. Calumnies put forth by your people and its highest representatives have violated it. And you know as well as we the adage of human, Christian, Catholic moral theology: "Without resti-

tution, no pardon." ("Non remittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur abletum.")

Your people, by the organ of political powers and of its highest moral authorities, has accused our fellow-citizens of giving themselves up to atrocities and horrors on wounded German soldiers, and particulars are given, as above cited, by the White Book and the German Catholics' manifesto. To all such accusations we oppose a formal denial—and we demand to give the proofs of the truth of our denial.

On the other hand, to justify the atrocities committed in Belgium by the German Army, the political power, by the very title it gave to its White Book—"Die Völkerrechtswidrige Führung des Belgischen Volkskriegs" ("The Violation of the Law of Nations by the War Proceedings of the Belgian People")—and the hundred Catholics who signed the book—"The German War and Catholicism: German Answer to French Attacks"—assert that the German Army found itself in Belgium in the case of legitimate defense against a treacherous organization of free-shooters.

We affirm that there was nowhere in Belgium any organization of free-shooters, and we demand in the name of our national honor, which has been calumniated, the right to give proofs of the truth of our affirmation.

You will call whom you choose before the tribunal of cross-investigation. We shall invite to appear there all the priests of parishes where civilians, priests, members of religious communities, or laymen were massacred or threatened with death to the cry, "Man hat geschossen," ("Some one has been shooting";) we shall ask all these priests to sign, if you wish it, their testimony under oath, and then, under penalty of pretending that the whole Belgian clergy is perjured, you will have to accept, and the civilized world will not be able to refuse, the conclusions of this solemn and decisive investigation.

But we add, Eminences and venerated colleagues, that you have the same interest as ourselves in this constitution of a tribunal of honor.

For, relying on our direct experience,

we know—and we affirm—that the German Army gave itself up in Belgium, in a hundred different places, to pillage and incendiarism, to imprisoning and massacres and sacrileges contrary to all justice and to all sentiment of humanity.

This we affirm, in particular, for the communes whose names figure in our pastoral letters, and in the two notes addressed by the Bishops of Namur and Liège (respectively on the 31st of October and the 1st of November, 1915,) to his Holiness Benedict XV., to his Excellency the Nuncio of Brussels, and to the Ministers or representatives of neutral countries at Brussels.

Fifty innocent priests, thousands of innocent faithful, were put to death; hundreds of others, whose lives have been preserved by circumstances independent of their persecutors' will, were put in danger of death; thousands of innocent people were made prisoners, many of them underwent months of detention, and when they were released the most minute questionings to which they had been subjected had brought out against them no evidence of guilt.

These crimes cry to heaven for vengeance.

If, when we formulate these denunciations, we calumniate the German Army, or if the military authority had just reasons to order or permit these acts, which we call criminal, it belongs to the interest and to the national honor of Germany to confound us. Just so long as German justice refuses to listen we keep the right and the duty to denounce what, in conscience, we consider a grave violation of justice and of our honor.

The Chancellor of the German Empire, in the Reichstag session of the 4th of August, declared that the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium was "in contradiction with the prescriptions of the right of nations"; he recognized that, "by passing over the justified protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium, he was committing an injustice which he promised to repair"; and the Sovereign Pontiff, intentionally alluding to Belgium—as he had his Eminence Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State, write to M. Van den Heuvel, Belgian

Minister—pronounced in his Consistorial Allocution of Jan. 22, 1915, this irreformable judgment: "It belongs to the Roman Pontiff, whom God has established as a supreme interpreter and avenger of the eternal law, to proclaim, before all else, that none may, for any reason whatsoever, violate justice."

Yet, since that time, politicians and casuists seek to dodge or enfeeble those decisive words. In their reply to French Catholics, German Catholics engage themselves in like mean subtleties and would fain corroborate them by a fact. They have at their disposition two witnesses: one—who is anonymous—saw, so he says, on the 26th of July, French officers in conversation with Belgian officers in the Boulevard Anspach at Brussels; the other, a certain Gustave Lochard, of Rimogue, deposes that "two regiments of French dragoons, the Twenty-eighth and the Thirtieth, and one battery crossed the Belgian frontier on the 31st of July, 1914, and remained exclusively on Belgian territory during all the following week."

Now, the Belgian Government affirms that, "before the declaration of war, no French troop, no matter how small, had entered Belgium." And it adds: "There is no honest witness who can rise up against this affirmation."

The Government of our King, therefore, accuses German Catholics of asserting an error.

Here is a question of prime importance, both political and moral, on which we ought to enlighten the public conscience.

If, however, you should refuse to examine this general question, we ask you at least to check off the witness on which German Catholics have relied to decide the question against us. The deposition of this Gustave Lochard touches facts easy to control. German Catholics will wish to free themselves from the reproach of error and will make it a duty of conscience to retract the error if they have let themselves be deceived to our injury.

We are not ignorant that you have a repugnance to believe that regiments of whom, you say, you know the discipline,

the honor, the religious faith, could have given themselves up to the inhuman acts with which we reproach them. You wish to persuade yourselves that it is not so, because it cannot be so.

And, forced by evidence, we answer you—it can be so, because it is so.

In face of the fact no presumption holds.

For you as for us there is but one issue—the verification of the fact by a commission whose impartiality is and appears to all to be beyond dispute.

We have no difficulty in understanding your state of mind.

We, too, respect, believe us, the spirit of discipline and labor and faith of which we have so often had proofs and gathered testimony among your fellow-countrymen. Very numerous are those Belgians now who bitterly confess their deception. But they have lived through the sinister events of August and September. The truth has triumphed over all interior resistance. The fact can no longer be denied—Belgium has been made a martyr.

When foreigners of neutral countries—Americans, Hollanders, Swiss, Spanish—ask us of the way in which the German war has been carried on, and wish us to narrate certain scenes whose horror, in spite of ourselves, we have verified, we soften the impression, feeling how far the naked truth passes limits of probability.

Nevertheless, when you have been placed in the presence of the entire reality, when you have been able to analyze the causes, some distant, others immediate, of what one of your Generals—before the ruins of the little village of Schaffenlez-Diest—called “a tragic error”; when you hear the influences which your soldiers underwent at the moment of their entry into Belgium and in the intoxication of their first successes, the unlikelihood of the truth will appear to you, as to us, less disconcerting.

Most of all, Eminences and venerated colleagues, let not yourselves be held back by the vain pretext that an investigation would be now premature.

We might say so, indeed, because at the present hour the investigation would have to be made in circumstances un-

favorable to ourselves. Our populations, in fact, have been so profoundly terrorized, and the prospect of reprisals is still so sombre for them, that the witnesses we may call before a tribunal which would be German in part would scarcely dare to tell the truth to the end.

But decisive reasons are opposed to all dilatory procedure.

The first, that which will go straight to your hearts, is that we are the weak and you the powerful. You would not wish to abuse your strength against us.

Public opinion usually goes to him who first possesses himself of it.

Now, whereas you have all liberty to flood neutral countries with your publications, we are imprisoned and reduced to silence. Hardly are we permitted to lift up our voices inside our churches; the preaching in them is checked off, that is, parodied by paid spies; protestations of conscience are qualified revolts against public authorities; what we write is stopped at the frontier as contraband. So you alone enjoy freedom of speech, and of the pen, and if you will, in a spirit of charity and equity, procure a particle of it for Belgians who are accused and give them a chance to defend themselves, it is for you to come to their protection as soon as possible. The old law adage—“*Audiatur et altera pars*,” (“Let the other side be heard”)—is posted up, they tell us, at the doors of many German courts of law. In any case, for you as for us, it is law for the official judgments of Bishops, and doubtless, too, with you as with us, it circulates in the people’s speech under this figure—“Who hears but one bell hears but one sound.”

You will say, perhaps: “That is the past; forget it. Instead of casting oil on the fire, try rather to pardon and join your efforts with those of the power occupying your territory—for it only asks to heal the wounds of the unhappy Belgian people.”

Oh, Eminences and dear colleagues, add not irony to injustice!

Have not we suffered enough? Have we not been—are we not still—tortured cruelly enough?

It is the past; resign yourselves—forget.

The past! But all the wounds are still

bleeding! There is not an honest heart that is not swollen with indignation. While we hear our own Government saying to the face of the world, "That one is twice guilty who, after violating another's rights, tries still, audaciously and cynically, to justify himself by imputing to his victim faults which he had never committed," our own people can only by doing violence to themselves stifle words of malediction. But yesterday a countryman in the suburb of Malines learned that his son had fallen on the field of battle. A priest consoled him. And the brave man answered: "Oh, for my son, I give him to our country. But they took my eldest son, the cowards, and shot him down in a ditch!"

How do you wish us to obtain from such unfortunates, who have been made to know every torture, a sincere word of resignation and forgiveness, so long as those who have made them suffer refuse them one word of acknowledgment or repentance or promise of reparation?

Germany will not give us back the blood she has made to flow and the innocent lives her armies have mowed down; but it is in her power to make restitution to the Belgian people of their honor, which she has violated or let be violated.

This restitution we demand from you;

from you who are the first and chief representatives of Christian morals in the Church of Germany.

There is something more profoundly sad than political divisions and material disaster—it is the hatred which injustice, real or presumed, heaps up in so many hearts made to love each other. As pastors of our peoples, does it not belong to us, is there not incumbent on us, the mission to make easy the dying away of evil feeling and to re-establish on the foundation so shaken now of justice a union in charity of all children of the great Catholic family?

[The letter closes with specific citations of international laws which the German Empire is stated to have violated in Belgium, and is signed:]

D. J. CARDINAL MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

ANTHONY,
Bishop of Ghent.

GUSTAVE J.,
Bishop of Bruges.

THOMAS LOUIS,
Bishop of Namur.

MARTIN HUBERT,
Bishop of Liège.

AMEDEE CROOY,
Appointed Bishop of Touraine,
Tournai.

The Sharpshooter

By FLORENCE RIPLEY MASTIN.

It's not so bad to kill in the dusk
Of a growling Winter day.
When a man is tired, and stiff as a husk,
It seems a merciful way
To end it all, perhaps. From my tree
Where I watch the road below,
I send pale peace—an eternity
Of peace in the pitiless snow.

"But Spring! Ah, what about Spring?" I think,
When the little leaves are green,
And buds hold dew for the birds to drink,
Then—when I have to lean
Against white blossoms and blaze away
At a lad with the sun on his hair,
And red in his cheek from the kiss of May,
God! but it won't seem fair!

Belgium's Protest on New Tax

In the last week of January, 1916, a communication from the Belgian Government was laid before the State Department at Washington by Emanuel Havenith, the Belgian Minister, accusing the German conquerors of illegal exactions in their taxation program for 1916. It stated that a new tax had been added to that of \$96,000,000 levied in 1915, calling for a total of \$192,000,000 in 1916. The main portions of the text are given below.

BY an order issued Nov. 8-10, 1915, the German Governor General of Belgium has decided, by alleged authorization of Article 49 of The Hague Convention in regard to the laws and customs of war on land, to impose upon the Belgian people henceforth, until further orders, a war tax of 40,000,000 francs (about \$8,000,000) per month, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the army and of the civil administration of the occupied territory. The tax is imposed upon the nine provinces of Belgium which are held jointly and severally responsible for the sum.

The effect of this increase is to compel Belgium to make monthly payments of 40,000,000 francs (rate of \$96,000,000 per annum) after having already paid one first tax of 480,000,000 francs, (\$96,000,000.) This new and supplemental tax has been imposed in spite of the fact that the first tax was agreed to by the provinces only after the Governor General, on Dec. 31, 1914, had given a formal declaration and assurance that no additional taxes would be imposed.

In order to clothe this act with an appearance of legality, Baron von Bissing invokes Article 49 of the Fourth Hague Convention, which reads:

"If in addition to the taxes mentioned in the above article the occupant levies other money contributions in the occupied territory, this shall only be for the needs of the army or of the administration of the territory in question."

The tax of 40,000,000 francs per month does not (as alleged by General von Bissing) cover partly costs of civil administration and partly maintenance of the army. The Belgians continue to pay their contributions as formerly, and these are sufficiently large for the needs of the administration of the country. We know, in fact, from an article in the Frankfort Gazette of Nov. 11, that "the

annual expenses of the German administration in Belgium are fixed at 4,500,000 marks, a figure manifestly exaggerated, without counting the cost of military occupation, which is covered by the monthly contribution of 40,000,000 francs."

This extraordinary contribution, according to the avowal of the Germans themselves, is, therefore, intended exclusively for the army of occupation.

The order of General von Bissing imposes upon our country a charge disproportionate to its present resources, and, consequently, it is in contravention of Articles 46 and 52 of this same convention. Indeed, the tax in question, because of its exorbitant rate, is in the nature of veritable spoliation. It represents an annual amount twenty times the amount of the taxes and contributions levied by the nine provinces in times of peace, and, instead of supply replacing, extraordinary contributions and requisitions, it has been increased so that within two years it has reached the amount of a billion.

The tax is all the more excessive in view of the fact that the war has caused a particularly severe crisis in the financial and industrial life of the Belgian people. The German military occupation during the last fifteen months has entirely prevented all foreign trade, has paralyzed industrial activity, and has reduced the majority of the laboring classes to enforced idleness.

The impoverished Belgian population whom Germany has unjustly attacked, upon whom she has brought want and distress, who have been barely saved from starvation by the importation of food which Germany should have provided—upon this population Germany now imposes a new tax, equal in amount to the enormous tax she has already imposed and is regularly collecting.

War Service of German Industries

By Dr. Walter Rathenau.

How German industry has been enabled to meet the enormous demands laid upon it by the war, and what it is planning for the future, is summed up in this address delivered by Dr. Walter Rathenau, head of the General Electric Company of Germany, at a recent meeting of the company in Berlin.

IN no former period was the worth of the principles upon which the system of the financial balancing of our great companies is based proved so clearly as it has been during the time through which we are passing. What is the kernel of the problem which the English, French, and Russians cannot solve and which we overcome without meeting any resistance? On the one side is the organization of our raw materials, which were pressed into the service of the war establishment, and on the other is the unparalleled elasticity of our industry itself. What is the expression of this elasticity?

All at once the factory is confronted with the task of manufacturing new articles which will entail the expenditure of millions. If the war is soon over, the money is lost, and then we shall be glad to lose it. In order to make a decision possible two things are necessary, technical ability—and in the case of our companies and their employes this is more abundant than in any other nation—and capital. Shall an important part of the invested capital be risked in a business the outcome of which no one can predict and which may end in an entire loss, in a moderate profit, or in a substantial gain? This is the question that is bound to cause real anxiety at every stockholders' meeting.

The fact that the great German stock companies have been, and are, able to devote enormous sums to the carrying on of the war is due to their having a free hand in drawing upon their reserves and even upon their passive reserves. If any justification of the policy of establishing a passive reserve ever were necessary, it has been found in this case. We have accepted the war orders, not to enrich ourselves, but partly to replace our lost peace orders and, above all, to serve the

nation. We would not have been able to do this upon such a big scale if we had not had at our disposal the means laid up as the result of a careful policy of dividend distribution extending over many years.

And we shall need these means again when the task of transforming our present activities to those of peace confronts us.

The internal strength of German business enterprises contains the secret of our industrial services. The power of the German stock companies is a mighty factor in this war. Our task is to preserve it.

How this power was to be created was shown by my father in the case of this company in the emphasis laid by him upon the policy of caution, the results of which are now apparent. The creative ability of our industries is responsible to a large degree for our unshaken confidence of victory.

We all approve of the tax on war profits because no one should enrich himself through the war. During the war, when thousands are laying down their lives and other thousands sacrificing their property, comes the time for retrenchment, reflection, and renunciation. Nevertheless, the fiscal screw should not be turned too far. The strength of our industry depends upon bold enterprise, and the confidence of this daring spirit in the future should not be diminished too much.

A year ago we spoke of the transformations necessary in order to make the accomplishment of the tasks of war possible. After sixteen months of war we conclude that a no less important change will be necessary to render industry, which is now executing the tasks of war on a gigantic scale, once more serviceable in time of peace. The war,



LUIGI LUZZATTI

Former Italian Minister of the Interior, Whose Writings on War Topics
Are Quoted All Over Europe



WALTER RUNCIMAN

President of London Board of Trade and Member of Asquith Cabinet
(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)

which has been and will be a hard school of social and political economy for us, also became our school of industrial economics. We have learned a great deal which we hope to make use of in time of peace. For sixteen months we have been living on our home industry. This has taught us that there is a new way to manage with both capital and material. It is to be hoped that, above all, the lessons of financial management will not be forgotten in time of peace.

Today we are all carrying on business with a smaller working capital than formerly. We also get along with a limited amount of material. This is due to the fact that goods circulate faster, that more cash sales are made, and that extensive stocks, containing hundreds and hundreds of qualities and shades, are no longer carried. This lesson should be taken to heart by everybody in the empire. The working capital of Germany could be reduced permanently to an enormous extent if this system of quicker payment, more rapid circulation, and limitation of stocks is to be retained, and if the capricious individualism in placing orders that burden the market with an exaggerated variety of goods and a surplus of designs is to disappear. Then the billions of dead working capital could be dispensed with.

Again I refer to the lessons of the war. The greatest danger that we faced was that of a lack of raw materials. That we never could be conquered in a military

sense and that a country which produced more than 80 per cent. of its food itself could not be starved out we knew. But that in this country, almost completely blockaded, we could nevertheless live, work, equip ourselves, and carry on the war we did not know. Now we do know it.

Our organization of raw materials has been completed and has proved successful. To this may be attributed the constant progress being made in the substitution of imported raw materials by the domestic product. And these experiences will benefit our industries in time of peace by further intensifying our economic life, that is, by further developing original material, and German original material at that, thus making our system of producing goods stronger and more independent.

Germany faces peace with the same ardent and cheerful consciousness with which she went to war. The words spoken in the Reichstag yesterday are echoed in our hearts. Germany, like all sentient humanity, wishes peace. But we want no other peace than one which guarantees our honor, security, and power.

Our industry is stronger than ever before and is better prepared than at any other time to go to any extreme to prove that it is just as unconquerable as our power of defense. We have the will and the strength for waiting as well as for action.

A German View of English Compulsory Service

[Paul Harms in the Berliner Tageblatt.]

In England there is no talk of universal service. The word "duty" does not occur in the whole discussion, and people speak only of "compulsion." England has by no means come to the point at which one could think of adopting the great idea that every able-bodied citizen owes the State one death. They are thinking not at all about universal service, but only of compulsory recruiting. There is to be an end of universal voluntarism, and a start is to be made upon a road at the end of which it is possible that universal service will be found. What is certain is that where the road begins stands the creation of dual law and dual duties, and what may happen in thirty or fifty or one hundred years concerns us less at the present moment.

French War Finances

A French financier gave the following clear and optimistic statement of his Government's financial status to the Paris correspondent of The London Morning Post on Jan. 7, 1916:

CONSIDER first the debtor side of the position. France has her troops holding the bulk of her own borders; she has had one expeditionary force at Gallipoli; she has another in being in Saloniki; she has sent assistance to Serbia; all through the war her fleet has kept the seas, co-operating with the Allies; she has had large portions of her richest territory invaded by the enemy. Speaking in figures, I am betraying no secret when I state that France month by month is now paying out in money the enormous sum of 2,400,000,000 francs, (£96,000,000,) or 80,000,000 francs a day. In the year that has elapsed between Dec. 31, 1914, and December, 1915, France, however, has only increased her indebtedness to the Bank of France by £52,000,000. In fact, if you care to visualize the situation by a simple illustration, France has only incurred an indebtedness from her final source of an amount corresponding to that which the individual incurs during a fortnightly holiday each year.

The analogy must not, of course, be pressed, but it is worth emphasizing that whereas in December, 1914, the State owed the Bank of France £148,000,000, in December, 1915, the amount of indebtedness had only increased to £200,000,000. In other words, the State has hardly had to appeal to the Bank for help in financing the war. At the same time the situation of the Bank itself is extremely healthy. In round figures, it holds at the present moment five milliards of gold, (£200,000,000,) three hundred millions of silver, (£12,000,000,) and thirteen milliards of notes, (£520,000,000.)

Hitherto our war expenses have amounted to some thirty-odd milliards, or about £1,200,000,000, and in order to prevent encroaching on the Bank we

have secured the funds necessary much as follows:

Fresh money (<i>bons, obligations,</i> and national loan).....about	£720,000,000
Received from abroad (3 to 4 milliards)	about 160,000,000
Taxes (6 to 7 milliards).....about	280,000,000
Advanced by the Bank of France	about 200,000,000

Total about.£1,360,000,000

It may therefore be said, especially when one remembers the conditions under which the national loan was raised, that the war has been financed, so far as France is concerned, out of the income and current savings of the people. Another point carefully to be born in mind is that such indebtedness as exists as between the State and the Bank does not constitute a heavy burden to the latter, owing among other reasons to the large quantity of gold in possession of the Bank as a result of the private accounts, and owing to the large amount of gold called in from general circulation.

The buoyancy of France is shown in very many other ways. As fresh capital is constantly necessary, *bons* and *obligations* are still being issued, and the returns show that despite the loan these are still being taken up by the public, the reason being that traders especially require to have their money available at short notice. Again, Jan. 5 was the first day on which the national loan could be quoted on the French Stock Exchange, and the quotations showed a premium of roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in other words, the stock that was bought at 88 was selling at 88.50. Further, though there was a very considerable demand there were very few sellers.

The situation in the Central Empires and among their allies is very different, and the remarkable fall of the value of the German mark is a sign that neutrals are beginning to take alarm. Germany's position is stronger than that of the rest of the enemy countries, but Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria have none of them ventured to publish balances for their

State banks. Their failure to do so has unquestionably aroused the suspicion of the bankers and financiers all over the world, with the result that, no doubt justly, even apart from the present military situation, their finances are very considerably depressed.

In looking forward to the financial future of France we can have every confidence. Even the allied countries may perhaps not realize the very careful way in which the agitation in favor of the loan was conducted by the French Ministry of Finance. The *Morning Post*, I notice, has already shown that care was taken not unduly to bring pressure to bear on the population, no invitation being given to them, for instance, to sell out foreign securities with a view of investing in the loan. The whole system followed, however, was very much more complex than that. The influence to be effected by public posters, public car-

toons, newspaper articles, and lectures was carefully combined and calculated with a view to prevent confusion and overlapping, and also with a view of keeping the loan very carefully under control. Plenty of time was taken over the work. No one could complain that he was hustled into taking up shares, for the earlier posters carefully explained the conditions of the loan and the later ones made their appeal to the patriotism of the individual citizens. The whole scheme of the loan, in fact, was thoroughly and carefully thought out, and the stimulus applied to the public just produced the result that was expected and desired. We have reason in France, therefore, to regard the future of our finances with confidence, for care has been taken by the Treasury not to exhaust or seriously to interfere with the very great resources that we still have at our command.

The Year's Showing for the Allies

At the close of 1915 The London Times printed this summary of the year's activities:

The year thus ended, in a military sense, less favorably for the Allies than it began. Only a few square miles had been reconquered in the West; Italy had made little progress; the Dardanelles expedition had proved a failure; we had not reached Bagdad nor attained our aim in Greece; while Russia had lost nearly all Galicia, with Poland and Courland to boot, and the Serbian Army had been practically eliminated. On the other hand, we had maintained inviolate our supremacy upon the seas, had captured all but one of the German colonies, and still held all German seaborne trade in a vise of steel. Not one of the armies of the Allies other than that of Serbia had been struck down, and the spirit of all the citizens of the Alliance remained stern and unbending. Germany, with a third of her able-bodied manhood of military age disposed of, and in serious trouble from financial and other causes, was in greater straits than a superficial examination of her military successes showed. The year ended finding all the Allies hard at work in raising new armies and developing their supply of munitions, with the fixed determination of carrying the struggle to a successful issue.



After the Balkan Campaign

Press Comment From All Over the Peninsula

At the close of the third Balkan war, which ended in the practical crushing of Serbia, it is interesting to see what the press of her neighbors had to say. Very little first-hand Serbian comment can be found, on account of the almost total extinction of the Serbian papers. The translations given below were sent from Athens by a staff correspondent of CURRENT HISTORY who had gone to Greece to observe events at close range.

Bulgarian Victory as Viewed in Sofia

Under the heading, "Bulgaria and the Balkans," the Government organ, Narodni Prava, published the following editorial on Dec. 8:

THE Bulgarian Nation, which was never inspired by foolish chauvinistic impulses, and which has always thought exclusively of the realization of the principle of nationality on the Balkan Peninsula, believed that it was possible through a peaceful understanding between the Balkan States to realize that principle in the name of the peace and the prosperity of the Balkans. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian Nation has been carried away from its hopes by its false ally, Serbia, and by the jingo attitude of the Serbian King, the Serbian Crown Prince, and the Serbian statesmen. Bulgaria never had any aspirations of conquest, and never strove to obtain more than what, nationally and geographically, is hers on the Balkan Peninsula. It is true that, as regards the other Balkan States, Bulgaria has always had pretensions on the larger part of the peninsula, but this fact is not due to any chauvinistic tendencies; it is simply the outcome of Bulgarian preponderance in the centre of the Balkans, in the same way as it is with the other Balkan States seeking the realization of their national ideals outside of the Balkan Peninsula. If the historical facts, the folk-lore proofs, and the ethnographic monuments point to the fact that the centre of the Balkans is made up by purely Bulgarian lands, Bulgaria cannot be blamed for that. * * *

Germany and Austria-Hungary have recognized the lawful Bulgarian aspira-

tions, and have proved that they were ready to help us attain them. As a result of this, the Central Empires have their way to the East opened, and Bulgaria has the realization of her national aspirations accomplished.

And now let the fate of Serbia be a warning to all the Balkan States. Let us all see how small is the step separating chauvinism from doom. * * * We firmly believe that after the Serbian catastrophe a new era of peace and prosperity is dawning for the Balkans. The lesson given to Serbia will teach them that the Balkans are not so large in area that everybody's aspirations can be satisfied without trouble. We in the Balkans have not asked to steal alien lands; we have been, and we are still, partisans of the preservation of peace in the peninsula, while striving to keep up the standard of benevolence toward all the Balkan peoples.

The Nationalist Mir of Sofia had this to say:

Thirty years ago this Nov. 14 the Serbians declared their first war against Bulgaria, whose army was fighting at the time against the Turks in Eastern Rumelia. The international situation was different at that time, but Serbian bad faith was the same. Then the Serbians were considered as friends and sold to Austria; today they are bargaining for the friendship of Russia and her allies. * * * Then they attacked us in a cowardly way and were beaten in two weeks. Bulgaria at that time was still very young; nobody expected her to come victorious from that struggle. The first outcome of that victory was the union of

Eastern Rumelia to Bulgaria, because everybody thought that such a brave nation as ours was entitled to an expansion to which even Turkey did not think wise to object. England and France were dumfounded by our success; Russia was the only country that was not very enthusiastic over the victories of those whom she considered as freed by her blood. Nevertheless, the Czar had to acknowledge that the whole thing was so right that there was not a word to be said against the union of Rumelia and Bulgaria.

The historians who like to look far back for the origins of actual facts cannot help finding an analogy between the present situation and the one of thirty years ago, although the differences are many. But, in spite of all the changes

which have come to the Balkans in the past thirty years, had it not been for Serbian cowardice, Serbian chauvinism, and Serbian lust for alien lands there would not have been a world war. No Austrian Crown Prince would have been murdered, and there would have been no catastrophe to Serbia herself. And what an irony of fate! Thirty years ago Pashitch was a Bulgarian official waging a fierce campaign against King Milan, and today, as the right-hand man of King Peter, he has behind him the record of having put into effect a policy fatal to his country.

There is no denying that Serbia as a State had chosen evil ways. She plunged a whole world into war in order to steal territories not belonging to her.

Macedonia Delivered: A Bulgarian View

[From the *Echo de Bulgarie*, Sofia, Dec. 16, 1915]

MACEDONIA is delivered, and no enemy soldier any longer treads on her soil." This sentence in the last communiqué from our General Staff sums up the aim and result of the war which Bulgaria had to undertake for her own security and the security of the Balkans. Macedonia is delivered! For those who know, however little, the aspirations of Bulgaria, these three words explain a whole period of effort and hope. For those who have seen our grief and anguish of two years ago, when Macedonia, having caught a glimpse of the light of liberty, was plunged again in sombre servitude, they mark the end of a horrible nightmare. Two months have sufficed for the Bulgarian Army, aided by our allies, to sweep the Serb tyranny from the Ossogov to the Char and from the Timok to the Lake of Ochrid. As for the famous help which the Entente, in the persons of France and England, sent to save "the principle of nationalities" in the Balkans, it only served to prolong the Serb agony and to augment the radiant glory of our brave army.

The Anglo-French expedition in Mace-

donia originally had a very important political reason. By the presence of French troops at Saloniki they wanted to intimidate Bulgaria, and at the same time drag in Greece and Rumania, whom they were sure of holding. The first disembarkation had taken place the day that the Russian Telegraphic Agency was already publishing the ultimatum to Bulgaria, (forty-eight hours, let us say, before its transmission to the Bulgarian Government.) This object having failed, the maintenance of the expedition could have meant something only if the Anglo-French troops had been able to help the Serbs effectively and bring about a junction with them. The courage and endurance of our admirable soldiers routed them both, and General Sarrail, clinging to the heights of Krivolak and Demir Kapou, had no other choice than to be present as an impotent witness of the end of Serbia and to wait himself for the shock that was to throw him back on neutral territory.

This shock was such as could be foreseen from the first encounters between the Bulgarians, defending their homes and their independence, and the despised

French and English intruders, who had come from beyond the seas and mountains to perpetuate a condition of things which was the negation of every moral principle. In less than ten days 170,000 French and English, supported by 800 cannon, were dislodged from their superb and solidly organized positions, completely beaten, and driven from Macedonia.

In this unequal struggle one episode deserves to be noticed. The eleventh division of our army, formed on the eve of war exclusively of Macedonians, who in the great majority were until then ignorant of the use of arms, gained one of the most splendid successes of recent days by breaking the Anglo-French front and cutting off the French detachments that were operating between the River Kozloulou-dere and the Vardar from the English troops who should have retired to the south of Lake Doiran. This body of untrained militiamen routing soldiers tried by a long campaign and superior in num-

bers and armament—that was Macedonia risen against the new oppression which the “defenders of right” were preparing for her.

After this disgraceful check to their Balkan enterprise, the only reasonable thing for the Governments at Paris and London would be to re-embark their beaten troops. The news that the Entente has decided to maintain Saloniki as a base for future operations and to fortify it is, however, no surprise. But it is a decision that can be pregnant with surprises for the powers who have introduced terror as a method against the small States. The proceedings of the Entente at Athens can have no more results than those entered upon a little while ago at Sofia, and today less than yesterday. Beaten on the Vardar, the Entente cannot be victorious at Saloniki. Once more events have proved that the game is lost. For the Entente obstinacy can only be fatal.

Greece Solicitous for Her Safety

When Serbia had been crushed, and when the Germans, Austrians, and Bulgars were dangerously near the Greek frontier, bent on attacking the Franco-British troops, the leading Greek Government paper, Athinae, contained on Dec. 2 an article entitled “The Civilized Samsons,” part of which is given below:

IF the political parties in France find that it serves their interests to have the whole force of General Sarraill annihilated, in order to free M. Poincaré and his Government from a troublesome opponent, that concerns the French Republic. But the idea that Saloniki must be occupied by the Allies in order to prevent that city’s becoming an Austro-German base of supply is so weak that it can only be shown to fools and imbeciles.

Greece is under no obligation to let herself be destroyed by these so-called advocates of the independence of the small nations, who under cover of a humanitarian preachment are striving to hide utterly unchristian actions. * * * If they want to fight they have the occu-

pied French territory, and they might as well redeem it. They have Belgium to liberate, even after they allowed it to crumble in ashes. They have poor, abandoned Serbia to liberate; they have Russia, and there also they can show their ability of doing things heroic. Why, then, do they wish to drag Greece into the whirlwind of this war? Is it because they want to preserve her from the evils of German militarism? And is that the reason why they broke every Divine and human right? Is it for this that these new Samsons, who are blind before the truth, are seeking to crush under the ruins of their own catastrophe an alien city, the City of Saloniki? But such salvation even Greece alone could have secured for herself, had she followed the advice of M. Venizelos and the Entente by committing suicide in order to secure Belgium’s glory and Serbia’s triumph. Greece protests against this uncalled-for hostility on the part of those toward whom so many sentiments of sympathy and so many actions of help have been

expressed. This protest is supreme, and only people without a country will try to find a justification for such acts. They are acts that will awaken the conscience of all that part of the civilized world which has kept out of the savagery of this war.

The Venizelist Patris took another view of the situation on the same date:

Only those who are unable to foresee things, or who are panic-stricken, would be unable to foretell the evolution of the events immediately following the Austro-German attack on Serbia. The Central Empires, not disposing enough troops for this campaign, needed the Bulgars, with whom they associated; but they also needed the neutrality of Greece, because without it Bulgaria would be unable to co-operate with them, as she would have to defend herself against Greece. In order to secure Bulgar help, the Austro-Germans used the method of compensation. The whole of Serbian Macedonia, a part of Old Serbia, an exit on the Adriatic Sea, concessions at the expense of Turkey—all this was a part of the national problem of the Bulgarian lust of conquest. It was in this way that the Bulgarians undertook the assassin's job of striking Serbia from behind. In order to secure the neutrality of Greece, the Austro-Germans resorted to the Prussian method of terrorism, inasmuch as no other concessions and compensations were at hand. Both methods have been equally successful.

Vainly at that time arose the foremost

national and political man of Greece to preach the gospel of duty, of honor, and of the salvation of the fatherland. In vain he recalled to mind the Bulgarian hatred of Greece; in vain he said that Serbia was the first object of the Bulgarian attack, and that Greece would be the next; in vain he proclaimed that, if the Bulgars and Germans are today lenient toward Greece, they are so simply because they want to crush each one of the parties of the Greco-Serbian alliance separately. The answer to all this was: Greece cannot expose herself to the catastrophe that would follow a German invasion. The Greek people cannot undertake a third war in three years, as long as it is not for her own interests, but for those of the Entente powers. So far as the aspirations of the national policy of Greece were concerned, these are satisfied by Germany, which is willing to give us Albania, Monastir, Perlepe, Gevgeli, Doiran, the twelve Aegean islands, (now held by Italy,) as Germany desires Greece to be a strong naval power in the Mediterranean in opposition to Italy.

Well, what remains of all these claims? Why, Germany, the first moment that she does not need our neutrality, bluntly says that military considerations compel the invasion of Greek territory by the Bulgars. * * * The enemy, and such an enemy as the Bulgar is, threatens again those territories so dearly won by the blood of the Greek Nation; the moment is tragic, and we must respect it in a common rally for the common fatherland.

King Constantine's Protest

On Jan. 13 King Constantine sent for The Associated Press correspondent at Athens in order to express through the newspapers of the United States, as he said, his profound indignation over the action of the Allies in Greece.

IT is the merest cant," said the King, "for Great Britain and France to talk about the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg after what they themselves have done and are doing here. I have tried in

every way I know how to get fair play in the British and French press, and to obtain a fair hearing from the British and French public. No sooner had the British newspapers attacked Greece with the most amazing perversion of fact and misrepresentation of motives, than I called one of their correspondents and gave him face to face a full statement of Greece's position. I have given a most frank statement to the French press through one of the French newspapers

which had been most bitterly attacking Greece.

"The only forum of public opinion open to me is that of the United States. The situation is far too vital for me to care a snap about royal dignity in the matter of interviews when the very life of Greece as an independent country is at stake. I shall appeal to America again and again if necessary for that fair hearing which is denied to me by the countries of the Allies.

"Just look at the list of Greek territories already occupied by the allied troops—Lemnos, Imbros, Mytilene, Castelloriza, Corfu, Saloniki, including the Chalcidice Peninsula, and a large part of Macedonia. In proportion to all Greece it is as if that part of the United States which was won from Mexico after the Mexican war were occupied by foreign troops—and not so much as 'by your leave!' What matters that they promise to pay for the damage done when the war is over. They cannot pay for the sufferings of my people driven out of their homes. They plead military necessity. It was under the constraint of military necessity that Germany invaded Belgium and occupied Luxemburg.

"It is no good claiming that the neutrality of Greece was not guaranteed by the powers now violating it as was the case in Belgium, for the neutrality of Corfu is guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and yet that has not made any difference in their action. And what about that plea of military necessity? Where is the military necessity of destroying the Demir Hissar bridge, which cost a million and a half drachme, and which was the only practicable route by which we can revictual my troops in Eastern Macedonia? The bridge was mined; it could have been blown up on a moment's notice at the enemy's approach. It is admitted that there was no enemy anywhere near the bridge, and no indication that any was coming. What military reason was there, therefore, to blow up the bridge now, except to starve out the Greek troops around Serres Drama?

"Where is the necessity for the occupation of Corfu? If Greece is the ally

of Serbia, so also is Italy, and transportation of Serbs to Albania and Italy would be simpler than to Corfu. Is it because Italians are refusing to accept Serbs, fearing a spread of cholera, that the Allies think that the Greeks want to be endangered by cholera any more than the Italians?

"They say that they are occupying Castelloriza, Corfu, and other points in search for submarine bases. The British Legation at Athens has a standing offer of \$10,000—a great fortune to any Greek fisherman—for information leading to the detection of a submarine base, but never yet received any news about a submarine base in Greece, and never yet have any submarines been supplied from Greece.

"The history of the Balkan politics of the Allies is a record of one crass mistake after another, and now, through pique over the failure of their every Balkan calculation, they try to unload on Greece the result of their own stupidity. We warned them that the Gallipoli enterprise was bound to fail, that negotiations with Bulgaria would be fruitless, and that the Austro-Germans would certainly crush Serbia. They would not believe, and now, like angry, unreasonable children, the Entente powers turn upon Greece. They have deliberately thrown away every advantage they ever had of Greek sympathy. At the beginning of the war 80 per cent. of the Greeks were favorable to the Entente. Today not 40, no, not 20 per cent. would turn their hand to aid the Allies."

[A semi-official reply to King Constantine's protest was made in Paris by "the highest French authority," stating that the circumstances of Germany's invasion of Belgium were widely different from those of the Allies' occupation of points in Greece. The Allies, he said, were acting in defense of small nations, and their presence in Greece was temporary. They went to Saloniki only to succor Serbia, Greece's ally, and the Greek people received them cordially. Greece's neutrality has from the beginning been a benevolent one toward the Allies, he added, and the Allies have been so informed officially by M. Venizelos and others; yet the Greek Government has allowed Ger-

mans and Austrians to violate its neutrality by using the Greek coasts and islands as a base for provisioning submarines. The French "highest authority"

remarked in concluding that the Allies were continuing, at King Constantine's request, to advance money for the mobilization of the Greek Army.]

Two Rumanian Views of the Situation

Under the heading, "The Defeat of Serbia," the Rumanian paper Libertatea of Dec. 5 published the following editorial:

M. TAKE JONESCU (the leader of the pro-Allies party) writes that Greece, Rumania, and the Quadruple Entente are those responsible for the Serbian disaster. What has Greece or Rumania to do with the tragedy of Serbia? M. Jonescu affirms that the Quadruple Entente knew of a treaty which bound Greece to support Serbia. This is not exact. The Quadruple Entente has known, since the outbreak of the Austro-Serbian war, that Greece would never have come to the assistance of Serbia. Greece had declared her neutrality. The character of the general European conflict has not at all been changed by the Bulgarian intervention against Serbia. The interpretation given by Greece to the Serbian treaty was accepted by the Entente powers, and it was on this account that Venizelos was able from the beginning of the war to declare that Greece would remain neutral.

The Entente powers are responsible for the Serbian defeat, because Serbia before beginning the war expected substantial help from England, Russia, and France, which never came; France and England then suggested that Rumania and Greece help Serbia. This had to be done through certain concessions to these two Balkan States, but to such concessions Russia objected, and so nothing came out of that suggestion. M. Jonescu says that Rumania also is responsible for Serbia's doom, on account of a certain treaty that bound Rumania to support Serbia; but this also is inexact. In face of the facts, M. Jonescu, an ex-Minister of Rumania, affirms what is only a deliberate falsehood. Rumania never had any such treaty with Serbia; Rumania is not a coward nation, and

would keep her word, had she first given it. Rumania gave every imaginable help to Serbia in her trouble, moved by a humanitarian spirit. Serbia fell because she was abandoned by her allies and friends of the Entente, and chiefly by Russia, and on Russia will fall tomorrow the anathema of the entire Serbian Nation, so sacrificed by the Muscovite autocracy.

An opposite view is held by the leading Bucharest daily, Adeverul, which said in its issue of Dec. 13:

It has been said that Premier Bratianu has done well in not having Rumania enter the war; but we repeat that Bratianu has committed a political crime against our national cause—to say nothing of the interest of the Balkans—and he is also guilty of felony toward Serbia; he made no effort to stay the hand of Bulgaria when this latter country was about to strike the Serbs. It would have been enough at that time to take an energetic step in Sofia, when Bulgaria was about to join the Central Powers. A warning from Rumania would have been enough at that time to destroy any Bulgarian attempt against Serbia. Those who say that, had Rumania warned Bulgaria, she would in her turn have been attacked by Germany, are simply exaggerating the dimensions of the Teuton bluff. If we had adopted that policy Venizelos too would have triumphed, and Greek intervention would have been a fact. These being the facts, it is high time for us to turn the light on the entire policy of Premier Bratianu regarding our intervention in the war, a policy which has done an immense harm to the national cause. * * * This Government has been unable to cope with the present situation, and has besides compromised the country, which otherwise would have been assured an enormous profit from this same situation.

No More Golden Days for Tourists

By Twells Brex

This noteworthy article from The London Daily Mail is by the same author whose striking forecast of "Life After the War" was a feature of the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

I HAVE received a letter from a spirited octogenarian. "Directly peace is declared," he says, "I intend to take a prolonged tour over the battlefields of Europe."

My young-hearted octogenarian had better reconcile himself to postponement of his tour as a celebration of his ninetyeth year. Not until about then will Europe be able to receive him with such comforts as even nonagenarians appreciate. Europe would rather that he and all other tourists stayed at home for several years after the war is over. For directly the war is over there will be a placard over the gates of almost every familiar travel route of Europe; its legend will be "Admission on business only."

There are forecasts of a mighty crossing of American tourists directly after the war for "conducted" explorations of that tangled Golgotha that stretches from the sea to Switzerland and among the blackened remains of the war-ravaged cities of Belgium and Northern France. But if the tourists are hardy enough to come they will be like visitors who descend upon a host who has just seen his walls go down in an earthquake, and whose family and servants are straining with rope and pickaxe among the ruins. If the tourists want to make sure of their tour they will have even now to charter their ships, because after the war tonnage will be precious and staterooms and saloons will remain dismantled for the cargoes of the rebuilders and the foodstuffs for empty granaries. The tourists should bring also their own motors or wagons for land transport. Half of the railway lines in the "touring" district are twisted wreckage, two-thirds of the rolling stock lies in war's great scrap heap. The tourists should also bring tents and camping equipment, and even their own commissariat. Towns

left inhabitable will be overcrowded during the rebuilding epoch; hotel life will not have been reorganized; millions of the lean and hungry and dispossessed will have first claim on shelter and slowly increasing food supplies.

One tourist only will be welcomed after Armageddon. He will carry plans and drawings instead of camera and picture postcard album. His name will appear in contracts rather than in visitors' lists. His luggage will be spades, trowels, and iron girders. The traveler's tucked-up shirt sleeve is going to be more fashionable than the traveler's dinner jacket for a generation to come.

We easy British will feel the draught of the new travel discomforts, even when we visit our good allies, even in leaving or entering our own free country, even in traveling in our own country. If there is one Continental restriction we have derided and disliked more than any other it is the passport. But we have a strict passport system ourselves today in war time, and it is certain that we will continue it in peace time, just as we will be sane enough to continue the safeguard of national registration. For our eyes are now opened to the Teutonic meaning of "peaceful penetration," our ears have heard the Teutonic whisper of "the war after the war," we know now what was the meaning of that chain of excellent German hotels that linked all our coast resorts and strategic and naval and military towns, and the mission of all their alert, courteous, and attentive German proprietors and German staffs. The passport will henceforth help us to sift out our alien settlers and visitors and sort out the natives of that country whose emigrants and travelers will henceforth be lepers among civilized men.

Even travel at home will for long not be as easy and comfortable as it was in the old days. It is scarcely likely to be

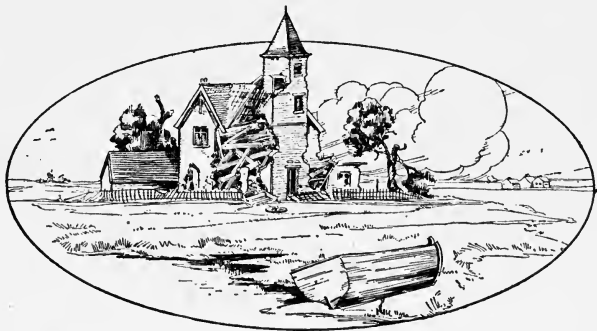
as cheap again. The excursionist has seen his zenith, and the week-end is in his nadir. How long will it be before all those canceled trains, all that choice of swift expresses, creep into the time tables again? How long before there will again be so many trains, and such long trains, that the third-class, long-distance passenger will be able once more to feel resentment when he cannot get a corner seat? The railway companies have much to build up; the war has taught them the meaning of "wasteful competition"; they have pooled traffic; they have pooled rolling stock; they have found that three expresses two-thirds empty, starting from three different London termini at almost the same hour for Birmingham or Edinburgh, can be substituted by only one express from one of the termini. Railway companies are human concerns, with very human instincts of self-interest. Whatever happens to the railways, the traveler's golden days are gone.

With the shrinkage of travel will come a shrinkage of all the paraphernalia, the pomp, and the ceremonies that hung upon the people who could afford the magic carpet. It is safe to say that, for many a year, Europe will see no more rebuilding of mammoth palace hotels and shining kursaals.

Snobbery is another thing that has

suffered by war. It still is not dead, but it is badly wounded. We of the new world must see that it walks not again. The bill that is passing through Parliament now is the cruelest blow that snobbery ever had. There are two sorts of compelling that the Compulsion bill will achieve. It will not only compel the British man of all classes to serve his country; it will compel the British man of whatsoever class to prove for himself, in the rough test of field fellowship, the equality to himself of the man who is as good a man as he. It will open up the biggest era, the greatest social vista, of all the changes that the new world brings.

A narrower world? Yes, but for all that a wider world. A world you will find of workers and horny hands and shirt sleeves, and a surprising number of great gentlemen. A strange era for us British, because we, the home-givers aforetime to so many Continental nations, are likely to turn out a race of Continental émigrés ourselves. There will be a new Britain in France and Russia and Belgium, just as today one can hear the voices of the new France and the new Belgium in England today. When the great time of rebuilding comes many of the strong hands and the great brains and muscles of England, as well as of our allies, will be wanted among those ruins of France and Flanders.



Service of Titled Women in Hungary

By Baroness Ida von Lonyay

According to the editor of *Die Woche*, Berlin, the author of this article is herself one of the chief factors for organizing works looking to the amelioration of the Hungarian people at home while the war is claiming the services of all the able-bodied men in the field.

THE noted author, Count Emreich Miko, in writing of woman's vocation, exclaims: "Women! mothers! to a very great extent the future of our fatherland lies in your hands. While our glorious army protects the frontiers of our country, while our men wield the weapons of the war god Mars, at home the women hold high the banner of charity to guard the inner life of the nation, to prepare for the future."

Almost as soon as mobilization took place there arose a large organization with the view of looking after the families of the soldiers, and also to care for the returned wounded heroes. No official edict, no centralized machinery, was responsible for the creation of this body; no agitation was necessary to bring it into existence. Love of country, humane enthusiasm, sympathy for one's fellow-men, these joined to battle against the most dreadful of enemies, misery and want.

Humanitarianism and love of country are the driving wheels of this organization, but the Hungarian women are the active factors who are giving themselves in the service of the various institutions devoted to the task of aiding the fatherland.

At the head of this splendid army stands the noble-minded Grand Duchess Auguste, the wife of the Grand Duke Joseph. From the very moment the war broke out her brilliant court, which in times of peace drew to itself the most exalted among the Hungarian aristocracy, changed its tenor to conform with the seriousness of the situation. Grand Duke Joseph, one of our most gifted soldiers, around whom a whole series of legends has been built, took the field. On that same day Grand Duchess Auguste gave the initiative to the Hungarian benevolent co-operation which has proved such a blessing.

The majestic figure of the Grand Duchess is robed in the pearl-gray garments of the nurses, and wherever she goes she appears in this characteristically patriotic costume. She herself declines every luxury and reproaches it in others. Her entire strength is given over to soothe the sorrowful and lessen pain.

Every morning at an early hour she leaves her palace accompanied by a lady in waiting, and visits one after the other of the many hospitals, where she comforts the wounded. For each suffering one she has a loving word, and her exemplary activity is spurring the ladies of the aristocracy to imitate her labor.

In the organization of the sanitary work she is also playing a conspicuous part. Besides her public activity, the Grand Duchess in her own home circle displays a no less sacrificing love. The *Nayta Polcssanyer* castle has been transformed into a hospital, where eighty wounded soldiers are being constantly cared for under the personal supervision of the noble owner.

Grand Duchess Stefanie is another woman of princely birth whose name will go down in Hungarian history by reason of patriotic sacrifice. The wife of the late Crown Prince Rudolf always held the love of the people who looked forward to her assuming the royal ermine with intensest interest. Merciless fate, however, shattered the beautiful dreams of the Hungarian Nation. In the place of the Countess Elemer Lonyay the people gained Sister Stefanie. Through the length and breadth of the land Stefanie Lonyay is now known by that humble title. Her heart, her soul, her every thought belongs to the Hungarian Nation. She is like an angel among us. By night and day she lives only to minimize suffering.

I know from personal observation that her expenditures amount to a fortune.

No less than seven committees look to her for aid. She clothes the poor, she maintains whole families, complete hospital equipments are due to her benevolence. The magnificent castle, Oroszva-Lonyay, has been turned into one of the most perfect hospitals, where a hundred wounded are being nursed back to life and military activity.

Countess Karl Khuen-Hedervary of Croatia is Second President of the Hungarian Red Cross Society. Her chief aim is to make the state of convalescence of the soldiers a means for making them spiritually receptive.

The splendid Hungarian writer, Countess Alexander Teleki, whose works, under the pseudonym "Szikra," have gained lasting fame, takes an active part in the humanitarian labors of the hour. Her intellectual faculties prove of vast usefulness, and she is wonderful in originating new ideas that are decidedly practical. In the war hospital in Munkacsy Street, where she is the presiding genius of the kitchen, she works wonders. In her are combined many qualities—the artist with the pen who at the same time is the exemplary housekeeper.

In the romantically beautiful region of Tatra stands the charming villa, Szikra-Haus. Countess Teleki built it from the income derived from her writings, and here, in Summer, she used to come to get away from the world. For more than a year Szikra-Haus has been deserted, and since the war's terrors have struck home Countess Alexander Teleki's whole mind, her soul, her intellectual gifts are the property of the nation.

Countess Sigmund Mikes is the beneficent angel of the important Siebengurgen committee. She collected thousands of kronen for the Auguste Fund's section, "Gold for Iron." She erected a refreshment station, and the many wounded in transit have cause to bless her name. Countess Sigmund Mikes is also known as

one of the best of housewives, and she has the additional qualification of being considered one of the handsomest women in all Hungary.

Countess Julius Andrássy has been the originator of many plans that have been found exceedingly useful. She is a devoted nurse and with the Countess Ludwig Batthyany enjoys wide popularity among the nobility of Hungary. Society in Budapest was not to be thought of without these members of the aristocracy.

Countess Albert Apponyi, the worthy helpmate of her famous husband, is of Austrian descent, but she speaks faultless Hungarian and is everywhere to help the needy. Since the beginning of the war she has given herself completely over to nursing. She, too, has made of her castle, the ancient seat of Eberhard, a hospital. Here she is nobly assisted by her daughter, Marica Apponyi.

Mme. Albert Berzeviczy, wife of the former Cabinet Minister and President of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Science, is at the head of the General Charitable Society, and also the leader of the section of the Auguste Fund called "For the Educated Poor." She is very discreet in her office and finds in Mme. von Kralman a most able assistant in the distribution of articles to wear as well as food.

Mme. Leo von Lanczy was one of the chief workers in the organization of the "Central People's Kitchen." She never fails to be on hand where most needed. Her husband, his Excellency von Lanczy, is the President of the Pester Hungarian Commercial Bank. Finally, we must not fail to mention the Countess Denise Almasy, whose self-sacrifice is shown by her labors in one of the contagious disease hospitals, where she is completely cut off from contact with the outer world.



Human Documents of the War Fronts

Again the human side of life at the battle fronts furnishes some of the most illuminating and touching literature of the war. The group of sketches, letters, personal experiences, and pen pictures here presented is selected for its emotional interest, irrespective of nationality.

The Dying Agony of a Nation

Scenes of Horror in Serbia

The following piece of appalling realism is the eyewitness narrative of Henri Barby, a French journalist, and was forwarded to The London Daily News by its Paris correspondent:

ON the evening of his arrival at Rashka he came upon M. Pachitch, standing sad and solitary on the bridge over the Ibar.

"It is here that we were born," remarked the great Serb statesman, the tears running down his cheeks; "Heaven grant that Rashka be not our grave."

But already the Austro-Germans were threatening, and the retreat was resumed to Novi Bazar and Mitrovitza; and no sooner had the Government and Headquarters Staff reached Mitrovitza than they had to fly from it.

The panic at Mitrovitza may be readily understood. It was the morning of Nov. 16. After the authorities had left, every one who had at his disposal any means of locomotion hurriedly packed a few provisions and clothes and hastened to follow. At the station were crowded 10,000 fugitives, but the last train had left with the baggage and archives of the Headquarters Staff.

After a morning's feverish search (continued M. Barby) I was fortunate enough to be taken on the lorry of the Chief of the Army Telegraph and Telephone Service, who was endeavoring to save the most precious parts of his material. The lorry was already crowded, but I had no luggage. With the exception of the clothes I was wearing, my sole possession was an Austrian knapsack, which I had picked up on the battlefield of the Tser in August, 1914. In it were some biscuits, articles of toilet, a pair of boots, and a blanket.

I describe my own plight, but I was

one of the privileged in the frightful débâcle. The destitution of the Serb soldiers and people was complete. Most of them were in rags and went barefoot, and they lived on raw cabbage and maize.

But all the miseries, all the sufferings which I had till then witnessed were as nothing beside the frightful things I saw on quitting Mitrovitza. We had hardly proceeded three miles when we found the road blocked by some thirty motor cars and lorries imbedded in the mud. Soldiers and gangs of prisoners were endeavoring to extricate them from the quagmire. Only people on foot or on horseback could get by—and Lipliane was still thirty miles off. Finally, after waiting four hours I set off on foot in the night, and after two hours' march through a pelting rain I reached Vuchitru. On the next day, Nov. 17, the rain, which had not ceased, fell in torrents, the cold became sharper, and soon a driving snowstorm covered the town, the immense plain of Kossovo, and the surrounding mountains. The road alone was darkened by the crowd of fugitives who spent the night amid the storm, stumbling on with drooping heads, dazed with fatigue, suffering, and despair. To my last day I shall remember that fearful march across the plain of Kossovo from Vuchitru to Prishtina. Around me all the unhappy fugitives were exhausted. Overcome by the cold, by the sudden snowstorm, numbers of them fell on the road among sunken lorries, overturned and broken vehicles, dead oxen and horses.

None of the pictures recalling the retreat from Moscow gives any idea of the terrifying spectacle spread out as far as the eye could reach in all its tragic real-

ity. I saw a woman stretched out on the step of a lorry which had sunk in the mud. She was straining to her breast a baby already stark and stiff. She, too, was dying of cold and hunger. A little girl—eight years at most—shivering under a tattered shawl, was vainly trying to raise her; then, scared all at once by her mother's frightful silence, she burst into sobs and fell on her knees.

Further on, again, a little boy was cowering by the ditch. Tears were streaming down his wan cheeks and his teeth were chattering. I questioned him. He had lost his parents and had eaten nothing for two days. He could go no further. What could I do? I gave him what was left of my maize bread and

went on with sinking heart unable to restrain my own tears. * * *

The first time I witnessed this frightful agony it seemed to me that the poor wretch who was dying before my eyes was intoxicated. After a supreme effort to rise, he rolled his head from this side to that and moved his legs. Then his movements grew feebler till they ceased entirely and all was over.

Right through that awful day I witnessed the agony of the Serb people in that same valley of Kossovo where five centuries earlier the first great Serb Empire had gone under.

And the snow kept on falling, covering the dead and the dying and lashing the faces of those who still held out.

The Trail of Death in Armenia

This harrowing account of Turkish atrocities in Asia Minor was furnished to a London newspaper correspondent in Egypt by a young woman who had been a British missionary of the American Board, and had just arrived from Beirut. The incident she relates occurred in the late Summer and Autumn. She herself saw and talked with the refugees at Aleppo and Aintab.

AT Aleppo were the remnants of 5,000 exiles who had started from Kharput. When they began their journey they were of all ages and of both sexes. Among them were many intelligent and refined young women who had graduated from Constantinople College and the Euphrates College. Their treatment at the hands of the gendarmes, and their fate as occupants of harems, are almost unthinkable. When the refugees came to cross the rivers that flow into the Euphrates, the able-bodied men were drowned. Further on, the survivors, now only old men, women, and children, were stripped of all their clothing. Naked, they waded through streams, slept in the chilly nights, and bore the heat of the sun. They were brought into Aleppo for the last few miles in third-class railway carriages, herded together like so many animals. When the doors of the carriages were opened they were jeered at by the populace for their nakedness. Of the 5,000 that had started from Kharput only 213 were left!

On the way from Kharput one party of 40 women came to a river at dusk.

The gendarmes told them to strip and wade across. This they did, thinking that the gendarmes would follow with their clothing. Instead, they turned back, taking all the animals, baggage, clothing, and food with them, and leaving the naked women alone for the night. Another caravan of refugees came along later and found the women in their unhappy plight.

In Marash an orphanage had to be given up to the Turks, who turned it over to men. Its occupants were girls and young women, made orphans by the massacres of 1909 and preceding years. Many of them were cultured young women. The condition of those not yet dead is worse than death itself. In a German orphanage at Marash there were more than 1,000 girls. The order for expatriation came, and, in order that she might shield a few of the older girls, the headmistress kept them under her own protection. Soon there came a telegram from the German Consul at Aleppo, saying, "You have hidden some girls. You have no business to do such a thing. Give them up." The girls had to be given

up, and were taken away to suffer the inevitable at the hands of their Turkish masters. This so angered the headmistress that she went to Constantinople to protest to the German Ambassador. She tried repeatedly to interview him on the subject, but failed every time. She was told curtly that it was none of her business. Broken-hearted, she returned to do what little relief work might be possible.

Near Aintab the refugees were not permitted to camp near any water, nor were they even allowed to go for any. Miss — finally secured permission from a Turkish gendarme to give a pittance of food to the miserable multitude. While she was distributing it, the gen-

darme suddenly became excited and began striking her. The reason for his action was the approach of some German officers on horseback. One of them rode directly at Miss — with the plain intention of riding her down. However, she braced herself and suffered only a bruise from contact with the horse's head. She was then rushed off by a gendarme at the command of the German officer.

The officer also said, in her hearing, to the Turkish gendarmes, "You are too easy with the people. Draw your whips and beat this crowd." The Turks obeyed, and began beating the suffering crowd of old men, women, and children.

How We Captured a General

A Russian Soldier's Story

By H. Hamilton Fyfe

Special Petrograd correspondent of The London Daily Mail

IN the Pinsk marshes there is a little town called Nevel. Near this the Prussian General commanding the Eighty-second Division had made himself as comfortable as he could in a substantial country house. The house stands in a garden. There are no other houses quite near. Of course the staff of the Russian division which lay to the eastward knew all about it. They had local eyes and ears at their service. But it was not any one upon the staff who conceived the bold idea of raiding the Prussian General's headquarters.

It was to the ambitious imagination of a young officer in charge of a scouting party that the thought of this triumph presented itself. He knew the country. Among the swamps a small number of men might pass by paths known only to the peasants, with such a secret movement as would escape the notice of any German outpost. The house, he learned, was not closely guarded; it would be some few minutes before help could arrive. A kidnapping expedition would be risky. Its success must depend upon the swift and

ruthless energy with which the attack was made. Any delay would mean certain failure. It would be "touch and go" in deadly earnest.

He resolved, however, to risk it. Others were easily found to share the peril—and the hoped-for glory. Preparations were scarcely needed. This was fortunate, for if such plans are talked about they have a way of becoming known to outsiders; the enemy's gold can often buy the secret. All that had to be done was to secure a guide knowing every track across the marshes who could be trusted, and to wait for a dark night.

The night came, solidly black, with a low sky from which scattered snowflakes fell. The scouting party was paraded. Without being told that anything special was their night's work, they started off. Scouts generally put some food into their haversacks, for they never know how long they may be away. Sometimes they have to hide for days before they get a chance to return with their information, picked up literally "under the enemy's nose." They were well provided this

time, and when their guide joined them they were told to eat something and to make tea before they set off on their fifteen-mile tramp across the bitter bog-land. They were also taken now into their officers' confidence.

At last, after hours of tramping through desolation, they saw lights far away. These were the lights of the little town. Again they took a bite, while the officer in command explained to them what each must do. They had crossed one river already. They had another to ford now. Then they would be close to the house which they had come to raid, the house where the General and his staff were probably asleep, unsuspecting, little thinking that before morning they would be prisoners in the Russian lines.

Now they moved more carefully than ever. Beyond the Stokhod River they were among the enemy's detachments. They had pierced deep into the country occupied by the "Niemtsi," (Russian for "Germans," literally "the dumb ones," because long ago the first Germans who were seen by the Russian peasants could not speak Russian and to them were therefore "dumb.") Here it is impossible to hold a continuous front. The marshes prevent it. This marsh which our scouts had crossed seemed to the enemy to be uncrossable, and therefore a secure barrier. Very soon they were to be roughly undeceived.

There were no sentries outside the garden. The raiders got into it and had surrounded the house before they were noticed. Sentries back and front kept guard, unfearing. Suddenly death took them in the darkness. Before the life was out of them the Russians were in the house.

The teller of the story entered a room where a soldier sat with receivers over his ears sleepily waiting for a telephone message. This room was lighted up. The rest of the house seemed to be dark. The soldier did not look around. He heard some one enter, but evidently thought it a comrade.

There was a pause of half a minute. The house was so still that those who

had got into the telephone room felt doubtful what to do next. Death stood by the German soldier's elbow. Then a voice in the next room cried out sharply, "Wer da?" ("Who's that?") and the German soldier's life was over. The telephone instrument was smashed at once. Next moment the whole place was in an uproar.

Shots were fired. Shouts came from all sides. Soldiers appeared buckling their belts. All who showed themselves to the scouts left outside the house were either bayoneted or bombed. The bursting of the hand grenades, the yells of the terrified Germans, the leaping flames of a fire started by an overturned lamp, the hoarse bellowing of orders which could not be obeyed, the hard breathing of those who were engaged in death-struggles within the house—all combined to make up a scene wilder and grimmer than any which could be imagined.

Now picture the General's bedroom. It was next to the room where the soldier with the telephone sat. Our scouts, running in, see "a man no longer young," half dressed, just as he had lain down on the bed. Half asleep still, but sufficiently awake to be furiously angry, and very much "rattled" at the same time. A battle is one thing. To be kidnapped is quite another. A pitiable plight for "one no longer young."

No escaping this ignominious fate, however. Seized is the angry General and hustled out. With him three of his officers, one of them, like himself, of General rank, the headquarter's doctor; a few privates. Hustled out through the garden, down the river bank, over the river, now they can go more gently. And now they hear the rattle of rifle fire. Assistance has arrived. They hear their men shouting. But they are beyond reach.

Those who had been left behind soon followed. The Germans were arriving in numbers too formidable. Our scouts made for the river, crossed it, and were lost in the gloom of the further bank. Only two were left behind with death wounds. Nine were wounded slightly. All got back safely before daylight.

The Escape From Suvla and Anzac

A Naval Officer's Story

This graphic story of how the British effected the secret evacuation of Gallipoli Peninsula appeared in The London Times of Jan. 20. It was written by a naval officer on one of the two battleships that covered the withdrawal.

WE have at last come through a most trying time with complete success. To tell you all about it I must go back to the very beginning. We left Mudros and went to Suvla Bay on Dec. 4, and on that date or thereabout the authorities at home decided that Suvla and Anzac were to be evacuated. The wisdom or otherwise of this step I am not in a position to judge, though I personally think they were right to do it. Ian Hamilton put down his probable casualties at 50 per cent. of his men. I have to tell of how it was done without one single casualty other than three killed, five wounded.

The first fortnight was spent in getting off at night, and gradually the horses, stores, motors, and guns. Day after day, night after night, was calm and still, but as the moon waxed and the nights got lighter it seemed impossible that the Turks on the hills five miles away could fail to see the ships that stole in after dark and stole out again full up in the early dawn. During the day things went on as usual. There were no infantry attacks, but continual artillery duels, in which the two covering battleships, ourselves and another, took a very big part. When the last week came the number of men was reduced to the completely fit; all weaklings and men not in full health were out of it; all the slightly wounded had gone, and the trenches were held by all the very best available. Large quantities of empty boxes were piled up in conspicuous places, and the position looked as if it were going to be held for the whole Winter.

On Monday, the 13th, the final week began, and frequent consultations were held between the Generals and our Captain, who was senior naval officer, and the nights began to be very busy. The Turks became much more vigorous, and

shelled the beaches and main positions continuously all the day, but fortunately not at all at night. In addition they got up some heavy howitzers away behind the hills that caused us considerable anxiety. To help us knock them out the balloon ship came up, but the continual gentle moist south winds kept the clouds very low and she couldn't see.

Saturday passed quietly, and on Saturday evening at 6 o'clock we went to action stations, the ship cleared and fixed with a stern anchor broadside on to the Turkish position, every gun trained in readiness to support and prevent a Turkish attack in force on our weakened lines. By 7 o'clock the first big transport was in and the embarkation began. In absolute silence it continued all night. The moon was three-quarters full, the night clear, but the Turks never moved, and as the dawn broke and the last transport slunk away one ventured almost to breathe. All Sunday we continued at our stations. No church, Captain's inspection; but the day wore on, and still the Turks made no sign. They shelled the beach, of course, as usual, but they also shelled—cheering sight!—a low hill from which every gun and every man had been removed. It seemed almost too much to hope that they could still be in ignorance of what was going on under their noses, and yet the day wore through, the sun went down, and with it the wind, till the moon rose on a sea flat and oily and raised a slight mist which hung low on the water and in the nullahs and valleys running up into the hills. The transports came in and the last men began to leave.

It was arranged that the firing line of trenches should be evacuated at 1:30 P. M., the men leaving behind traps, and mines with trip wires, automatic bomb-throwers, and candles and slow matches

primed to imitate a desultory rifle fire. One-thirty came; 2:30 and still no sign—where were their patrols? Surely they must know that the trenches that for so long had faced them were now empty. Eight-thirty, and the last companies were down to the beaches. Only the engineers remained to burn and destroy the stores left over which could not be removed. Just before 4 the first fire was started and rapidly spread a mass of leaping, roaring flames that cast a glow of red over the heavens and lit up the whole scene, and still the Turks never moved. It was as though they had been smitten with blindness, as Elisha smote the Syrians, and were not permitted to see.

Soon after 4 an enormous fire was lit near Suvla Point, and thousands of empty boxes burned furiously, and at the same time there was a big explosion away up near our front lines, but of what I couldn't make out. About 4:30 a large motor lighter that had been wrecked some weeks previously, and that had defied all attempts to refloat

it, was blown up with a terrific report, and, catching alight, added its quota to the glare that was lighting up everything.

But it was not till dawn, "rosy fingered," was heralding the day that the Turks opened fire. They shelled the empty beaches, dropped shrapnel on the vacated trenches, and even in their mystification put big, heavy, high explosive shells into the flaming piles. We then opened fire on everything that had been left behind—sunken lighters and ships—and the unique sight was seen of ourselves and the enemy shelling the same target simultaneously. Soon they turned their attention to us, but their shooting was very wild, and they never got within 100 yards of us. And as we left—the last ship to leave the spot where so many hopes were buried—they were still frantically shelling—nothing! Late last night as we lay a dozen miles away the glow of the fires was still visible. This morning, 24 hours after, a furious southerly gale has sprung up, and is driving huge seas before it into the little bay.

The Jewish Cemetery of Muravica

By Eugene Szatmari

This fine German description of the fate of a quiet Jewish cemetery during the fierce fighting between the Russians and the Austro-German forces on the southern front in November was printed in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of Jan. 4. Muravica is a small town on the bank of the Ikwa River in Volhynia, about thirteen miles northwest of Dubno.

IN the days of peace that are flown the abandoned and desolate Jewish churchyard of Muravica may have been one of those bizarre spots that would certainly have stirred the imagination of an Edgar Allan Poe or of a Villiers de l'Isle Adam. No longer, however, is it merely an abandoned cemetery, full of weird shades and ghostly forms. It is more, much more. It is a symbol.

This cemetery represents the persecuted Jewish people of Russia. At the edge of the little village, on the bank of the peaceful Ikwa, on an abandoned hillside covered with an impenetrable thicket, they, the branded and persecuted ones,

are sleeping their last, eternal sleep; the last, and perhaps the first, quiet sleep they had ever found in the limitless empire of the White Czar.

The grotesque monuments—slender, circular red and white headstones—form a phantastic union with the thick foliage, and on quiet nights stand out like spirits, faintly reflecting the pale bluish light of the moon.

It was an abandoned cemetery, a damned spot. No true believer, no real Russian, dared to set foot upon the accursed soil of the Jewish churchyard. Then came the war, and the quiet churchyard became a battlefield. The still air

was shattered by the roar of cannon, while shells tore great holes among the heaps of yellow bones. Now the cemetery is criss-crossed with trenches. The monuments and headstones are now on the firing line.

The cemetery arose. It understood the meaning of this battle and took its place in the ranks of the warriors. The churchyard of the oppressed extended a fraternal hand to the living fighters for freedom and took them under its protection. The dead gave up their monuments to be transformed into shields against shrapnel and bullets. They sacrificed their names graven on the stones in order to guard the emancipators against the enemy's fire. They allowed their last resting places to serve as emplacements for mine throwers and machine guns which mowed down the enemy by the hundreds.

Now living men have established themselves amid the tombs, and a thin column of smoke curls up from among the remaining headstones—the smoke from the little stoves that warm the shelters of the Honveds, (the Hungarian Landwehr.)

But the dead did still more—their yellow bones stiffen the yielding sand of the graves. Often the foot strikes against a round object. It is a skull—an old, yellow skull, which rolls away with a grin.

The cemetery is fighting. It guards, defends, and attacks. On a dark November night as the enemy's shouts of

"Urri! Urri!" resounded before the barbed wire entanglements the quiet graveyard turned itself into a hell that spewed liquid fire. Exploding mines flew from the transformed graves, hidden machine guns spat death and destruction, shells burst in the thick underbrush among the stones, so that the dry branches cracked and groaned, rifle bullets whizzed against the Hebrew letters and ricocheted with loud whines, while the pale light of the hand searchlights covered the scene with an oppressive, ghostly reflection, and, high above the cemetery, shrapnel was bursting and hurling its deadly leaden spawn into the ranks of the enemy. The graveyard repulsed five attacks and remained the victor.

Since that time it has become silent and still again. It keeps quiet and waits. It is but seldom that a stray bullet whizzes into its thicket. The snow has covered everything with its white mantle. A deep stillness reigns in the cemetery, but it is not the stillness of death. Rather is it the conscious silence of resolute attention and of iron resistance. At night, when the glittering eye of the searchlight wanders over the churchyard, the few headstones that are left stand out in the shining rays like a resolute band of petrified soldiers, boldly defying every power in the world.

Yes, they are symbolic, those slender stones, with their round heads, whose shadows seem so fearfully like those of living men.

A Disillusioned Socialist

The following letter, written by a German soldier, was found upon him when he was made prisoner Oct. 30, 1915, at the time of the German counterattack at Tahure. The translation was sent to The London Times by its Paris correspondent:

DURING the next few days terrible things are going to happen, and who knows whether I shall get out safe and sound? We have already realized that it won't be as simple as it was in Russia. * * *

I am not dying for ideas that people in slippered ease call the "love for their country." I, too, am going to be a victim of the terrible madness that has seized all peoples. I have often dreamed of a new kingdom where all peoples would be united in brotherly affection, where differences of race and nationality would cease to exist. There would be one kingdom like that for which the Social Democrats were preparing the way in times of peace, but which, alas! the war has shown to be valueless. I hoped to

become a party leader, the head of a great newspaper which would help to guide the various peoples to an ideal state. * * * But now this terrible war has broken out, fostered by a few men who are sending their subjects, or, rather, their slaves, to the fields of battle to have them massacred like animals.

This war has degenerated terribly: hand grenades, mines, and, what is worse than all, asphyxiating shells, with chlorine and other gases—these are now the principal weapons in hand-to-hand combats. I should like to go to the men they have made our enemies and say: "Brothers, let us fight together.

The enemy is behind us." Since I have been in uniform I feel no hatred for those in front of me, but my hatred is increasing for those who have the power.

We Germans want to be at the head of the peoples. Are we a day further forward than we were 1,000 years ago? The most deadly arms, even the terrible chlorine attacks, were started by us. Possibly I shall not come back from the attacks of the next few days, but for those who do return it should be a sacred object to take vengeance on the few who have on their consciences the lives of hundreds of thousands of men.

My Baptism of Fire.

The following description of a raid by a German warship upon a Russian base in the Abo Archipelago, off the Baltic coast of Finland, is taken from a letter in which a seventeen-year-old engine tender tells of his "baptism of fire." It was printed in a recent issue of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*.

SOME days before we and a small cruiser had received instructions to be in readiness to raid Uto, a base for Russian cruisers and torpedo boats in the Abo Archipelago. Which of us was finally to do the job had been kept secret by the Admiral until the morning of our arrival in the mouth of the Gulf of Finland. Consequently officers and men were at a high tension as we sighted the rocky coast in the gray of the morning. Who will be assigned the task—we or the little cruiser?

Soon, to our general surprise, up goes the signal for the latter. The little cruiser crowds on all steam and heads for the island, whose lighthouse is clearly outlined against the horizon. Then hostile destroyers are seen and the cruiser proceeds to give them chase.

Suddenly a signal is run up on our flagship, saying, "His Majesty's ship X. is to bombard Uto." Now our enthusiasm knows no bounds. Every man of us is aware that we are facing a worthy, warlike task, and that we are to go into action under the very eyes of our Admiral and of the crews of the other ships of the fleet. Our decks are cleared and we rush for the island at full speed. We run through a nest of mines, and then

we lay our course through the rocky, dangerous passage for the lighthouse.

In the meantime the little cruiser has driven the torpedo boats to the coast. At the same moment a Russian armored cruiser of the Bajan class is sighted behind the island. We can see her four stacks projecting above the cliffs. "An enemy armored cruiser in sight," is shouted through every speaking tube. Now there is no doubt that we shall come to grips with a floating fighting force, and that is our highest aim. For only then will the crew have a chance to show what it has learned during the long period of training.

At 7,000 yards' distance we turn in our course and at the same moment the first broadsides from our heavy and intermediate batteries are hurled at the armored cruiser and the torpedo boats. Unfortunately they do not even return our fire. The torpedo boats disappear behind the island and the cruiser increases her speed through the rocky channel until she is from eight to ten miles away. Only her smokestacks and masts remain visible for a little while, as her hull is hidden behind the projecting cliffs.

Suddenly, however, we are greeted by

a heavy fire from hitherto concealed land batteries. By the flash of their guns we recognize no fewer than three batteries, with what seems to be a masked battery of howitzers back of them. We must admit that the Russians shoot pretty well, as soon a number of well-placed shots begin to hail around our ship and to throw up the water in our immediate neighborhood, while a peculiar humming fills the air, only to be drowned out every now and then by the thunder of our own guns.

Our speed is increased and our course is changed, and all the while our cannon are not idle. Attack is always the best method of defense, and one after the other our heavy 28-centimeter shells find their way into the enemy batteries with deadly accuracy, and one by one their guns are put out of action in the midst of terrific explosions. The Russians defend themselves bravely, but their fire dies down slowly, and in a few minutes we know that the batteries have been silenced.

Our ship has been hit by only a single shell. It crashed against our forward stack, scattering explosives all about, but without doing any great damage or wounding anybody. For the ship

the blow signifies merely an honorable scar from the flame of battle.

But as our gunners are turning their attention to the armored cruiser, which we would like to get in contact with, another enemy is sighted. A hostile submarine has crept up near us. We dodge its first torpedo by means of a quick turn. Then two of our torpedo boats, which have been at our side during the fight, make a dash for the dangerous opponent. But as the flagship has noticed another submarine, which evidently plans to attack us on our way out of the channel, we are signaled that it is time to leave these dangerous waters.

Our task is done. The armored cruiser is not to be reached and the batteries have been silenced, and so, keeping the enemy under fire to the last, his Majesty's ship X. steams in a zigzag course out of the difficult channel, and finally rejoins the rest of the fleet. A signal is hoisted to show us and our Captain how our energetic bombardment is appreciated.

All is gay as we enter our home port at last. The searchlights play upon the shore, the band plays "Proud Waves the Flag," the crew sings with it, and the full moon smiles in the sky.

A Night In Artois

By Hermann Katsch

[From the North German Gazette.]

IT was already twilight as I came down from the heights of Vimy through the deep connecting trench, and after a short visit in the regimental underground shelter where we chatted about the fighting and the poor prospects of the hostile offensive, it was entirely dark.

How am I to get to N., whence a railroad leads to our temporary quarters? There is no help to be had from the near-by engineers' camp, as all the wagons are at the front line with material for the building of trenches and shelters.

A little wagon comes rolling along in

the dark and is halted. It has just brought two officers to that vicinity. In accordance with the hospitality and amiability which is taken as a matter of course in life at the front, we at once receive permission to travel to N. in the little vehicle.

In N. we hear that it will be three hours before the train leaves. Here everybody knows what this means, at home they probably don't. The little station is barely lighted at all. There are no conveniences, not even a warm room. Therefore all one can do is to sit down in some dark corner. But there is a damp, piercing cold, and our shoes

and leggings are covered with wet, sticky mud, which certainly doesn't warm us. Since morning we have eaten hardly anything. So it is rather uncomfortable, but—the fellows in the trenches are still worse off. They are uncomfortable all the time, and besides they have to be ready to fight at any minute. Consequently, we don't complain, but reconcile ourselves to the inevitable. Then the station agent suddenly declares that if we cross over to B. M. we may arrive much sooner at D., our goal. It is only a half hour's walk. In order to lose no time, we start at once, as distance is estimated under ordinary conditions and when the road is full of slippery mud and slime it often seems a third longer.

On every hand we see nothing but soldiers. The inhabitants are not allowed to leave their villages and the sight of a civilian on the road, especially in the evening, is something unheard of. We are looked at with suspicion by everybody, pocket lanterns are flashed on us and at every step we are asked to show our passes. So it is advisable to attach yourself to some group or individual going the same way, after you have proved your identity.

Therefore, after a few minutes, I was marching along with a tall young chap who was bound for B. M. He had been wounded, was no longer fit for service in the field and was now working with the supply corps. He didn't exactly know why he was on this trip. He had been informed from his battalion that he must go at once to Hamburg, as he was called by a private telegram. "I married when the war broke out," he said. "I know my wife has been sick. But my old mother has been sick too. Where shall I go first when I reach home?" He dropped his head on his breast and walked in silence for a while. Finally he made his decision. He would first go to his wife's parents and learn there what sorrow awaited him. He had a serious, sad journey before him.

In B. M. there were some men waiting for the train a very tall young man in civilian dress, a slim Prussian

artillery officer, and a very young Lieutenant of Engineers. Each one entered a different compartment. After twenty minutes came the cry of "Everybody out!" We were in L., and would have to wait there in a station still smaller than the one at N. The distinguished civilian, the artilleryman, and the engineer began to walk up and down, with slow, patient strides. Their frequent meetings brought mutual introductions and a brief conversation.

The gentleman in civilian dress was after the body of his brother, who had fallen a short time ago. The artilleryman was accompanying the body of his brother, and he pointed to a closed freight car, which had a large cross painted on it. The engineer was on his way home to attend the funeral of his mother. Last Spring two of his older brothers had fallen. The grief gnawing at the mother's heart had been more than she could bear. Her last joy was the news that her youngest, who was a volunteer, had been made an officer.

The horizon was wrapped in darkness and fog, but here and there faint lights could be seen, weak reflections of the fireballs and rockets being set up at the front, and now nearer, now further away, the roar of the artillery continued without interruption. And the men walked up and down, back and forth, in silent meditation, filled with serious thoughts which probably were all about the same.

At last the train arrived, drawn by a little freight engine. The car carrying the dead officer was coupled on, and we all entered the train. Sometimes it is a good thing when your thoughts are kept occupied by recent impressions. For a seemingly endless journey in the poorly built Belgian coaches, which are not equipped for heating, is much worst than a march over muddy roads.

It was 2 o'clock in the morning when we arrived in the dead city. Every light had been extinguished long before. Not a step nor a voice was to be heard. Only the distant roll of the artillery. The three men with their serious thoughts continued their journey toward home via Valenciennes.

The Siege of France

By Bernhard Kellerman

[Translated for Current History from the Berlin Tageblatt]

AND the siege continues! On this front, hundreds of miles long, our brave fellows lie in the trenches—by night, by day, and at this very moment as I write these words. Away up yonder in Flanders the water reaches to their knees. The pumps are kept steadily at work, but that does not help much. In spite of cement, beams, props, and wickerwork, trenches cave in here and there every day; and the toilsome task of piling up the sandbags must be begun again and again. When the men leave the trenches they have to wade through the water for half a mile or more. In the Champagne district they are white with lime and chalk; in the Argonne and the Vosges they are covered with mud to their very ears. Here, too, the pumps are hard at work to keep the water down.

It snows; the wind roars; the rain falls in torrents. Then a change, and we are frozen by the cold. When the men leave the trenches for a spell of rest away from the firing line they have to support themselves on sticks and crutches, for the water and the frost have played havoc with their weary limbs. No army of earlier times could have brought to its task such a store of energy. Even Napoleon himself would hardly have ventured to make such claims on his veterans. The stubborn will of our warriors has doubled, quintupled itself. The very blood is ankle-deep—the blood of the enemy, and often also, alas! of their own comrades as well—and their brows are worthy of the laurel.

In mud and water, between rows of rain-sodden and bullet-ridden sandbags, stands the soldier on guard—on guard in the narrow labyrinth of trenches, behind walls of sandbags, behind the shreds and tatters of walls that have been shelled over and over again, behind tangled tree stumps, arranged criss-cross fashion.

On guard from the Belgian coast, where the cruel Winter sea hurls its waves against the bleak shore, all the way down to the Swiss border, where the mountains stretch up to the Alps. As I write, a hundred thousand men on this line are employed on guard duty alone. There they stand, five or ten paces from one another, their rifles at their shoulders, and keep watch. Behind row and row of sandbags the machine guns lie in wait day and night. The gunners lie or squat in the damp soil, awaiting the signal to rush to their posts and throw their lives to the hazard, as they have been doing for the last seventeen months. The water drips from their caps. They are silent; their eyes turn toward the Fatherland. There they lie in their little dugout of loam or chalk, their boots and overcoats thick with mud; and they try to sleep and to think of nothing. The guard calls, and they start to their feet. They drink their portion of soup, while the water trickles in between the sandbags and the downpour of rain soaks them to the very skin.

Here lie two or three crooked spikes, there a coil of wire choked with mud; two or three bundles of clothes are scattered about, half sunken in the earth; a dead body or two, which have lain just outside the trenches for weeks and cannot be buried—and over yonder, perhaps 30, 50, or 100 yards away, the enemy. That is all they see; that is their world. Between the wire entanglements, stretching over a distance of hundreds of miles, between the two opposing lines of trenches, lies thick the girdle of dead. Nothing, either by day or by night, springs from this lifeless strip of land, still as the grave. Platoons, companies, battalions, and whole regiments have sunk into this girdle of dead—hundreds of thousands of strong men, summoned once upon a time to live and to carry forward the work of humanity.

Death and his cursed lieutenants (who avoid this lifeless zone!) have reaped a good harvest this year.

The rats swarm out of the shattered villages; the ravens cry greedily. War is merciless. And nobody who is not actually there has any right to express horror. For, by heaven! it is not much to ask that these who rest in security shall know the whole truth about conditions at the front. A dead man is dead; and there are many things in this war worse than being dead.

And Death, Death is everywhere. As long as there is a front at all, from the sea to the mountains, Death will be everywhere. The long bullets hiss through the air; hand mines and hand grenades find their mark. Projectiles come crashing down from the trench mortars. A portion of the trench shivers for an instant; then is hurled high in the air. Death stretches forth his hand and clutches officers and men—he is

ubiquitous. He is to be found in the ruined villages, where the weary soldier is seeking his rest; in the woods, behind the shelters where the field guns are concealed; up in the sky, under the ground—everywhere.

Last year, in the Winter of 1914, as men in Flanders still tell one another, a huge aeroplane suddenly appeared to spring from nowhere and flew proudly against the sky. It showed no signal, but no one fired. Then it seemed to the on-lookers, awestricken, that a great white flag was gradually unfurled from beneath its wings. It betokened a truce—peace!

No sign of the aeroplane was seen this year, and the siege goes on. The soldier stands at his post, fearless, faithful, noble, and he will remain there, fearless, faithful, and noble, so long as the needs of his Fatherland demand it—until he falls.

Never, either by day or night, should we forget our heroes in the field.

A Paradox of War

[By a British Officer]

The following reflections on the effects of war upon character are from a letter written to his wife by a British officer at the western front:

GENERALLY we all feel in much the same way—the British soldiers at the front. I was telling a Chaplain yesterday of a raid that had been made on the German trenches, and had added: “I suppose about sixty Germans were killed.” “Is that all?” he said, with a real sorrow and disappointment in his voice. If I could have said six hundred he, a Christian priest, would have felt more content. Yet he was a gentle-hearted man.

Talking with him before, he had been exchanging with me observations going to show the great growth of tenderness, of chivalry, of dutiful generosity among the soldiers. We both could cite instance after instance, some of which brought a quaver to the voice and a dimness to the eyes. Put down side

by side these two facts: (1) That in the main the British soldier at the front is a better man for his present experience, better in his thought of his family, to his mates, to the civil population around him, to the animals who serve him, to his German prisoners, and that he is also, clearly, a “softer” man; (2) that he is sternly (cruelly, if you like) set upon destroying Germans, and talks of Hun-killing as the most desirable thing in life.

There appears between the two a chasm of paradox. And I suppose it would be very hard by any process of logic to bridge the chasm. Go behind logic, however, and search in the deeper motives of instinct, and the position is plain enough. A deep, passionate instinct teaches the man in the fighting line that all that makes for the betterment of human life, chivalry, generosity, candor, fair dealing, is threatened with extinction, and he finds himself

unconsciously striving to cherish and foster the gentler side of life at the same time as he sets himself with savage sternness to exterminate the forces which are working for its destruction.

For the German as a prisoner there is a kind welcome. "Tommy" will give him his own rations and tobacco and lend him his coat. For the German as a combatant in the cause of anti-civilization there is a stern hatred which would make it the most welcome of Christmas treats if we were allowed on the 25th to bombard every place which was supposed to shelter a German and to raid every German trench.

There is no "tenderness for Germany" at the front, though there is, to the most careless observation, an increase of human tenderness, and the more it increases the more savage becomes the mood of resolution to finish, once for all, with the enemies of the humane side of life. Imagine a physician facing an outbreak of plague among a population of his friends and his attitude toward the bacillus of the plague. That represents our feeling toward armed Germany. You need not fear for a "disgraceful peace" coming from fatigue on the part of the fighting men. It is the resolution of the talking men you will need to look to.

A Village of Fear

By John N. Raphael

STRANGELY enough, I knew the little town—a village almost—and I had spent an hour there not very long before the war. It used to be one of those staid and quiet little places in the north of France which visitors would call a village, to the townspeople's annoyance. It might have been a little English town, so prim it was. Mrs. Gaskell would have loved it. The little railway station had, of course, as all such railway stations have, its own little garden, bordered on the platform side with neat white stones. * * *

There is no stationmaster now, and Monsieur le Capitaine no longer waits for the afternoon train. There is no afternoon train—there are no trains at all. The station is there, the little garden is there, the houses outside are there, but they are empty and silent.

On either side of the little slope running down to the High Street, the bourgeois-built houses remind one of an angry old lady whom a passing omnibus has made into a figure of fun on a muddy day. They are splattered with mud. They are pock-marked with shrapnel. Here and there shutters have been shattered into little holes and splintered bits, where the whole shutter has not been torn

away. But the houses stand. The walls look tired, but they are whole, though mud and misery have been splashed on them wholesale. They have been caught by the fringe of the storm of hot metal; some antediluvian beast out of a Doré picture or a Conan Doyle story had been nibbling at the slates. Now and again, the top of one of these houses had been forced out into the street, or a great piece has been munched off a corner by a shell.

In the middle of the road is a black marble clock. The glass is broken, but it is otherwise undamaged, and the gilt hands mark twenty minutes past three. At the bottom of the slope is the High Street. It is a street of silence, without any of the poetic glamour which long years of silence lend to such a street. There is no grass on the pavements. There is no moss between the stones. There is mud. There is a hole or two—and there is not a sound.

You know the silence which precedes a storm? This is the silence of the aftermath, and it is ghastly and impressive, more impressive, perhaps, because of the bright Spring sunshine in which it is bathed. Some of the shop fronts have been shaved away by shell, and lie in heaps of dust. The wares are

behind the window frames—there are no windows. There is a roast chicken which a shower of plaster has apparently saved from complete dissolution, and by it, a large dish of horrible, dusty spinach, with a hard-boiled egg on it. Half the shop sign, "Rotisserie," has disappeared. The three letters, "Rot—," which remain tell the story.

The doors of the houses are open, but

nothing lives and nothing stirs, and there is no sound but the click of our own boots on the stones. It is a silence which makes one afraid, and we gulp down the fear to get rid of that lump in the throat which is caused by an infinite pity. We could only make little noises with our lips and teeth, at one another, to express what we were feeling. Neither of us could have spoken.

From an Artilleryman's Notebook

L'Illustration (Paris) has brought together magnificent examples of "the raw material of history," one of which follows:

FOUR A. M.—We install telephone lines between the central post of Massiges and the first line trenches.

6 A. M.—Intensive bombardment of enemy positions; all the calibres join in; it is an uninterrupted drum roll.

The German artillery replies. Naturally they are particularly generous to Massiges; nevertheless a little of their solicitude is extended to the Promontory and to the rear connecting trenches. * * * Oh! This time we have the honor of breathing their asphyxiating gases * * * first a dash of ether, of garlic, then a slight stinging in the eyes. One of us gives terrifying tales of the effects of these gases. We all put on our masks, the gas penetrates, nevertheless; tears come to our eyes, and we feel oppressed. Decidedly, you are better with your face uncovered; let us take off the masks. We all mop our eyes as hard as we can. The Boche jest is poignant; everybody weeps at it! * * *

Finally the gases go away, leaving us violent headaches.

So the real attack is for this morning. In two hours all those who are here, porpoises, (marines,) couriers, telephonists, artillery signalers, will rush to the attack of the Ring and, as we are to pierce it, will go on further. * * *

9:15 A. M.—The commander of the first advance climbs the parapet leisurely, steadily. He rests his weapon on his arm and turns back. All his men,

his two companies, are there. * * * "Forward!" A few yards apart, the porpoises rush forward; he has to hold them back.

"Gently, gently!" says the officer.

The second advance gets out; it follows the first, which has already reached the foot of the Ring.

It is superb, it is unforgettable, danger is forgotten; the silhouettes down there are all ready in the "Kreuter" trench. A contest of cold steel. A conflict begins there which hardly lasts two minutes, and the silhouettes go forward, forward, and disappear in the connecting trench.

A period of pause. With a glance the commander examines all his men.

9:45 A. M.—It is the turn of the fourth wave, our turn, to follow. We have all been out of the trenches this long time; we are eager to go forward.

A fine drizzle is falling. What a misfortune! It will keep our aeroplanes in.

A machine gun masked in the Ring ravine bothers us, it fires on our flank, pours bullets into a battery which has just reached the bridge over the brook. Horses of the gun teams fall, it becomes necessary to unhitch the traces, to drag the poor brutes out of the way. Other horses are wounded and soon all is confusion; horses, men, guns, caissons * * * all tangled together * * * there is no question now of bringing this battery into action.

The horses of the artillery scouting party, eight or ten, are very peacefully cropping grass in the meadow beside us. Already some of them have fallen; the

others look at them. Now there are only five left, then three, then two, then one. The bullets fly * * * the poor brute is struck; * * * it tries to lift its head to see with its great, gentle eyes, whence came the blow which struck it; pitifully it lifts its crest, but the head falls back again * * * convulsive movements, a veil gathers over the eyes, and the fine horse dies!

At last! Here we are on the road to the Ring. We arrive there at quick march. We draw a long breath, the breastwork protects us for the moment from that cursed machine gun.

10:30 A. M.—Here are the first German trenches, the big connecting guts. Everything is turned upside down, it is a vision of chaos. Boards, ends of wood, stick up out of the earth, and the soil is strewn with fragments of bombs, bullets, barbed wire. The Kreuter trench has disappeared; nothing is left of it now but a kind of great rut, and German arms, legs, and bodies, torn by our shrapnel, are half buried in it.

At one place on the slope of a ravine we have to bend down and crawl over corpses, for an enemy machine gun tirelessly sweeps what remains of the parapet. Here and there you catch hold of an arm or a leg to help you over a difficult place.

The first prisoners come down the slope, wan, pitiable. They admit that they have not eaten for three days, our cannon having made the transport of supplies impossible. One of our naval guns has destroyed the Challerange railroad station and cut through the road to Autry. Two shelled railroad trains lie across the tracks and form an inextricable barrier.

A German noncommissioned officer of the Thirtieth Infantry Reserve Regiment declares that our gun fire was frightful, that it was shameful, that we shouldn't do things like that, and so on, * * * and when we laughed he flew into a temper.

The porpoise in charge of a dozen prisoners leaves them half way down the hill; he points out Massiges and the Promontory to them and goes back into the fight. The Boches ask nothing better; formed in rank by their noncom-

missioned officer, who has taken command of them on his own initiative, they take the direction of our former lines, walking rapidly, feeling no desire at all to escape their fate as prisoners of war.

Noon.—We are in the German trenches, an excellent shelter, but full of dead bodies. Our sweepers have passed that way; a squad throws grenades into the saps and hurries on a little further. Another, a little distance behind the first, examines the trenches to make sure that no living Boches are hiding in the crevices.

In these corners a sickening smell of blood strikes your nostrils.

The waves of the assault are in the connecting trenches; pressing close together our men are waiting in the fine drizzle that soaks their clothes.

1 P. M.—The lines are a good deal mixed; bullets are whistling from every direction; they come from the Medius, they come from 191. To get a little shelter we dig in and every one works armed with shovels and picks. We attack the bodies, which have to be taken off the ground and thrown over the breastwork. The German losses caused by our gun fire must have been terrible. Detached heads, arms, legs, are lying here and there. With our shovels we push them out of the way.

The German artillery is still firing feebly; 77s, 105s, burst in the hollows of their former earthworks. Telephone wires, cut in many places, cannot be mended.

Messages are carried to Massiges. It is an exciting race. The machine gun in the ravine sprays the plain where many of us are passing and we walk on without knowing whether the next moment we may not be chosen as a target for the Boche machine guns.

In the hollows of the earthworks and in the ravine from the Brook as far as Massiges, no one killed; by a lucky chance we have only had wounded there.

As he return we lay a telephone wire, but the three hundred yards are still there, hard to pass. We must not let them see that we are laying wires, for the Boches don't like that. Hiding the reel behind our backs or under our

cloaks we unroll the wire as we go, and get past, looking very innocent.

The machine gun crew, busy elsewhere, leaves us alone.

2 P. M.—We have not had anything to eat yet; in the evening, perhaps, if we have time. On the top of the crest we still push forward, but the Germans are building barricades and we work with hand grenades.

"Pass the grenades forward," comes the message, and the bags which contain them come forward to the firing line.

"Pass the cartridges forward"; "Pass the grenades," such is the cry ceaselessly repeated. Beside us the porpoises cut the steel wires which hold the shells in place.

It is still raining; you sink in this harrowed and water-soaked earth.

4 P. M.—All goes well. We are making headway in the approach trenches. At times it is a race. A message to the artillery to lengthen its fire by 200 yards * * * ten minutes after by 400 yards * * * the division asks for explanations; are not these two messages parts of one message? No, no! It is really 200 plus 400, that is, 600.

After the advance a brief pause; German reinforcements.

The struggle with the grenades continues; our men are in their shirtsleeves, for in spite of the rain they have got hot.

Ahead of us no more rifle fire; only on the flanks. Whoever takes the trouble to aim is killed before he has time to fire.

In a munitions depot near Sap IB we find 3,000 German "bedbugs"—that is the name our porpoises give to these grenades. We shall not fail to return them to their former owners.

A Boche creeping out from one knows not where, wild eyed, suddenly appears between the two French lines. He gesticulates, no longer knows what he is doing, and hurls grenades in every direction, at his comrades, at us. A shot from the German trench quiets him.

5 P. M.—The General sends a message: "The right and left are getting well ahead. Stand firm." The Colonel answers: "I am making every effort to maintain my position and even to push forward, but I am partly surrounded and wedged in, in the guts and trenches. You may be certain that I shall hold on to the end, but I need grenades."

It is true that we use them up, but one by one the guts are swept clear and under the rain of explosions the Germans fall, the defenders are killed, the trench is ours. We do not halt, but press forward.

7 P. M.—The night falls, the combat slackens. We come down again to Massiges, fearing no counterattack on the part of the Boches. The day is good. We have taken eight successive lines of trenches. As a measure of precaution we organize them defensively in any case.

9 P. M.—We are at Massiges, with empty bellies. We eat with good appetites * * * then we go to sleep, for we are ready to sleep standing up.

11 P. M.—Another alarm! We get the signal that the Germans are busy, too busy for our taste, in their trenches on A 47 and A 48.

The information is telephoned to the artillery. The 75s fire, and from up there they signal at last that there is less noise.

The soldiers stretch themselves on the earth and sleep the sleep of the just * * *



Europe's Economic Predominance in Danger

By Professor Willy Wygodzinski of Bonn

The following article by a noted Professor of Philosophy and writer on economics in the University of Bonn, warning the belligerents of the probable effects of the continuance of the war upon their position in the world markets, originally appeared in the *Cologne Gazette* on Dec. 24, 1915:

DR. HELFFERICH, the Imperial Treasurer, in his report to the Reichstag on Dec. 14 estimated the daily cost of the war at from \$80,000,000 to \$82,500,000, or a yearly total of from \$30,000,000,000 to \$32,500,000,000. These figures seem fantastic, but they are nothing more than the concrete expression of a grim reality. And in these figures only the immediate expenses of the war are included, i. e., what the belligerent States are laying out for warlike purposes. They do not cover the expenses of individuals, the destruction of goods, or the falling off in production.

It is easily comprehensible, therefore, that in these circumstances the leading financial organ of Great Britain, *The Economist*, raises the question if it is not possible to conclude an honorable peace before Europe goes into general bankruptcy. Indeed, the question of how the economic future of Europe has been and will continue to be affected by the war deserves the most careful attention.

Europe, or to speak more exactly, Northwestern Europe, has been up to the present the spiritual and economic centre of the world. Its advanced position has been due to no small extent to the restless economic urge of Germany, which, often enough against their will, dragged the older countries with it. Two things have threatened this European hegemony during the last few decades; the slow upward march of the United States of America and the force with which Japan, leaving the Middle Ages behind, thrust itself into the ranks of the great powers. So far, the other Asiatic or African countries have not been able to reach a

similar height. The development of Canada and Australia has been limited partly by natural and partly by cultural reasons. The nations of Central and South America, the climatic conditions of which place them in the position of being essentially producers of raw materials, are by no means able to compete with the industrial countries.

If it is true that England now has 4,000,000 men under arms, this alone signifies a great sacrifice. According to the census of 1911 there were only 14,250,000 males engaged in industry in all Great Britain. If we count those who have fallen, or been hopelessly maimed, as well as the others whose services are required by the war, we find that fully a third of the male industrial population has been withdrawn from its former activities. The soldiers, however, naturally represent the pick of the workers in the prime of life, so in reality the loss in labor power is still greater. Consequently, instead of England being able to increase her production, as she had hoped to do, she has been obliged greatly to reduce it. The results are well known; the island kingdom's exports are steadily falling, while her imports are increasing, and at constantly rising prices.

The same is true in a still greater degree in the case of France and Russia, as these countries were the first to send their young men to the battlefields. Naturally, the Central Powers have also been hard hit by the war, but, as we shall show, they are in a much more favorable economic position than their opponents. Of course their sacrifice in blood has been extraordinarily large and can by no means be replaced, but England's inten-

tion to ruin them economically has luckily come to nought, although they have not been able to import some things that formerly seemed indispensable, as only small quantities have escaped the brutal policy of oppression of England, the sea pirate. They have been in the same situation regarding exports. In connection with the latter point, the significance of the fostering of the home market was well brought out. While England, with her disproportionately developed industry, depended upon selling from three-quarters to four-fifths of her entire production abroad, the case with Germany was just the reverse. Consequently, it was much easier for her to find a place for her former export goods in the domestic market. The war itself, with its never-ceasing demand for all sorts of articles, from shells to pocket lanterns, quickly assumed, thanks to the adaptability of our industry, the rôle of "substitute" purchaser.

Now, after having recognized the incomparably better situation of the Central Powers, let us try to take a good look at the general economic results of the war for the European powers concerned. Japan need not be counted as a belligerent, as her active part in the war may be regarded as ended. It would be unspeakably foolish from her standpoint if she did not complacently watch the European nations tear each other to pieces as long as possible. Let us estimate the number of men engaged in the war at 25,000,000 at least. All of them have been withdrawn from productive labor. Counting the average yearly production (not wages) of each of the 15,000,000 West Europeans at \$250, and that of the 10,000,000 East Europeans at \$125, we have a falling off in production of \$5,000,000,000 a year. This is exactly the amount of the annual income of the rich French Nation, as estimated some years ago by Leroy-Beaulieu. In reality it is likely that the number of men withdrawn from industrial life is much larger, and the loss in production as well, since a great many factories are lying partly or entirely idle because of the absence of their managers or of other important officials.

Then we must add the immense de-

struction of goods, the consumption of material by the war itself, and the tying up of important shipping lines, to mention just a few instances. And then the list of losses is by no means ended. A very large number of the men in the field will either never return or will come back so crippled as to be hardly counted as members of productive industry. In many cases, even though no member of the family is killed or crippled, the disorganization of industry, the loss of customers, &c., will make former producers temporary or permanent passive elements in economic life. Finally, it must be remembered that the costs of the war, even though they be partly shifted to the shoulders of later generations, must be paid at some time, and with a high rate of interest at that. In case the expenses of the victor should be paid by the vanquished, which is by no means certain, the position of the former group of States would be bettered, but not the general situation of Europe.

Now, what is the position of Europe's rivals? The advantages derived out of the present situation by both America and Japan are universally known. "Neutral" America is enriching itself no less than the enemy land of the Mikado. It is characteristic of the situation that Japan, the poor nation, is now in a position to avail itself of the difference in exchange and buy back its securities in the stock markets of Paris and Berlin. But the developments of the future are more important than those of the moment. That Germany will no longer have a part in the world market, as her opponents hope, is naturally not to be thought of. She will remain indispensable as a purchaser and, above all, as a producer of high quality goods. We might even say that Germany could not have a better advertisement than this war, which has given her the opportunity to demonstrate her ability upon every field. Europe in general, however, has been set back to an incalculable degree by the war in the economic race with her non-European competitors, who have not been injured by it. President Wilson told a meeting of business men in Columbus early in December that it seemed

as if the United States must form a reserve of financial and economic strength for the entire world after the war.

This is, of course, when we consider America's weakness in capital, one of those favorite exaggerations of the land of unlimited boasting. Nevertheless, it is certain that North America's advantage in the great export market of South America has grown enormously, and that it is also likely to maintain the position of purveyor to the Entente countries that it has obtained during the war. To be sure, Wilson, through his cowardly policy—the Japanese are still in the Mexican bay where they landed more than a year ago to float a "stranded" ship—has abandoned the East Asiatic market for a long time.

Right here lies what is probably the greatest danger for the economic position of Europe and for the white race in general. The incomprehensible shortsightedness of the Anglo-American policy in the Far East, inspired partly by hate and partly by blind business greed, has led to an immeasurable strengthening of Japan, and she seems likely to emerge as the real economic victor of the war. The Japanese textile industry is particularly active in availing itself of the favorable opportunity to get into the world's trade. We hear that the Red Cross in Moscow has received bids from Japanese woolen mills that were 40 per cent. under the Russian prices, and that the woolen manufacturers of Manchester are worrying over samples of Japanese goods which have stood the test of comparison with their own products, and have been offered at very low prices. If this is happening in England itself, we may well

imagine how things look in the markets of the Far East, and particularly those of India, which the Japanese have for a long time openly regarded as in their sphere of influence. While the export of textile machinery from England to all other countries has fallen off, to Japan it has increased. If Japan succeeds in industrially organizing the human hordes of Eastern Asia, and she seems in a fair way to do so, the fate of the European-American working class, that cannot adapt itself to the living conditions of the coolies, is sealed, and that of the capitalists also. The war and the blind, suicidal policy of England and America are all hastening the advent of that period.

Let us summarize. The economic future of Europe is in great danger. The loss of men and material, if long continued, must entail the loss of Europe's economic hegemony. Germany has the least to fear, as her exploitation of the advantages of the "closed market" during the war, the new export possibilities opened to her in the Near East, and the great productive ability of her industry, which has been heightened during the war and promoted by German science, will continue to make her superior to the nations that are now trying to annihilate her because of this very superiority. England, with her relatively excessive foreign trade and her particularly exposed position in India, has the most to fear. Every further day of the war signifies a new and irretrievable loss, without any visible compensation for the aggressors. This sin against European culture and against the development of humanity does not rest upon our head.





JOHN E. REDMOND
Irish Nationalist Leader in the British Parliament
(Photo from Ernest H. Mills)



JEROME K. JEROME

English Author, Who Urges His Nation to Win Peace Without Hatred

Horrors of Gas Attacks

By Pierre Loti

A PLACE of horror which one would think Dante had imagined. The air is heavy—stifling; two or three little night lamps, which look as if they were afraid of giving too much light, hardly pierce the hot, smoky darkness which smells of fever and sweat. Busy people are whispering anxiously. But you hear, more than all, agonized gaspings. These gaspings escape from a number of little beds drawn up close together on which are distinguished human forms, above all, chests, chests that are heaving too strongly, too rapidly, and that raise the sheets as if the hour of the death rattle had already come.

It is one of our hospitals on the battle line, improvised as well as was possible on the morrow of one of the most infernal of German abominations; all these children of France, who look as if they are at the last gasp, were so terribly injured that it was impossible to carry them further away. This great hall, with its crumbling walls, was yesterday a storehouse of hogsheads of champagne, these little beds—some fifty in number—were put together in feverish haste, made of branches that still keep their bark, and look like rustic garden furniture.

But why this heat, which the stoves send forth and which makes breathing almost impossible? The reason is that it cannot be too hot for asphyxiated lungs. And this darkness, why this darkness which gives an air of the inferno to this place of martyrdom, and which must so hinder the gentle, white-clad nurses? It is because the barbarians are there in their burrows, quite close to this village, whose houses and church tower they have more than once amused themselves by pounding with their shells, and if, with their ever-watchful field glasses, they saw in this sad, November twilight the lights appearing in the windows of a long hall, they would instantly scent a field hospital and shells

would rain on the humble sick beds; we have learned how they love to sprinkle grapeshot on hospitals, Red Cross convoys, churches!

So that one can hardly see here through a sort of mist, spread by water boiling in heaters. Every moment nurses bring huge, black air balloons, and those who are struggling in agony stretch out their poor hands to beg for them; it is oxygen which makes them breathe better and suffer less. Many of them have these black air balloons resting on their panting chests, and in their mouths they greedily hold the tubes through which the saving gas escapes; you would say that they were great children with milk bottles; this throws a sort of grotesque buffoonery over these scenes of horror.

Asphyxiation has different effects on different constitutions which require different forms of treatment. Some of the men, almost naked on their beds, are covered with blisters or smeared all over with tincture of iodine. There are others—these, alas, are the most seriously injured—who are all swollen, chests, arms, and faces, and who look like India rubber dolls blown up. India rubber dolls, children with nursing bottles! Although these are the only true images it seems almost sacrilegious to employ them when anguish weighs upon your heart and you long to weep, to weep for pity and to weep for wrath! Yet let these comparisons, brutal as they are, engrave themselves deep in our memories by their very strangeness, so that they may the longer nourish indignant hatred and the thirst of holy retribution!

For there is a man who spent years in preparing all this for us, and this man continues to live. He lives, and as remorse is without doubt unknown to his vulture soul he does not even suffer, unless it be from fury at having failed in his attempt. Before unchaining death upon the world he had coldly made his combinations, foreseeing everything. "If,

however," he said to himself, "my rhinoceros-like rushes and my huge apparatus of murder should in the impossible case hurl themselves against a too magnificent resistance, then, perhaps, I should dare, relying on the poltroonery of the neutrals; I should dare, perhaps, to affront all the laws of civilization and to employ other means. In any case, let us prepare."

The great rush, in fact, did fail, and timidity at the beginning, fearful, in spite of all, of the whole world's disgust, he tried asphyxiation, after having justified himself, of course, by his habitual lies, accusing France of having made the beginning. As he cynically hoped, there was, unfortunately, no general revolt of the human conscience. No more than over the earlier crimes—organized looting, destruction of cathedrals, violations, massacres of children and of women—did the neutrals intervene. It veritably seems as if the destructive, fierce, and deathlike glance of his Gorgon, or Medusa, head had frozen them where they stood, and at the hour at which I write the last one Gorgonized by this monstrous glance is the poor King of Greece, inconsistent and maladroit, who is trembling on the verge of the precipice of the gravest crimes. That there may be neutrals from terror one can understand; but that nations with high qualities should remain Germanophile, by what tricks have they been blinded, by what slanders or by what bribes?

Our dear soldiers with burned lungs, gasping on their little rustic beds, are very grateful when, following the doctor, you come close to them, and they raise their gentle eyes to you when you take them by the hand. Here is one swollen like a balloon, unrecognizable, doubtless, for those who had only seen him before this frightful swelling began, and, if you touch even as lightly as possible his poor, distended cheeks, you feel under your fingers the vibration of the gases which have filtered in between skin and flesh.

"Good; he is better since this morning," says the doctor, and he continues in a low voice, for the nurse: "I begin to think, Madame, we shall save this one also; but you must not leave him for a

moment." Oh, needless advice, for she has not the slightest intention of leaving him, this white-clad nurse, under whose eyes there are already dark shadows, caused by eight-and-forty hours of ceaseless watching. Not one of them will be left, no; to be certain of that one has only to look at all these young doctors, all these orderlies, a little worn out, it is true, but so attentive and courageous that they do not lose sight of one of them.

And, thank God, they will save almost all of them! (Of 600 asphyxiated that night more than 500 are out of danger.) As soon as they can be moved they will be taken away from this hell of the battle front, where the Kaiser's shrapnels fall so willingly, even on the dying; they will be laid more comfortably in quiet hospitals where they will still suffer much, indeed, for a week, a fortnight, a month, but which they will presently leave, more cautious, more prudent, and eager to return to the fight.

It may be said that the trick of asphyxiation has failed like that of the great, savage rushes; it has not brought the result which the Gorgon's head expected. And yet with what skillful calculations it has been tried on each occasion, always at the most favorable moments! We know that the Germans, masters of spying and ceaselessly informed of everything, never fail to choose for their attacks of whatever kind the days of relieving guard, the hours when newcomers, facing them, are still in the disorder of their arrival.

So the evening when this last crime was committed six hundred of our men had just taken their advance positions after a long and tiring march; all at once, in the midst of a salvo of shrapnel which aroused them from their first sleep, they made out here and there little sounds of whistling, as if from treacherous steam sirens, and the death gas was pouring around them, spreading its thick, gloomy, gray clouds. At the same time, in the midst of this fog, their lights waned to dim, small points. Bewildered, then, already suffocating, they thought, too late, of the masks which had been given them and which, besides, they did not greatly believe in; they put them on

too awkwardly, some of them even, by an irresistible instinct of self-preservation, when they felt the burning of their lungs, yielded to the desire to run, and these were the most terribly injured because of the excess of chlorine inhaled in the deep breaths of running.

But the next time they will not be caught, neither these men, nor any of our soldiers; with masks hermetically sealed they will stand immovable around heaps of fagots prepared beforehand, the sudden flames of which neutralize the poisons in the air, and there will be no result, beyond an hour of discomfort, painful to pass through but almost always without fatal consequences.

It is true that in the accursed caverns which are their laboratories the intellectuals of Germany, convinced now that the neutrals will accept everything, are working hard to find new and worse poisons for us; but until they have found them the Gorgon's head will have lost this trick as, beyond contest, it has lost so many others. We, alas! have not been able to find means to repay them with sufficient cruelty; to defend ourselves we have, therefore, only the protective mask, which is being improved, it is

true, day by day; and, after all, in the eyes of the neutrals—if they still have eyes to see—it is, perhaps, nobler to employ no other means.

At the same time, how different would our position be if we did asphyxiate them, these plunderers and assassins who have attacked and invaded us, and who, despairing of piercing our lines, try to suffocate us in our own homes, in our dear land of France, as one might suffocate rabbits in their burrows or rats in their holes. The tongues of men have not forecast these transcendent ignominies, which would rend the hearts of the basest cannibals; therefore, we have no words to name them. Our poor, asphyxiated soldiers, gasping on their narrow cots, how willingly I would have shown them to all, to their fathers, to their sons, to their brothers, to raise to paroxysm their holy indignation and thirst for vengeance; yes, I would show them everywhere, and let their death rattle be heard, even to the impassive neutrals, to convince of their folly or their crime so many obstinate pacifists, to spread broadcast the alarm against the great barbarism which has broken forth over Europe!

Germania

By EDEN PHILLPOTTS

Surgeon her, world! Let myriad scalpels bright
Flash in her sores with all thy bitter might,
So that their aching cease.
Cut clean the cursed canker that doth foul
Her spirit; tent and cleanse her sorry soul,
And give her bosom peace.

We do not smite a nation, but a pest;
Humanity makes reasonable quest
To free a noble slave.
Full deep she groans and faints, and fainting feels
Archaic torture of a tyrant's heels
Grinding her to her grave.

Possessed of devils now, mad with her woes,
She wounds the world and turns her friends to foes;
But cast her devils down
And broken, humbled, contrite, healed and sane
Oh, may she shine her glorious self again—
Pearl in Europa's crown.

And they accurs'd, who bred this in her heart,
Shall from the councils of mankind depart,
While over sea and shore,
The silver trumpets of the sunrise cry
That earth pursue her solemn destiny
By blood and iron no more.

War and Civilization

By Maxim Gorky

The noted Russian author wrote this pithy little article for a Stockholm paper. It was copied by a Russian journal, from which the present translation was made.

THE effect of the war on the progress of civilization among the nations of the world will be strongly felt for generations to come. The development of civilization will be much less rapid after the war than heretofore.

The world is becoming more and more permeated with ill-will, hatred, and passion. The noble emotions give way to the bestial. The infernal forces are awakened and the inhuman has proudly raised its head. I believe, however, in the common sense of the nations of Western Europe. I feel that that sense will yet conquer the world, and that the European civilization will become the civilization of all humanity.

The European nations must therefore see to it that the work of civilization is carried on by them in a friendlier and more co-operative spirit. The "must" is based on a very plain point of view: The Anglo-Saxons, Teutons and Latins, all together, constitute but a part of the world's population. And yet they are the ones that are and have been creating the spiritual treasures of all humanity. The right to the spiritual domination of the world belongs to Western Europe, as she is entitled to that right by virtue of her spiritual wealth, of her many generations of labor on the fields of science and art; she has won that right through her intellectual services to humanity.

This mad, bloody war affords the largest part of the world the opportunity of doubting the moral values of Western European progress, of denouncing her authority in matters spiritual, and of opposing her doctrines and principles. In a measure these doubts are justified. The slaughter in which the foremost European nations are now engaged will enhance barbarism on earth and will doubtless be the cause of many obstacles in the path of civilization's progress in Africa and Asia.

As soon as the European nations end their present criminal activities, a safe and solid ground for common work in behalf of the world will be found by them. The great minds of the neutral countries could even now begin the work of reorganizing European civilization, they could start a campaign against a return to barbarism. Several years ago Wilhelm Ostwald suggested a union of the great minds of the world. He pointed out the necessity for such a "world-brain," representing all nations. Such a "world-brain" would bring into the political, social, and nationalistic chaos the healthy human thought. Ostwald has proved the possibility of creating such a scientific institution in international politics, an institution composed of the master minds of the age, of scholars and men of affairs. Such a union must become the nervous system of humanity, the brain of the world.

I believe that right now is the time for such a union. We must attempt to embody this idea even if it were only because it would raise us above the every-day struggle for life, ennoble and refine us. Does it sound Utopian? Not so very long ago the people thought wireless telegraphy, flying machines, and many other facts of today Utopian. The properties of radium remind us of the "philosopher's stone," the dream of the alchemists. Are not all these the attainments of science?

These miracles of science are the products of the human mind, the results of the iron will of man. Why could not the same mind, the same will, work miracles on the field of social and nationalistic relations?

Would it be considered miraculous if all of us were to grasp fully the simple fact that through bloodshed, murder, and destruction our conditions of life will not improve?

It is high time for our mind and will to create the possibilities for a healthier, freer, and more rapid development of civilization. Only through the power of mind and will could man transform the earth into a place worthy of his aspirations and ideals. Only a rational will

could create rational conditions of life. And now, when the war has caused us all so much suffering, let our common interests in the destinies of European civilization create a mutual spiritual bond, a union based on our devotion to civilization.

The Debt

By E. V. LUCAS

[Reprinted by permission from *The Sphere*.]

No more old England will they see—
Those men who've died for you and me.

So lone and cold they lie; but we,
We still have life; we still may greet
Our pleasant friends in home and street;
We still have life, are able still
To climb the turf of Bignor Hill,
To see the placid sheep go by,
To hear the sheep-dog's eager cry,
To feel the sun, to taste the rain,
To smell the Autumn scents again
Beneath the brown and gold and red
Which old October's brush has spread,
To hear the robin in the lane,
To look upon the English sky.

On every heart, lest we forget—
Secure at home—engrave this debt!

Too delicate is flesh to be
The shield that nations interpose
'Twixt red Ambition and his foes—
The bastion of Liberty.
So beautiful their bodies were,
Built with so exquisite a care:
So young and fit and lithe and fair.
The very flower of us were they,
The very flower, but yesterday!
Yet now so pitiful they lie,
Where love of country bade them hie
To fight this fierce Caprice—and die.
All mangled now, where shells have burst
And lead and steel have done their worst;
The tender tissues ploughed away,
The year's slow processes effaced:
The Mother of us all—disgraced.



The Spirit of the Soldier

By Paul Bourget

Paul Bourget has just published a preface, full of the beauty and mysticism which mark his later work, to the posthumous story by Ernest Psichari, "The Journey of the Centurion." This preface contains an analysis of the spirit of the soldier, as France understands that spirit today, so admirable, so inspiring, that it is well worth translating. Bourget writes:

THIS is a very beautiful book, and one which will double, among people of letters, the grief which was caused them fifteen months ago by the premature death of its author, Lieutenant Ernest Psichari, who fell heroically in Belgium at the time of the retreat from Charleroi. His first story, "The Call to Arms," had produced, it will be remembered, a very lively impression. Two reasons contributed to this. Ernest Psichari was the grandson of Ernest Renan, and the contrast of his thought with the thought of his great ancestor could not fail to astonish. But above all, it was the revelation of a talent already of the higher order, and of a singular freshness, in which the gift of keen expression, the sustained natural magic of the visionary artist, was associated with an incomparable subtlety of psychological analysis.

"The Call to Arms" related to us the simple story of an officer, Nangès, curing a young soldier of the worst anarchist and pacifist delusions by the simple suggestion of his personality. Few events, a uniform—I had almost said an earth to earth—narrative, and the portrait was complete, in such high relief that Nangès remains for me, even now, as living as if I had known him in the flesh. In that story, among other pages, there was a conversation between comrades in garrison on the soldier's profession, equal in tone, and superior in scope, to the celebrated passage by Vigny in the second chapter of "Servitude and Greatness," which begins: "The army is a nation within a na-

tion. * * *" Vigny adds: "It is a vice of the times."

For Nangès, on the contrary, the avowed spokesman of the writer, the most precious work of the soldier is to constitute, within the nation, a type apart. He and he alone represents a principle of obedience, of sacrifice, and of danger, as necessary to the general tone of society as the secretions of one or another gland could be to the general energy of the organism.

This study of the true character of the soldier formed the theme of "The Call to Arms." It is also that of this posthumous story to which its author gave this enigmatical title: "The Journey of the Centurion." The title is explained by two verses of St. Matthew: " * * * the Centurion answered and said: 'Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldst come under my roof; but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed. For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.'" You are at once informed that this new essay in military psychology is also an essay in religious psychology. The author claims the right to associate the Gospel and the sword in virtue of a text which proves that there can be, that there must be, a Christian doctrine of war. Christ, who said to the rich man, "Leave thy riches," does not say to the Centurion, "Leave thy service." In listening to his words of discipline without reproof, he makes them his own. Nay, he admires him who pronounces them: "And when Jesus heard it, He marveled." * * * He adds: "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel."

It is, then, the soldier who believes that Ernest Psichari is going to depict for us. He does not plan merely to paint a picture of manners, although this picture is there, and its lines are of a realism which does not shrink before

brutality. Being himself a soldier, the author loves the humble details of service, but he loves even more the spiritual meaning, or better, he does not separate them, and it is this special quality which we must understand if we would enter fully into the spirit of this narrative.

Already in "The Call to Arms" there was talk of the "mysticism" of the military profession. This expression is not peculiar to Psichari. In his latest contributions to the "Cahiers de la Quinzaines," Peguy employed it constantly, and "The Call to Arms" is dedicated to Peguy. This formula reveals a mental state which seems to have been that of a whole chosen class of the youth of France before 1914 and the terrible war. Actual experience can only accentuate it. * * *

When Psichari makes Nangès say that the army has its morale and its mysticism he intends to affirm that our activity, to be complete, must have a hidden sense and imply a faith. In every human action he distinguishes two elements—a positive application exterior to the man and a secret meaning which is interior to him. The soldier makes war. This is the exterior application. He develops in himself secretly, he brings to the highest tension certain virtues. He nourishes, he enriches his soul through his profession. This is the interior work. The life of the soul thus becomes the deep and ultimate reason of the effort, even the most technical. The act of faith is there in that affirmation that the spiritual world is not only a reality but that it is the reality par excellence. Outside himself the best adapted energy of the most intelligent man does not differ from the work of the spider spinning his web * * * this mechanization of being, a Peguy, a Psichari recognize quite as much in the curiosity of the man of science, in the calculations of the politician, in the libertinism of the voluptuary, as in the slavery of the bureaucrat or of the toiler. It is against it that they appeal to the higher, spiritual powers which

are at once the highest and the deepest of our being.

Open "The Journey of the Centurion" and note in what light the author introduces to you his hero, Maxence, an officer of sharpshooters, who is leading a column of Meharists in Mauritania: " * * * his father—the Colonel who was a man of letters, a Voltairian and worse—had been deceived. Maxence had a soul. He was born to believe, and to love, and to hope. He had a soul, made in the image of God, able to discern truth from falsehood, good from evil. * * * Yet this upright man followed a devious way, a doubtful path, and nothing warned him of it except this rapid beating of his heart, this restlessness. * * *" You lay down the book, and, if you are one of those who were twenty years old thirty years ago, you remember how your generation thought and felt. It oscillated between extreme intellectualism and the pursuit of success. One was scientific, Monist, then Nihilist, or simply brutally ambitious like Rastignac and Julien Sorel.

What a distance covered in a quarter of a century, and of what returns the thought of a race remains capable! How these renewals of sap disconcert the best supported inductions, the most completely justified prophecies! Let us be very careful about relegating to the powers of the past the ideas and feelings by which our fathers lived. Is their force exhausted? We can never tell.

It is one of these unexpected returns that "The Journey of the Centurion" relates to us, the bubbling up anew in an intellect and a feeling, of a spring which had seemed dried up. "The Call to Arms" had declared to us the military vocation, and in what psychological mold, if one may so express it, this human type of so distinct a cast, that is the soldier, takes its shape. "The Journey of the Centurion" declares to us the awakening of the believer in this soldier, and how the religion of duty leads this devotee of discipline to all disciplines.

The Moslem World and Germany

By Friedrich Delitzsch

In an address at Eberfeld, at the founding of the German-Turkish Society, Dr. Delitzsch, the author of "The Moslem World," quoted from long article subsequently printed in the *Deutsche Revue*. In the following condensation of that article the learned doctor offers a rather surprising defense of the social peculiarities of Islam.

WE are today realizing the truth of the Turkish saying, "A nail can save a hoof, a hoof a horse, a horse a man, a man a country." The Turkey with which we are now joined in the closest bond of fraternity is no longer the old Turkey. The many Turko-Germanic societies now organizing have for their aim the knitting of interests in both lands for mutual benefit. This Turkey is no longer the "sick man" going to his destruction with England and Russia ready to assist at the burial, but a nation caught, as it were, on the brink of the abyss; a rejuvenated Turkey. A flaming patriotism has helped it to be born again. Many noble, willing, enthusiastic Young Turks are working for the redemption, and above them all stands Enver Pasha, the savior of his country, the chosen one who will know how to carry to completion the program of reform.

But before we concern ourselves with a study of the risen Turkey, its problems and its ambitions, it becomes a matter of utmost consequence to inquire into the fundamental factor which, tomorrow as yesterday, is part and parcel of the Turkish people, namely the Turkish State religion, Islam. As Germans, we have always found it essential to know something about those who, even where individuals are concerned, are to be members of our circle of acquaintance. This is quite the proper thing. The moral and religious attitude of our friends concerns us. In the case of the Islamic people, whose religion enters every avenue of activity both in private and public, the Koran stands so pre-eminently the model for their whole being that we should commit a great wrong in not familiarizing ourselves with its main teachings.

It is a great pity that there should be

so many irresponsible utterances to the effect that Islam neglects to care for the "inner man." This we find set forth especially in many English books. I have no means for knowing what exactly takes place in the mind of the Mussulman at his five-times-a-day prayer ceremony. But I do know how impressive it is when the Arab, in the burning heat of the desert, makes ready to offer his prayer. And nothing can exceed in impressiveness the attitude of the Mohammedans on ship-board when in long rows they turn their faces toward Mecca while doing reverence to Allah with the going down of the sun.

A pure heart is the mainspring of Mohammedan religious feeling, and the inner being of the most repulsive dervish means to me much more than all outward appearance of the wealthiest men in all the world.

It is self-evident that we as Christians have no reason whatsoever to look askance at our Turko-German fellowship. We have but to take example from our Emperor who, as far back as 1898, when visiting the tomb of Saladin at Damascus, stated that the Sultan and all those who followed him would find in the Kaiser a true friend for all time. A united and solidified Osmanic Empire should from now on constitute a strong bulwark against Asiatic elements that in the future might prove disturbers of peace. When the world war ends this will be brought out in clear relief.

There is another Turkish proverb to the effect that "There is a way that leads from heart to heart." Whoever has dwelt on Turkish soil knows how to value the Turk as a man and to credit his qualities. In direct contrast to some other Eastern or Near-Eastern people, the genuine Turk is of noble character, with a mentality that is above reproach.

The patriarchal simplicity of the home environment is one of the worthy heritages of the Turkish people. Truthfulness, respect for the aged, charity and sympathy for the poor and unfortunate, are their characteristics. And that hospitality which is exemplified by all Orientals is especially pronounced in the dealings of the Turks with those who are their guests.

What unites the Germans with Turkey and the Islamic peoples in particular is some sort of romantic corollary based on youthful idealism. Since the days of the Crusade the thinkers and the poets among our people have turned with almost passionate longing toward those Oriental thinkers and poets who sung of roses and nightingales; whose fairy tales, proverbs, ethical symbolism wrought that string of precious jewels which contains among its priceless treasures the sayings of Omar the Tent-maker. It is the boast of German scholars and investigators that we have been instrumental in saving to the world these pearls of literature. Can it be possible that the brutal desire for conquest and commercial greed would dispose of all this wealth in prose and poetry?

Just as it is certain that Germany never has thought and never will think of wresting a single foot of soil from Turkey, just so certain is the fact that it is to Germany's interest that Islam shall come victorious from the present struggle. For should it ever have come to pass that the European and Asiatic possessions of Turkey were to be divided by England, Russia, and France, nothing would prevent Germany from being reduced to the place of a secondary power. We know how England has strained every nerve to gain the Bagdad railway and thus strike us at the heart where this precious jewel nestles close.

It has become our duty for more reasons than one to protect and aid Turkey in every possible way. This we must do by way of commercial and scientific leading. We must help in developing the soil, to extract the treasures from the ground, to build railways, to give physical and spiritual assistance to all Osmanic subjects, and to improve the status of woman. To outline and build from

the ground up will be our chief aim. At present we can barely indicate the direction in which we would proceed, for we are still removed from the desired goal. The brutal Faust of the "Greater Britain" still holds the world in bondage. This Faust stood exemplified not so long ago in giant posters on every corner in the City of London. On these posters the entire world was painted in red, with just a tiny spot to indicate Germany. This contemptuous thing was flung in the face of every German who stopped to view the picture.

We have spoken about the position of woman and the greater freedom to come. But even here the record is far different from what we have been led to believe by those bent on misrepresentation. The fact is that widespread polygamy does not in reality prevail. Nor is the life behind the harem walls in any way such a prisonlike existence as it has been painted. We recall what happened some years ago when Pierre Loti wrote his novel, "Les Desenchantées," based on the Turkish woman question. It was then that the Turkish Minister at The Hague requested publicly that Loti should point out to him twenty, yes, ten, polygamists in the whole of Turkey. In this respect we must not consider the harem of the Sultan, or of some of the Pashas, or the Sheiks of the deserts. Even the higher-class Arab who could easily afford the luxury of a number of households today consider it unseemly to take a second wife in addition to the one who has borne him children. For both economic and purely domestic reasons the average Mussulman is content with one wife. There is a Turkish saying that reads: "A home with four wives is like a small boat in a storm."

Within the harem the Mohammedan woman reigns supreme. She decrees absolutely what shall govern the arrangement of the household. The education of the children is in her hands. The veil is to her the symbol of virtue and of outward protection, just as in her home environment she sees herself honored as the pearl of great price. And with the intuitive gift of all women the world over she knows how to retain the respect and love of her lord and master.

Sweden's Greatest Danger

By Ellen Key

Blaming the Swedish "Activists" for playing into the hands of Germany, the noted Scandinavian champion of women's freedom has stated in the Forum, Stockholm, what she believes her country needs most during the war.

EXACTLY as the real friends of Germany in Sweden are being called "Teuton haters" by Swedish publications in the service of German imperialism, so all German men and women opposed to Prussian domination are being called enemies of their country because their burning patriotism tells them what attitude to take. The situation is just now in Germany what it was in Sweden in 1905. Rudolf Goldscheid's manifesto, "Germany's Greatest Danger," applies no less to us than to Germany. Published at the instance of the Neues Vaterland Society, this manifesto, with its warning against Prussianism and annexation, is at last available to Swedish readers in our language.

According to Goldscheid, even Sweden is among Germany's enemies. For only the most pro-German of all Swedes could by any possibility sanction Belgium's annexation.

My judgment rests on my abhorrence of chauvinism and militarism wherever I meet them, and for this reason I agree with those Germans who criticise Germany's wrong methods, with those English who objected to the Boer warfare, and with the French people who took exception to the Dreyfus persecutions. And, just as I detested everything wrong in other lands, so I stood fast against any action toward Norway in 1905. But if I am against wrongdoing, this does not prevent me from loving all the good contained in other countries or from feeling grateful for all they have done for my mental and spiritual development.

I do not believe there is a person in Sweden who knows modern Germany more thoroughly than I. My first visit took place in 1873, and since then I have made many journeys there and remained

for a considerable length of time. I have visited many parts of the country and can testify to the difference between democratic Germany and a Prussianized Germany. That the sentiment was becoming more and more warlike I knew from personal observation. We see the results of the teachings of Treitschke—how his disciples have poisoned German thought. Belgium, France, the Lusitania, the plans of annexation—here we have the evidence of this teaching.

It is my opinion that a Germany that follows the Prussian ideal, that any power which unscrupulously proceeds against small nations and aims at annexation, is as great a danger to Sweden and the whole of Scandinavia as is Russia. This is the great mistake in the foreign politics of Sweden—that so much should have been made of the Russian danger. I have said on various occasions that in my eyes Potsdam is a greater peril to the Germanic ideal than is either Moscow or London. I have never doubted that Germany would be victorious. My concern is whether a victorious Germany will draw upon its noblest aspirations, whether it will let humanitarianism prevail, whether it will accept Goethe's dictum as to what is most sacred for mankind.

My ideal Germany is one that accepts the best that Prussia has to offer—courage, self-discipline, organization, working power—employing all these qualities in the dispensing of justice, not in the cause of armaments. Such a Germany meant to me a barrier against the barbarism that threatened the West. Finland, Poland, Ukrania—these were to benefit from the intellectual force inherent in Germany.

The greatest danger to Sweden is not Russia, but a Germany in alliance with Russia. But it is exactly this that the "activistic" politics of Sweden may bring about. I have no patience with those who assert that we should have no cause to complain if Russia should try to com-

pensate itself on Swedish soil, since we are not fighting side by side with Germany. In other words, if we wish to avoid being despoiled we should throw ourselves into the maelstrom of this war, say the champions of activism.

The attitude of Holland and Switzerland is the only safe attitude. Their view is the only proper one, in that it gives the small country opportunity to retain its balance until the hour when East and West alike shall have reached the point of exhaustion. Such an attitude is genuinely Swedish in so far as being Swedish means to be proud, liberty-loving, knightly, no one's master and no one's servant. We should build further on the noble foundation we laid in 1905,

when we showed the world how a people can become humble in its own estimation and lead in the way of peace.

It is high time for us to make up our minds whether we will be friends with that Germany whose high-minded men and women battle in the hope that a new Fatherland shall spring from this world war or with a Germany that as victor will become a reactionary, isolated from the rest of the world. Such a Germany will finally ally itself with Russia. Sweden must bide its time and hold its patience until all Germanic interests coincide. This will mean neither to fight for the German ideal that strives after world domination nor to fight against the better Germany.

The Fate of Alsace-Lorraine

The December Bulletin of the Alliance Française called attention indignantly to a four-column article in the Frankfort Gazette entitled "Alsace-Lorraine," the principal ideas of which may be summed up as follows:

The definite incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine with Prussia is in the interest of the two provinces, much more so than a division of the "Reichsland" between the Grand Duchy of Baden, Bavaria, and Prussia. From the political and sentimental point of view, it does not seem doubtful that the population would prefer to enter Bavaria or Baden, for religious reasons, and because it hopes undoubtedly, under the protection of Bavarian particularism, to continue to cultivate a sort of secret protestation against all Germanization. For this very reason it is necessary that Alsace-Lorraine should become purely and simply Prussian, even if Bavaria should be discontented with the arrangement; the time for dynastic sensibilities is passed, like those which played a rôle for Bismarck (with regard to Bavaria)—the aggrandizement of Prussia can not and must not frighten the other federated States.



New Code for Submarine Warfare

On or about Jan. 18 Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, submitted to the belligerent powers the following proposition for international agreement concerning submarine warfare:

IT is a matter of the deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end if possible the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage, or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect its nationals from the exceptional hazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of their enemy are operating.

While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of age or sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in their destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarines, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents in the present war.

Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities.

My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

1. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent flag, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by a naval vessel of another belligerent the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

2. An enemy merchant vessel when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine should immediately stop.

3. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or resist, the attack should be discontinued.

In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel, or to convoy it into port, the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

In complying with the foregoing principles, which, in my opinion, embody the principal rule, the strict observance of which will insure the life of a noncombatant on a merchant vessel which is intercepted by a submarine, I am not unmindful of the obstacles which would be made by undersea craft as commerce destroyers.

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as

a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-calibre gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these

requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Governments, I do so in all the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights, which may be denied on account of new conditions.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of underseas craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Teutons to Sink Armed Liners

A NEW complication was added to the problem of armed liners on Feb. 10, when the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary notified the United States through their respective Ambassadors at Washington that they were about to issue a declaration that armed belligerent merchant vessels would be sunk with-

out warning by warships and submarines of the Teutonic powers. The decree is to go into effect on and after March 1.

At the same time it became known in inner circles that the Entente Allies had informally indicated that they could not accept the American proposals for the

disarmament of merchant vessels. The attitude of the British Government was believed to be substantially that of the naval correspondent of The London Times, who wrote:

We take our stand firmly on the necessity of taking ships before a prize court. If the Germans cannot do this, they have no real complaint, for the established principles of international law are perfectly clear, although the enemy has chosen deliberately to disregard them.

Merchant ships have been armed from time immemorial, and their right to resist capture was never disputed until the Germans began to make their numerous efforts to undermine our power at sea. It is inconceivable that the British Government should make any concession in this direction.

The American note connects the arming of merchantmen with the weakness of submarines, contending that the introduction of submarine warfare has altered the relative status of an armed merchantman, rendering submarines liable to successful attack by them. The allied Governments cannot be expected to suffer and the Germans to profit by this. Let the belligerents abide by the requirements of international law which prescribe one method only, that of detention, visit, and search.

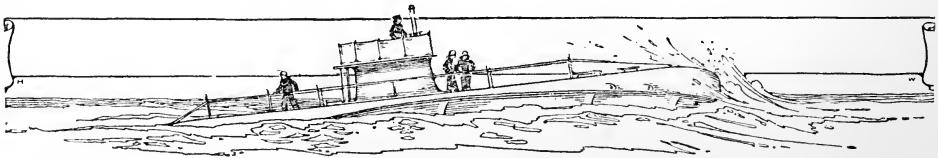
In view of this attitude of the Entente Allies the notice of the Teutonic powers' intention to sink armed liners without warning* caused disquiet in American Administration circles, and fears were expressed that the German plans might retard the Lusitania settlement.

Berlin to China and the Congo

By ARTHUR DIX

Herr Arthur Dix, the Pan-German publicist, writes from Constantinople to his friend Count Reventlow's paper:

After Turkey has succeeded in pushing back her two enemies, the Central Powers will find themselves at a new junction of the roads whence the world picture can be influenced in an unexpected manner. Over the Suez Canal the road leads up the Nile toward the Congo region, in the very heart of Africa. What power Central Europe would acquire if it could, in case of need, proceed on the road to Central Africa without having to pass by the British cannon! On the other side the road leads from Mesopotamia through Persia to Afghanistan. Should connection be established here, too, outside the Russian and British zones of influence, Russia, as well as England, would be permanently threatened at the flank, and in certain circumstances Central Europe would be able to influence events even in China and the Near East without having to pass by British naval stations or Japanese warships. * * * The great anxiety of the Island Empire, therefore, was caused by the fear that roads may open to the powers of Central Europe to the Empires of Central Africa and Central Asia. If these powers can reach, on the one hand, the Congo and the Central African coastal territories, and, on the other, Afghanistan and Turkestan, without touching British zones of influence, then it is all over with the British world empire!



[A TEUTONIC INTERPRETATION]

Military Survey of the War

From January 15th to February 15th, 1916

By Kurt Wittgenstein

First Lieutenant in the Austrian Army.

I.—WESTERN FRONT

MINING operations and subsequent hand-to-hand fighting with grenades and bayonet still form the characteristic features of military activity on the western front. The taking of a salient in the lines of the enemy or the capture of a hill emerging from the endless plains of Artois and Flanders are successes of relative importance in that slowest though most sanguinary kind of warfare. The achievement of the Germans, who, in the last week of January, succeeded in "correcting" their lines on two points, namely, in the Somme district and near Vimy, north of Arras, with comparatively small losses, at the same time capturing Frise (a village on the Somme) and more than 1,600 men, including many officers, may therefore in itself be fairly considered an event of first order from a tactical point of view. Those local victories, however, still increase in importance by the fact that they were gained at a time when the Kaiser's troops were kept busy on other fronts, particularly the Russian, where they repulsed the most desperate attacks. German troops thus very manifestly refuted the many so-called statisticians in the ranks of her enemies, especially among the French, who insist in asserting time and again that Germany has shot her last bolt and is weakening in numbers, quality and morale of her soldiers. They are holding their newly conquered positions firmly, in the face of the fiercest counter-attacks.

In the Champagne, battles of minor importance have been fought between Massiges and Sainte Marie-à-Py, in the very region which has seen heaviest

fighting in the French offensive last September. At the first place the French recently were successful, inasmuch as they occupied about 200 yards of the enemy's advanced positions. The Germans, it appears, had considerably weakened that particular section of their lines in order to push the above-mentioned offensive in the Artois, at a point of strategically far greater importance. The Vimy heights, where the Germans now seem to be firmly established, virtually dominate, in fact, the vast plain stretching from Vimy in a northeasterly direction as far as the Belgian frontier beyond Lille; that range of hills would therefore be of intrinsic value to the French, in view of their much advertised new Spring offensive.

On the other hand, the aim of the French in their recent drive, as well as in former attacks south of the Aisne, has been to cut off the German forces in the Champagne from those in the Argonne Forest, by destroying the Bazancourt-Challerange-Apremont railroad. Apart from the fact that they never reached their goal, the destruction of that particular line would scarcely be worth the expenditure in men and ammunition, as the Germans, with the technical means at their disposition and owing to the broken country, would be able almost immediately to rebuild the road or build even an entirely new line a little further north and running parallel to the present one.

Latest reports tell of a successful German attack in the section between Sainte Marie-à-Py and Tahure, with the capture of about a mile of French positions and several hundreds of prisoners. At the

time of going into print, German troops are on the offensive practically along the entire western front.

II.—AUSTRO-ITALIAN FRONT

The Italians were still recovering from the consequences of their fourth unsuccessful attempt to capture the bridge-head of Goritza—which attempt alone, according to Vienna reports, cost them about 70,000 of their best soldiers—when, all of a sudden and simultaneously with the successful offensive of their brothers-in-arms on the western front, the Austrian defenders of Goritza launched a vigorous attack against the invader near Oslavia, northwest of the first-mentioned place. The Italians, taken by surprise, lost 1,200 men, including 45 officers, in the ensuing battle.

Since then their activity has slackened conspicuously, only the long-range bombardment of Goritza continuing unabatedly. Unofficial reports indicate that a shifting of troops on a huge scale is taking place throughout Italy. Premier Salandra's speech in Turin, in the beginning of February, in the course of which he prepared his countrymen for a general retreat of King Emmanuel's troops from their present positions "in order to strike anew," is significant of the state of mind of the Government in Rome, as well as of the Italian General Staff. Some of the Austrian military experts already are inclined to believe that Italy has at last recognized the fact that she is knocking her head against a wall in her mad efforts to recover what she claims to be her legitimate possessions under Habsburg rule. Others, however, oppose such optimism, asserting that, inasmuch as the Italian Chamber of Deputies is reconvened for March 1, a "Fifth Battle of the Isonzo" may be expected toward the end of February.

III.—BALKAN FRONTS

Montenegro's capitulation forms the chief event of the period in review. Its importance, though not obvious to the outsider, can, nevertheless, not be denied. From a purely military point of view, the surrender of about 30,000 half-starved and poorly equipped mountaineers, indeed, matters little. On the

other hand, however, the same number of well cared for Austrian troops, hardened by the fighting in the wildernesses of the "Black Mountains," now free for action in the inhospitable regions of adjoining Albania, are a considerable asset for the Teutonic Alliance.

The chief value of Montenegro's downfall to the cause of the Central Powers, though, lies in the fact that it dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the Allies, especially Russia and Italy, in the eyes of those few still neutral nations whose entrance into the big conflict on either side may be expected at any time. Montenegro was Russia's protégé, one of the outposts of Panславism in the south. But when her fatal hour struck, Russia failed to help Montenegro, for the good reason that she was unable to help. Neither did Italy, capable though she was to bring aid to the hard beset and starving people of the Mountain Kingdom. But Italian men-of-war are known to have shunned the east coast of the Adriatic ever since the first Austrian submarine made her appearance in those waters.

As the writer pointed out in the last number of this periodical, Italy, as a matter of course, has no interest whatsoever in preserving her future enemies, in view of her high-flying aspirations on the Balkans. To be quite fair, it must be stated that some 500 Italians were stationed on Mount Lovcen, but they did not hesitate to retire as soon as the first enemy appeared, and the Montenegrins quickly followed their example.

Having subdued Montenegro, the Austrians, in forced marches over the knee-deep "roads" of those countries, proceeded into Albania, in order to join hands with the Bulgarians advancing from the direction of Monastir toward Durazzo and Avlona, and clean Albania from the conglomeration of Italian troops, Serbian and Montenegrin fugitives and Essad Pasha's Albanian mercenaries, forming the army of General Ameglio, "the conqueror of Libya." At the time of going into print the vanguard of the Austrians marching along the route Dulcigno-San Giovanni di Medua-Kroya has reached Tirani, twenty



COLONEL EDWARD M. HOUSE
President Wilson's Personal Envoy to European Embassies
(Photo © by Paul Thompson.)



JAMES R. MANN

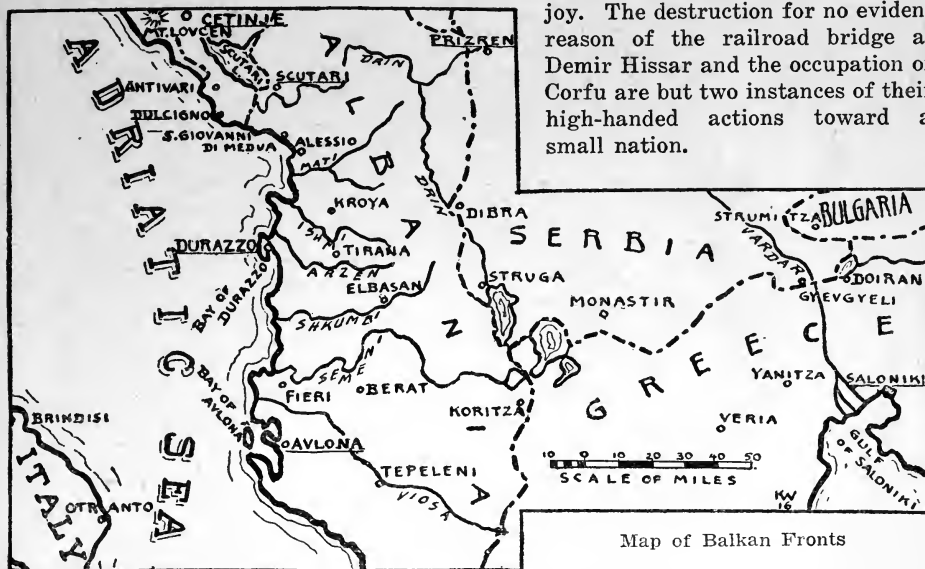
Illinois Congressman and Minority Leader, Who Is Supporting Defense Program

Illustration by John S. Kumpner

miles east of Durazzo. Here the first clash occurred with small Italian forces which were repulsed. Bulgarian troops are reported near Elbasan and around

the Hellenic kingdom which might compel the latter to join Germany's foes.

Meanwhile, the allied troops are venturing their nervousness on the Government whose forced hospitality they enjoy. The destruction for no evident reason of the railroad bridge at Demir Hissar and the occupation of Corfu are but two instances of their high-handed actions toward a small nation.



Fieri, fifteen miles north of Avlona, the latter forces apparently having advanced through Berat. A third Bulgarian body having been reported, already some weeks ago, on the way from Koritza toward Avlona, General Ameglio's troops, in positions between the two main Albanian seaports, apparently are in imminent danger of being surrounded.

The situation in Greece has not become any clearer than it was a month ago. The Entente troops in Macedonia apparently are still waiting for the Bulgarians and Turks, intrenched along the Serbian and Bulgarian border, to take the offensive. The writer, though, ventures to assert with some positiveness that the Central Powers, at least for the present, have no intention of attacking the 200,000 well fortified troops around Saloniki. In the first place the neighborhood of those forces, although perhaps annoying, is by no means alarming to the Teutons, vastly superior in numbers. In the second place Berlin cannot very well be expected to play London's game and, by invading Greece with the force of arms, provoke a serious conflict with

IV.—RUSSIAN FRONT

The new Russian offensive on the Bessarabian frontier and along the Strypa, which began around the new year, continued unabated till up to the fourth week of January, when it came to an abrupt stop. The Czar's General Staff apparently recognized that they could not afford to keep on hurling their soldiers "fifteen deep and up to six times in succession" (according to official reports) against the fortified Austrian positions, without the gain of an inch. An obviously influenced dispatch to The London Daily Mail from Petrograd, Jan. 22, declared that "The recent Russian offensive in Bessarabia and Galicia was carried out in accordance with a plan prepared by the Entente allies' war council to relieve the pressure on the Entente forces while they were fortifying Saloniki and during the evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula." Thus Petrograd very clearly explained to the world the sudden stop in the much heralded "big offensive"; Russia had done her duty; Gallipoli had been evacuated, Saloniki fortified. And Russia sacrificed more

than 70,000 soldiers for such unselfish purposes. * * *

After a lull of a week, however, the Czar's troops started another violent drive, this time against Uscieczko, a naturally strongly fortified bridgehead position on the Dniester, fifty miles northwest of Czernowitz. Again weeks passed, during which time not much worth while was heard from the eastern front. Then, all of a sudden, on Feb. 11, an official report from Petrograd announced the capture of Uscieczko.

It is most striking that German as well as Austrian bulletins not even as much as mention the place where a battle of some importance is said to have been fought. In the absence of confirming reports from the other side of the battle line, the writer therefore refrains from commenting on the alleged Russian success.

Actions of minor importance have been fought in the Lutzk-Rowno-Dubno triangle and near Drysviaty Lake, south of Dvinsk, nowhere resulting in a change of the battle line.

V.—MESOPOTAMIA

The fate of General Townshend and his 30,000 English troops, trapped at Kut-el-Amara since the beginning of December, is causing grave and well justified concern among their countrymen. Obviously influenced newspaper dispatches from London, asserting that General Townshend is "holding Kut-el-Amara as a strategically important position," are manifestly contradicted by General Aylmer's desperate though successless efforts to reach that Arabian town with his small relief force. Whether the floods of the Tigris or of the Turkish forces (according to statements from London or Constantinople) are checking General Aylmer, the fact stands out that for more than a month he has been unable to move from Sheik Saad, twenty-five miles east of Kut-el-Amara. If the Russians near Erzerum ever seriously contemplated (as reports from Petrograd would make believe) to come to the aid of the British in Mesopotamia, their help will, in all likelihood, come too late—the fatal two words forming the epilogue to most of the allied enterprises in this war.

A New Syrian Railway

According to a statement in one of the latest issues of the Frankfurter Zeitung, engineering detachments of the Fourth Turkish Army, at present stationed in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, under the command of Djemal Pasha, have been carrying out some important railway developments which have clearly been designed for strategic purposes. Before the war, it may be recollected, a railway ran from Damascus to Afule across the River Jordan, and thence to Haifa, on the Levant coast, a few miles above Jaffa. About two years ago it was proposed by the Turkish Government to run a line from Afule to Jerusalem, via Nablus, but this project was opposed by the French Government, as such a line would have competed with French railway concessions in the same area. When the Turks entered the war, however, they realized the advantages of having Damascus and Haifa linked with Jerusalem and Jaffa by the French line running between the two latter towns. In consequence work was immediately begun on the connecting line from Afule to Jerusalem, and this line has now been completed as far to the south as Bir-es-Sabah, (Beersheba,) about thirty miles from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, and forty miles southwest of Jerusalem. In other words, the terminus of this new line is a little more than 100 miles distant from the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba.

[AN AMERICAN INTERPRETATION]

Events On All the Battle Fronts

From Jan. 15 to Feb. 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE past month's operations have shown much heavy fighting, particularly in the west, where the Germans have launched a terrific attack against practically all the important points in the French line. The net results, however, have not been impressive. The only field where the results obtained have any significant possibilities is in Eastern Turkey and in Persia, where the English and Russians are battling. The situation of Persia in the war is peculiar, inasmuch as she is really not at war at all. Although not really a part of the month's operations, the attitude of Persia toward the war is not without interest, particularly as it has received so little attention from the general press.

When Turkey joined the Teutons considerable pressure was applied to Persia, which is Mohammedan, by Turkey, also Mohammedan, to induce her to do likewise. There was in Persia also a very strong pro-German party which controlled the military, urging the same step. At first it seemed that Persia would declare for the Central Powers, but finally the Shah's Ministers decided on the strictest neutrality. The Russians, however, became uneasy over the activities of the pro-German party, and, moving south along the Caspian Sea, took Hamadan and Kum. During the past month the successes have been followed up, and the Russians appear to be trying to effect a junction with the British at Kut-el-Amara. Early in the month Kermanshah fell, and later Duletabad. There seems to be nothing in the way of continued Russian successes.

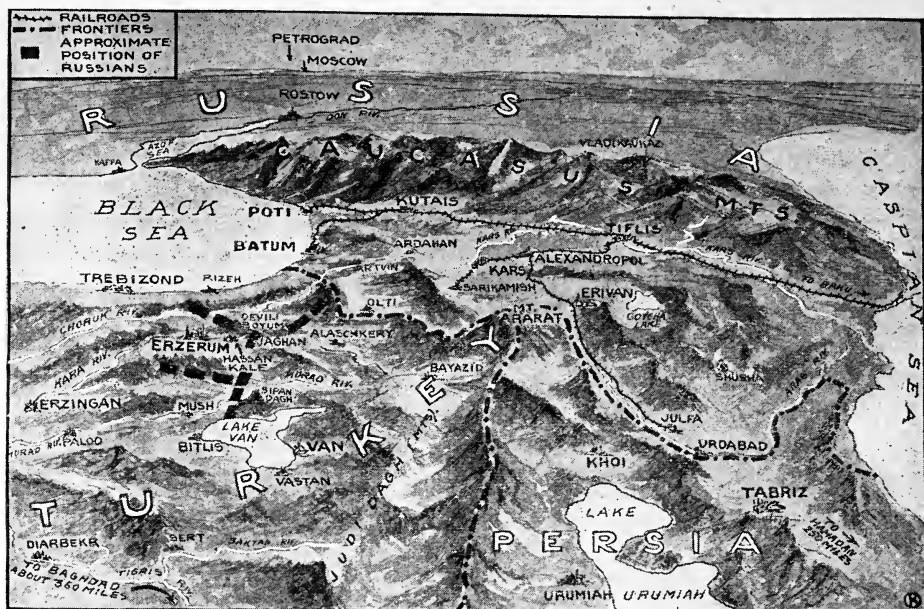
The Russian campaign in the Caucasus against the eastern Turk is a far more pretentious operation, of much greater

proportions, and involving a much greater force of men. The Russians have not as yet succeeded in debouching from the mountains, where all the fighting has taken place. They have advanced to the strongly guarded fortress of Erzerum and are bombarding the city.

It is well that the Russians are inured to a rigorous climate, as the battles of the last few weeks have been fought under conditions about as bad as could be imagined. Deep snow, intense cold, sometimes as low as twenty-five degrees below zero, blinding storms as the troops have struggled through almost trackless passes, have presented to the Russians one of the hardest military problems of the war; one that is taxing their abilities to the utmost.

Luckily for them there is in command a man thoroughly experienced and seasoned in warfare in such conditions, the man who just about a year ago began the offensive in the Carpathians that just failed to throw open to the Russian advance the fertile plains of Hungary—the Grand Duke Nicholas. Deprived of his command of the main Russian army in the west, and assigned to the army in the Caucasus, he immediately set to work organizing, recruiting, and preparing for his new campaign. When all was in readiness he struck, and in a comparatively short time has moved forward over the mountains for over 100 miles. As stated, he is now before Erzerum, which is reported to contain a hundred thousand Turks—principally soldiers, well equipped in guns, well supplied with ammunition, but with a small supply of food.

Were Erzerum alone the problem to be considered it might be called the Przemyśl of Eastern Turkey. But with its two sister fortresses, Bayazid and Diarbekr,



Scene of Russian Drive in the Caucasus.

it is more nearly similar to the Volhynian triangle. The capture or reduction of one of these fortresses is not enough. With only one in their possession the Russians are open to an attack from armies operating from the other two, each in a position to strike at the flank and each having a heavy fortified base on which to fall back in case of defeat. Erzerum, however, is the most strongly fortified of the three, and it would not be surprising to see it in Russian hands by the time the anniversary of the fall of Przemysl is at hand.

It is entirely possible, it may be noted, to mask Erzerum, drive between it and Bayazid, and move on south to the valley of the Euphrates. This, too, is what the Grand Duke will probably do if the resistance of Erzerum promises to hold him up for any length of time. The hardest part of the mountain journey from the standpoint of terrain has already been passed, and although about seventy-five miles of territory has yet to be traversed before the Euphrates is reached, if the same rate of progress is maintained early Spring should find Russia in the valley with an open road to the Tigris and the Bagdad Railway.

As in the case of the Russians in Persia, the object seems to be to join hands with the British expedition in Mesopotamia. If this occurs the day of Turkish defeat has dawned. Once the Allies' flag flies over Bagdad the entire Arabic world would rise, the partition of Turkey would begin, and Syria, which has longed for autonomy, would raise the standard of independence. British prestige in the East, which has been rudely shaken by the Gallipoli fiasco and the destruction of Serbia, would be restored, and all danger of the attack on Suez be definitely removed.

This latter campaign, indeed, I have never expected to see materialize. Extravagant reports have reached this country as to the great preparations that are being made for it. But not the slightest indication has been given that the entire talk of such a campaign is other than the work of clever press agents of the Teutons designed principally for home and Balkan consumption, to spread disaffection with English rule and to scare England into diverting a large force to the Suez field to ward off the threatened attack.

To return to the Mesopotamian field, it

is strange that no word has reached us of the British force at Kut-el-Amara nor of the relief force that was sent up the Tigris to break through the Turkish investment. Fighting has been reported at the junction of the Tigris and the Euphrates, 150 miles from Kut-el-Amara, but there are no forces at that point other than small bodies watching the British lines of communications. Of the main bodies there is no report. This can only mean that while the relief force has not been defeated nor turned back, it has certainly not broken through the Turkish cordon about Kut. The Turks greatly outnumber the British. They probably lack equipment, however, particularly in bridging material, which restricts their operations to one bank of the Tigris.

The question arises as to what disposition has been made of the 200,000 Turks released from service in Gallipoli by the British withdrawal. They certainly have not made their presence felt in the far eastern theatre, either against the British or against the Russians. It is probable, therefore, that they are being held in the Balkans either for a future operation against Saloniki or for use against the Russians.

On the front in European Russia there has been periodic activity, but not of any great moment. The entire line from Dvinsk to Rumania has been intermittently affected, with results almost entirely negative. It does appear that the Germans will have to give up their attempts to take Dvinsk. They have been at it for months—since last September in fact, and are just as far away now as then. Enormous sacrifices of men have been made to take this town and so control the Dvina River and outflank the Riga defenses, but no impression has been made. On the contrary, they have been thrown back slightly in several localities from the positions they held at the beginning of Winter.

In the south, along the Dniester, the Pruth and the Stripa, the Russians have resumed their offensive of a month ago. It had not progressed far enough to form any conclusion in regard to it before this review had to go to press.

On the western front the month has

witnessed the beginning of a German offensive on a scale not seen since the attack last Spring against the British lines in Belgium. It began by an unimportant action in an unimportant theatre by which the Germans captured the town of Frise, together with a small French outpost that was in a bend of the River Somme. This, however, was simply a diversion, as some days later a violent attack was launched in the Artois. So far, no result has been obtained in any way commensurate with the losses sustained, and the event is important, not because of any advantage gained, but rather in the conclusions to which it leads.

First, it may be noted that in the combined Anglo-French operation of last September a double salient was created in the German line, the French line between the salients being, roughly speaking, a semicircle. The apex of the northern salient is just east of the Arras-Lille road, near Loos, and of the southern salient just east of the same road, near the cluster of houses known as Petit Vimy, the road thus being a chord of the arc of the French line. On this chord is the City of Lens, important because of being the coal centre of France. The French offense halted because of exhaustion of shell supply, but it ceased, leaving that sector of the German line in a perilous situation.

Here, it would seem, was the time for the Germans to have counterattacked, but the blow did not fall. The only explanation of the delay is the failing of German numbers. This is emphasized by the fact that two weeks before the new German offense started—just long enough to reinforce the western line at the expense of forces in other quarters—quiet settled down on all the other fronts. Germany cannot apparently now fight on more than one front at a time.

Another conclusion that may be logically drawn is that the French gain of last September was far greater in potentialities, and therefore far more important, than the German reports of the engagement would admit. Just where this importance lay a brief study of the topography of the scene of the

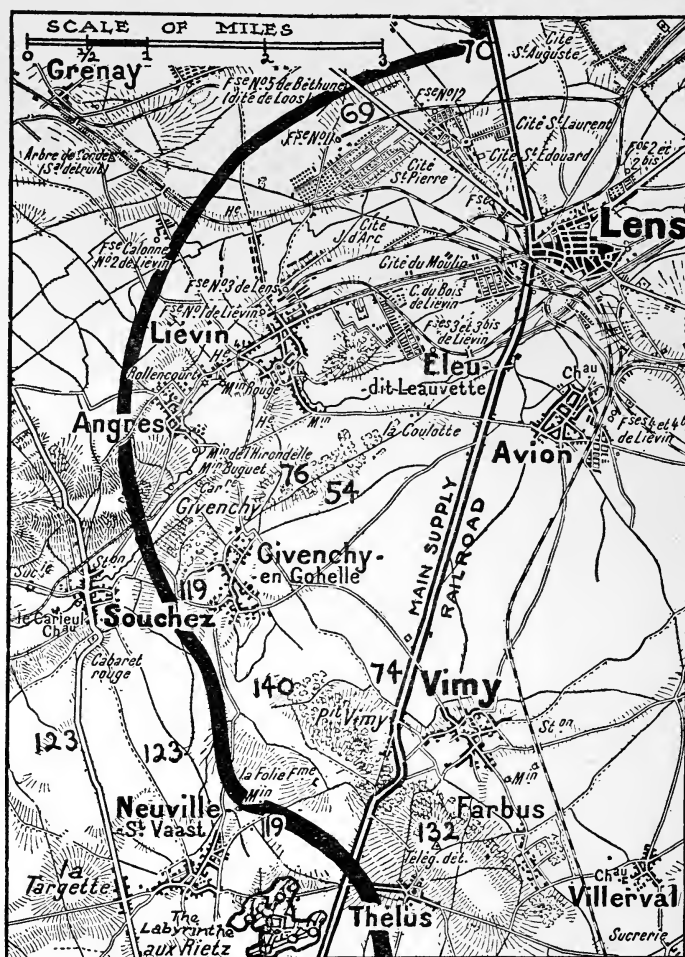
German attack will show. The German effort has centred on a front not more than two miles in length, extending from Givenchy to the region of Neuville St. Vaast. The German lines here run along the top of a wooded ridge, which extends almost without a break from Givenchy to Farbas, a village just about a mile south of Vimy. Not quite half way between these points is Petit Vimy, which is directly on the main railroad from Arras to Lille. In back of the German line the ground descends and opens out into the great plain of Northern France, which extends to the Belgian frontier, broken only by a range of hills extending due eastward from Lens.

With the Germans holding the last hill line between the French positions and the plain, the total French gain necessary to obtain complete control of the segment formed by the Arras-Lille

road and the arc of the present French line does not exceed a mile, and that on only a two-mile front. This distance would put them on the hill crests and throw the Germans into the open plain beyond. The offensive which the French began last September is sure to be resumed, and it is almost inevitable that the blow will fall in the Artois, since a really successful drive through here would cut the communications of Lille, and thereby force a withdrawal of the Germans

from all of Northern France and Western Belgium. This the Germans know.

The French are too near the German life-line—the Challerange-Bazancourt road—for German comfort.



Battle Front in Artois

Another such gain as the French made in September and Germany must re-establish her new line, not two but ten miles in rear of the old. Strange as it may seem, therefore, in the case of an army with both flanks so guarded that they cannot be turned, Germany is fighting defensively in both Artois and Champagne for her lines of communication, and upon the measure of her success now will depend the measure of the French success two months hence.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

The excerpts that follow represent some of the most interesting articles in the current periodicals of England, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Denmark. All are by leading authors and publicists in their respective countries.

Italy and the Triple Entente

By E. J. Dillon

Dr. Dillon, the learned foreign correspondent of The London Telegraph, contributed despondent articles to both the January and February issues of The Fortnightly Review on the diplomatic and military errors of the British Government, and in the January number of The Contemporary Review he had a long article on Italy, of which these paragraphs are typical:

ITALY'S attitude toward Germany, people complain, is singular and indefinable, and one seeks in vain for arguments by which it can be defended. For Germany was the prime mover of the present war, and it was against her specific savagery that the people of Italy rose up and put an end to neutrality. To attack Austria, therefore, while keeping peace with Germany, is to fire at the tiger's shadow while leaving the beast at large. And even from the narrowest Italian point of view the position taken up by King Victor's Government can hardly be made intelligible. For behind Austria, who is Italy's secular foe, stands Germany, without whose help she could do nothing. That Germany, had she willed it, could have moved the Hapsburg Monarchy to give way to Baron Sonnino, who would then have been willing to renew the Triple, is generally believed. That since then she has informally intimated her intention of accomplishing this under favorable circumstances after the war is rumored and credited on grounds which I have not had occasion to examine. But that a convention between the two countries was concluded a few days before the war, and for the express purpose

of favorably differentiating each other from all their respective enemies, actual and potential, is a historical and a significant fact.

On the eve of the rupture Germany and Italy agreed that each one would respect the property of the other, even if they should go to war. "Frightfulness" was to be eliminated because of the pecuniary losses it would inflict on the Teutons. And since Italy entered the field against Austria she has continued to allow her law courts to be employed for the purpose of enforcing the payment of Italians' debts to Germans, and has permitted Italians to cover with their names the German mercury mines in which the Kaiser and his Foreign Secretary are principal shareholders. Brisk financial relations are carried on between the two countries openly, via Switzerland, and the German Government, it is affirmed, still subsidizes regularly its trusty Italian agents, journalistic and other, through a paymaster in one of the principal cities.

In spite of the financial aid promptly rendered by Britain, the pinch of poverty in the peninsula is become painful and chronic. The whole economic life of the nation is upset to an extent, and with results more disquieting than outsiders have any notion of. And the tenderness and the generosity of the Entente toward Greece, to the neglect or detriment of Italy, produced a soreness that sought and found vent in certain unwelcome aspects of Italy's attitude.

But in spite of the grounds, real

enough at present, for viewing Italy's relations toward the Entente as casual and unsatisfactory, I see good reason for hoping that circumstance which is stronger than ministerial prudence will shortly give a favorable turn to things, and draw the four great powers into more harmonious accord and closer combination. The important declarations read out by Baron Sonnino in the

Chamber on Dec. 1, announcing that Italy had at last signed the London Convention foregoing her right to conclude a separate peace, has contributed to clear the air. The spirited articles of the *Idea Nazionale* calling on the Government to make common cause with the Allies and declare war against Germany have also contributed to reassure the public mind.

Will the War Decentralize the Church of Rome?

By R. de Nolva

In the course of an extended article in La Revue, Paris, M. de Nolva says:

THE different national episcopacies having in a way become belligerent, hostilities could not fail to begin between them when the abominable methods of war employed by the Germans in Belgium became known. Since the beginning of the conflict the Holy See has not wished to judge the moral worth of the acts committed, nor the relations of the nations attacked or attacking. One of the strongest illusions of the masses has thus been destroyed.

We were too much accustomed to consider the moral element above all else in religion; and spontaneously, when the German crimes were denounced, the victim peoples, believers and unbelievers, turned to the successor of Peter to hear the tormentor condemned in the name of evangelical morality. But Benedict XV. has remained dumb, or, rather, which is perhaps worse, has given it to be understood that the Holy See is not a tribunal at the disposal of the nations of the earth. The Holy See is only the preserver of the dogma and the political organ of the Church. It is to these principles that the Pope has made his acts conform, without taking account of the fright, discontent, and grief of a large part of the Catholic world.

We are too near these things to discern all their consequences, but the moral influence of the Papacy seems to have been ruined at one blow. No one who professes Catholicism is right in consider-

ing human facts from an exclusively political, that is temporal, standpoint, or in affirming explicitly that the Pope cannot judge freely in the name of outraged morality and religion for fear of reprisals of a material nature. The doctrine of Pius X., simple and clear, brutal and without ambiguity, was not perplexed, at least in regard to France, about the political consequences of separation. That of Benedict XV. refuses to defend the moral patrimony of humanity against the powers of the earth. On which side is the true doctrine? It is permissible to conjecture that the enfeeblement of the moral authority, hierarchical and political, of the Holy See will have to lead after the war to a decentralization of the powers in the bosom of the Roman Church.

It would be an error to predict one or more schisms, and above all a Gallic schism; but it appears probable that the national churches of France and Belgium will enjoy greater autonomy, and that the international missions, as has already happened in Germany, will be nationalized. Rome will remain the head, the central organ of general direction, but the different countries will be no longer simple members moved by the will of Rome alone. They will possess independent centres of action. The French Episcopacy will be able to emerge from the effacement to which its excessive respectance had relegated it. It will keep the moral rôle, so noble and beautiful, which it now exercises, and in the future no doubt there will be heard said, not only *Roma locutus est*, (Rome has

spoken,) but sometimes also Gallia locutus est, (France has spoken.)

The divergencies of nationality within the orders can only become accentuated, for it appears very difficult, if not impos-

sible, to turn back. It is not probable that any Pope in the future will be able again to pour into the single mold of the perfect Christian, stamped by him, the dissociating forces of national sentiment.

Germanizing the Trentino

By A. Manzi

The Rivista d'Italia gives a very interesting story of the attempts of the Austrian Government to "Germanize" the Italian population of Southern Tyrol and the Trentino in the years before the war:

THE activity of the Pangermanist Society, initiated by Germany immediately after the victorious war of 1870-71 in the Latin countries extending from the Brenner Pass to the linguistic border, was intensified between Bolzano and Salomo after the Italian peasants had redeemed that region devastated by the inundations of the Adige and had transformed it into a garden, and, after 1880, was extended to the famous pretended oases of Germanism at Mocheni and Luserna.

Italians watched in astonishment this improvised invasion which revived in their land a nationality that had long since died out, and asked each other what it signified. They soon had their answer in the attempt of the Schulverein to Germanize the Italian school at San Sebastiano di Folgaria. They perceived then that the societies which pretended to defend the ancient German populations really represented an offensive against Italian nationality.

Dr. Augusto Sartorelli was the first to utter a cry of alarm in the Raccoglitori of Rovereto. It was not a declaration of war against the Pangermanists, but rather a warm and vibrant summons to the Italians to imitate the nationalists of Monaco and Berlin, and to turn their attention in the direction of our fellow-nationalists, scattered through German territories, not taken care of—

not to say despised—by the Austrian authorities, and forgotten by their brothers. It was "a cry of anxiety at the sad spectacle offered by the threatened national life of thousands and thousands of our fellow-nationalists in neighboring Tyrol, and a cry of alarm to raise the question of how far we should be able to revive and maintain in vigorous life the love and the use of our mother tongue. * * *

The cry of Dr. Sartorelli found a vibrant echo throughout the whole of the Trentino. The newspapers brought to the light of day the work hitherto carried on in the shadow by the Austrian Schulverein, supported by the German society, and it became known that not only had Italian schools been destroyed in the pretended "islands of German race," but that schools in which German was the language of instruction had been instituted at Mezzolombardo, S. Michele alla Chiusa, at Arco, at Avio, and in twenty or thirty other places in the Trentino valleys.

Sartorelli based his protest on the nineteenth article of the fundamental statute of the State, which reads thus:

"All nations of the State have equal rights, and each separate nation has the inviolable right to preserve and to cultivate its own nationality and its own tongue."

Signor Manzi goes on to trace in great detail the growing aggressiveness of the Teutonic element throughout a series of years, which so effectively prepared the way for the great Italian effort to recover the "lost provinces" for Italy and the tongue of Dante.

England and High Freights

By Luigi Luzzatti

Former Cabinet Minister of Italy

[Translated and condensed from an article in the *Corrière della Sera* of Milan]

IN advancing loans to her allies, to the poor not less than to the rich who, like France and Italy, were not there to ask favors but to stipulate fair commercial transactions, England has acted well, and deserves all praise. It should be added that, together with America, France, and other States, she deserves sincere encomium for the aid she has rendered Belgians, Serbs, Armenians, Jews, and all the victims of Teuton militarism which is responsible for this immense conflict.

But the respect in which Britain's economic task has proved less successful is that which concerns her maritime transports, her traffic of coal, and other products essential to the life and safety of her allies. And the nations now happily united must insist on this question if a prompt and satisfactory solution of basic problems is to be reached. It is not a matter for surprise that the price of coal has risen, partly owing to strikes which for several weeks cut off the supply of this indispensable product, and also because the British fleet which keeps watch on the seas is continually armed. The industries of war, like those of peace, devour coal. This coal, which is no longer sold by Germany to the allied nations, is doled out to neutrals; and allies and neutrals alike can have recourse to England and the United States alone, for Germany has seized as booty of war the iron, coal, and copper mines of Belgium, France, Russia, and Serbia. The same is true of many qualities of iron and steel, down to the least needs of our agriculture and the culture of our vines, their fertilization and preservation from disease.

The German mercantile navy having disappeared from the seas, the English, which represents about half the world's mercantile marine, is, of course, compelled now, before satisfying private demands, to satisfy the demands of States.

This accounts for the nature and the manner in the rise of freights from the United States and England, which were rendered still more exorbitant by the congestion of our principal ports. The high rates for grains and coals are, in fact, run up still higher by demurrage fees claimed by the ships which carry them, and which are compelled to wait their turn for unloading.

The idea put forward in the Senate by a man who has enhanced the fame of Italy from pole to pole (the reader need not be told that I refer to Marconi) is full of vital nourishment. To come to an understanding with the English Nation and Government, or, more correctly, to come to an understanding between the allied States under the high auspices of the English Nation and Government, in order that commercial freights should be reduced, not indeed to the old modest rates, but from the present extreme limit of rapacity, is a wise and fruitful suggestion, the carrying out of which should not be postponed at this moment of unprecedented and terrible conflict.

An International Commission of Experts—a kind of General Staff of the Mercantile Marine—could and should take this problem in hand with a view, I repeat, not of returning to the old low rates, but of putting an end to famine prices. And the mercantile marines of neutral States, as, for instance, that of the United States, would also have to moderate their charges—impelled to do so perhaps by their own producers, to whom high freight rates represent an obstacle to export trade—and would end by adhering to the International Committee, which would be open not only to allies but to all ardent friends, if such exist, and even to lukewarm ones!

It is evident that such an economic maritime institution would become a great centre of attraction, would put an

end to many ills, and would compel States which have congested ports to take radical measures, which might in the first place consist in extraordinary efforts to clear the goods, and then in a division of labor in respect both to maritime centres and to the different kinds of merchandise. The English must feel an ever-increasing responsibility,

proportionate to their maritime hegemony. We no longer live in days when small efforts can be demanded of the State which is mistress of the seas; supreme capacity and supreme, miraculous energy are demanded of her as the justification of such glory and such power, and as a safeguard against burning envies before and after the return of peace.

English Greeting to Denmark

By Edmund Gosse

In Dagens Nyheder, Copenhagen, the English author publishes a greeting to the Danes, whose language he speaks like a native:

IT is now over forty years since I first learned to know Danish hospitality.

Only eight years had passed since the war that left Denmark misused and bleeding, but from which it was to rise with undaunted courage, and as hopeful for the future as a sunrise in Summer. * * *

Following its martyrdom, Denmark might be likened to a flower that had been struck to the ground by a storm, but which unfolded its petals once more with the coming of sunshine. I am glad to be able to tell my Danish friends—and English men and women consider all Danes their friends—how encouraging it is to me to recall to myself how Denmark carried itself forty years ago. It furnishes us the hope that out of this dreadful situation which is ruining half the world—that from this Europe going to destruction—true civilization will know how to find a way to overcome brutality's domination.

In the domain of intelligence the so-called lesser nations frequently possess many advantages over the big powers. When a country is as immense as ours, when it consists of so many, so large and divergent territories, it is difficult to perfect a system that shall work equally well everywhere. English economists and statesmen occupied with studying what is wrong in our Governmental machinery

have often looked to Denmark with envious eyes. With an aptitude that bewilders, the Danes have discovered ways and means whereby to enlighten the populace. Our own general intellectual development is not to be compared with that of the Danes. But of course such practical co-operation between agriculture and financial affairs as the small countries have at their command would be impossible in the case of a large and wealthy nation.

At the same time, where it is necessary to meet a powerful and unscrupulous enemy on his own ground, it is essential to concentrate every resource. Here in England we have all too long been satisfied with letting well enough alone without fear for our own safety. We have been too confident as regards the future. Surrounded by powerful and greedy nations, the smaller countries have been compelled to stand on their guard. We have much to learn here from our Danish friends whom circumstances have driven to the necessity of utilizing every means for their safeguarding.

Surely, we shall never do anything that will cause you trouble or injury. We feel for you in your difficult position. We applaud your attitude in this hour. At this critical period, the most critical in the history of Europe, we shall continue to battle in a war that was forced upon us, and which we entered with the greatest reluctance. But the call of honor made it necessary. We are glad to be able to say to you that Eng-

land's millions throughout the world are united in the purpose to make every sacrifice so as to bring the war to a happy

conclusion. And we call you to witness that we fight with honorable weapons in the name of British liberty.

Hungarian Ideals and Italy's "Crime."

By Count Julius Andrassy

Hungarian Deputy and Former Minister

This is part of an article in the *Revue de Hongrie* from the pen of a distinguished exponent of Hungarian Liberalism in reply to Signor Luigi Luzzatti, formerly Prime Minister of Italy, who in *La Tribuna*, Rome, has accused Hungary of having deserted the cult of liberty and of oppressing today the Croats, the Italians of Fiume, and the Rumanians in Transylvania.

ON what does he base this accusation? I greatly doubt if it is on personal observation. If he had had proofs at hand he would not have failed to quote at least some of them. It is probable that he has only borrowed from the writings of the *Scotus Viators* and other agitators of the same kidney who have done so much to provoke the general conflagration of which we are all the victims. If he had furnished proofs in support of his opinions I should strive for my part to refute them. To these vague accusations let it suffice to reply that the facts themselves have given the lie to the stories which have been spread about Magyar despotism.

It was known that several great powers were mobilizing against us, and it seemed that the hour for the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities had struck. On all sides disinterested protectors presented themselves. And yet there were the oppressed peoples, instead of turning against their oppressors, resolutely throwing in their lot with us and fighting at our side with the same obstinacy as ourselves; for example, the Croats, who have distinguished themselves by their valor on the battlefield.

I do not deny that the nationalities have sometimes uttered complaints against acts of violence by the Government. I recognize also that in certain cases these complaints appear well founded. But it is pure calumny to pretend that we wished to Magyarize them, and that the Hungarian is intoler-

ant and oppresses the other races. What Government has never made mistakes? Is the Italian Government itself free from all reproach? The poverty in southern Italy and the populations that have been kept backward in those regions ought to remind Italian statesmen that it is easier to criticise than to create, and that, if administration is far from being perfect, it is not always the ill-will of a Government that is the cause. We have yet much to do before the rule of right will everywhere take the place of arbitrariness and party interest and before political conditions approach ideal perfection.

The course of the present war, however, proves that there is no systematic oppression among us. It is true that our ideal is not to be a kind of Switzerland of the Orient, such as Signor Luzzatti would create, for that would be contrary to all our historic traditions. We only want to maintain a unified national State, but a State in which right and justice, and not arbitrariness, will rule, a State all of whose institutions are imbued with a spirit of liberalism, self-government, and toleration. It is this ideal which was the aim of our ancestors and particularly of the great generation (that of Kossuth) to which Signor Luzzatti refers. It is this ideal which we are aiming and shall always aim at. We have already gained something in that the other Austro-Hungarian stocks with settled opinions do not seek to improve their condition by struggles

against the Magyars, but unite with us in a common labor.

To my question, How does it happen that Signor Luzzatti has for many years pursued a line of policy based on the Triple Alliance, if he saw in Germany a peril as great as he says? The ex-Prime Minister of Italy replies that he has adhered to the Triplice because he regarded it as a guarantee of peace. * * * Signor Luzzatti's reply contains the explicit admission that he did not see the German peril until war broke out, which will certainly make the reader think that Germany's aggressiveness cannot be as manifest as Signor Luzzatti pretends. * * *

With the best will in the world it is impossible to admit that Italy has abandoned her allies and thrown herself into the fray for nothing but the love of peace. Speaking generally, Italian policy had for its principal objective, not the maintenance of peace, but the conquest of new territories. Some years ago Italy went to war against Turkey, the friend of her allies; she brought up again the Balkan question and made Europe run the risk of a universal war for nothing else but to enrich herself with a new province. How can we admit that it is only for love of peace that Italy has intervened in the present war, when no one threatened her security and when we desired to maintain the alliance with

her, although she had not come to our help during the war and although we were disposed from love of peace to cede territory to her? * * * It is not because we have disturbed the peace that Italy has gone over to the enemy, but because she has not found her share of the spoil sufficient. * * *

Lord Courtney not long since in a courageous speech said that it was necessary to re-establish good understanding between the peoples after the war if we did not wish civilization to perish. I am of the same opinion. We, too, shall have to seek a *modus vivendi* with Italy. But harmony will not be possible unless the Italian Nation itself condemns the policy of the present Government and unless it recognizes that by its aggression it has offended against political morality; and that, after the concessions we were disposed to make, the declaration of war was a crime without its like in the annals of universal history. * * * The people did not wish, could not wish for this felony. The ambition and false calculations of some individuals can alone explain such an infamy. The great majority of a civilized nation can let itself be blinded by facts presented in a false light, it can let itself be carried away by passion, but in cold blood and sufficiently informed it could not approve of a policy as criminal as that.

General von Hindenburg's Campaign

By V. G.

Speculation is rife as to the identity of the anonymous writer who in the *Deutsche Revue* gives an account of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's campaigns. The fact that the narrative displays extraordinary tactical knowledge leads to the supposition that a high military authority is concealed behind the initials "V. G." The substance of the article is reproduced herewith.

IT is a rather curious circumstance that to a General not in active service—a General of infantry, Paul von Beneckendorff und Hindenburg, commanding General of the Fourth Army Corps—has come the opportunity to play a rôle in the present world war which lifts him to the plane of hero in the eyes

of the German people; the national hero, a second Blücher.

Not even when the war started did von Hindenburg take a part. Three weeks had passed before he was called to assume the chief command in the east. He entered upon his task under conditions fraught with difficulty and discouragement.

ment. In the middle of August, 1914, the Russians had begun their big offensive against East Prussia. Composed of five army corps—the First, Sixth, Eighth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-third—and three divisions of cavalry, the Russian Narew army crossed the Mława in the direction of Niedenburg-Allenstein. The Niemen army, made up of the Second, Third, Fourth, and Twenty-second Corps, moved toward Stallupoenen-Gumbinnen-Insterburg.

The goal of the Narew and Niemen armies was Königsberg. Each army was about 230,000 strong. The German forces in East Prussia at the time consisted of the First, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Army Corps—whose headquarters in normal times was at Königsberg, Dantsic, and Allenstein—together with reserve, Landwehr, and Landsturm troops; all together some 225,000 men. The Russian offensive required that many German troops had to be told off to protect Tilsit and Memel, and otherwise secure the territory, so that in reality no more than 90,000 men were available for active field operations. Reserve and Landwehr corps included, the strength of this force was about 135,000.

But at the head of this eighth army stood General von Hindenburg. That confronting his 90,000 troops were both of the Russian armies did not in the least discourage him. His entire concern was so to employ his forces, so to utilize his skill of leadership, as to obliterate the difference in numbers, and with that purpose in mind he decided to direct his attention first to the Narew army. He did so on the supposition that, even if he should be victorious against the Niemen army, the other Russian army would attack him from the rear and compel retreat under the most difficult conditions. As early as Aug. 20, in the engagement at Gumbinnen, the Prussian First Army Corps gained a victory against the Niemen army, capturing 8,000 men and 8 cannon. After assuming the chief command on the 22d, von Hindenburg decided to use his eighth army against the Narew army of the Russians.

[Here follows a detailed account of the

military operations that resulted in the victory of Tannenberg.]

The crisis was reached on Aug. 30. Prisoners taken numbered 100,000. Between 60,000 and 70,000 men were killed, while some 70,000 made their escape. Almost the entire artillery equipment, as well as ammunition and provision trains, fell into the hands of the Germans, who sustained a loss of 15,000 men out of a total of 135,000.

After finishing with the Narew army, "our Hindenburg" turned his attention to Rennenkampf's Niemen army. Here, also, was present the Grand Duke Nicholas. It remains a mystery to this day why the Niemen army, distant no more than eighty kilometers, did nothing but guard its left wing against the eighth German army. In the days immediately following the 20th, when the First Prussian Corps moved against his front, Rennenkampf withdrew his forces toward the southwest, his troops plundering and destroying on their way to Königsberg, following which Tilsit was occupied.

The Niemen army did not operate, like the Narew army, on a small front and greater depth, but occupied a frontage of more than 100 kilometers. When the fate of the neighboring army reached Rennenkampf the latter must have told himself that the Germans now would turn against him.

Through reinforcements von Hindenburg's forces had been increased to 175,000, as against from 235,000 to 250,000 Russians. The German commander in chief determined to attack the left wing of the enemy. The German centre was held back, while the left wing was charged with encircling the right wing of the Russian force.

The attack on Rennenkampf's army came off as planned. Following successful preliminary skirmishes on the 8th, the day following witnessed the defeat of the Russian left wing to the east of the Loetzener Lake from Gross-Gablick to Allenburg, compelling further retreat to Goldap, Gumbinnen and Insterburg. Cavalry divisions had already cut off retreat in the eastern direction. The first army corps crushed in the Russian left wing, and with the assistance of the

cavalry, struck out toward the north. What remained of the Russian left wing now found itself in a split semicircle between the Nordenburg-Insterburg highway and the Rominter heaths. It was here the Russians were defeated on the 11th of the month, although the centre and the right wing were able to withdraw during the night between the 9th and the 10th by sacrificing the left wing. Escape was effected through retreat by way of Insterburg-Stallupoenen to Russian territory. This was the only thing that saved the Niemen army from sharing the fate of the Narew army. The booty of the victors consisted of 30,000 men taken prisoners and 150 pieces of artillery. The Russian losses in dead and mortally wounded amounted to 30,000.

Within less than three weeks the military skill of Hindenburg had brought about the removal of the Niemen and Narew armies from East Prussia. The first was completely destroyed, the other suffered a loss of 60,000 men. Still worse for Russia was the loss of 650 cannon, much harder to replace than human beings.

"With all of Germany I am proud of this achievement of the army under your leadership," telegraphed the imperial chief commander to his victorious General in the field.

[The author goes on to describe General von Hindenburg's successful campaign in Galicia and closes with the story of the great Winter campaign in Masuria. He concludes:]

The German Emperor witnessed the closing battle. The result was 110,000 prisoners, 300 cannon, 200 machine guns, together with an uncountable mass of other war materials. The battered remains of the Tenth Russian Army fled from Lyck into the Augustowo forest.

"This was Hindenburg's work, and God was with him," concludes Hans Niemann's book, "The Winter Battle in Masuria," "For the third time our Hindenburg destroyed a Russian army."

It is because Field Marshal von Hindenburg not only knows the rules of the game, but has the genius to carry through his plans that he succeeded in bringing together his widely separated forces so successfully on the battlefield and achieved such brilliant results.

Russian View of the Cause of the War

By L. Slonimsky

This article by Slonimsky, an eminent Russian publicist, appeared in the *Vestnik Yevropy*, (European Courier,) one of the oldest monthlies in Russia.

IN the first months of the war it seemed that its cause was evident to all: Official Germany, supported by her tremendously developed military machine, decided to conquer Europe and win the dominating position among the nations of the world. German militarism, tuned up to its highest degree, burst out in the present terrible catastrophe. Hence the necessity of destroying that militarism as an eternal source of menace to the peace of the world.

Such a solution of the problem would not satisfy those who seek "deeper meanings" in all phenomena. If the war was directly caused by Germany's

military class, it is asked, how is the fervidly patriotic attitude of the entire German people toward it to be explained? The war from its very beginning has been national for Germany. The whole nation is supporting its Government in its schemes of expansion in the direction of the Orient. This unanimity indicates that it would be wrong to hold Wilhelm and his coterie responsible for the war.

It is being argued that the war was not the product of the ambitions of any Government heads, but of the whole course of the economic development of Europe, and of the character of prevailing international politics; that an

armed conflict between Teuton and Slav was unavoidable; that through her gigantic industrial and commercial growth Germany had left France and Great Britain behind her, and was, therefore, in need of colonial expansion, which is somehow identified with the "inevitableness of a great war"; that at the base of the struggle are factors of enormous economic force which cannot be removed from the course of the world's development, and which were bound to come to a bloody issue.

Some go still further and fall into a hopeless fatalism. They say that the present struggle of nations has been caused by some "law of nature," and is the logical and inevitable evolution of that law; that it is the result of some fatal predestination, the fulfillment of a necessary function in the life of the universe. The aggressive policy of German militarism is thus justified. If a bloody issue was inevitable and unavoidable, then there is no sense in accusing for it the real originators of the war. On the contrary, we should be compelled to acknowledge that the direct builders of the conflagration, Wilhelm & Co., are but carrying out a higher will, and that Germany herself is the tool and victim of a great historical process, governed by laws over which she had no control. Then the question of her Government's responsibility for the present war disappears. Nobody is guilty, at least on Germany's side.

But is it possible to acquiesce in a view which justifies wholesale butcheries by some historical or economical "laws," entirely independent of the human will?

A scrutiny of the above arguments reveals their lack of sound logic. Indeed, German commerce had reached colossal proportions, penetrating everywhere, successfully competing with Great Britain and France even in their own countries. Germany, for instance, supplied France with a considerable part of the so-called "articles de Paris," which gained their reputation as French products. The yearly exports of Germany into the other European countries amounted to 7,800,000,000 marks, and into the other parts of the world to about

2,500,000,000; a good part of the latter went to the colonial possessions of Great Britain and France. Germany was steadily gaining at their expense in the markets of the world.

But these commercial successes of Germany could have had but one effect—to awaken in France and Great Britain a desire to defend their national interests from the commercial aggressiveness of Germany. Therefore, if war was to come as a result of economic competition, it should have come from the countries that suffered from that competition, from England and France, and not from triumphant Germany. But France and Great Britain did not think of war, and did not prepare for it. Instead, they were devoting their attention to peace, only following Germany in military preparations. The formation of the Triple Entente followed as counterbalance to the already existing Triple Alliance.

During the last two decades France and England gave considerable support to all movements advocating permanent peace and eventual disarmament. They were among the first to support the Russian Hague idea. Their literatures also reflect their peace sentiments. Paul Lacombe, in his book "*La Guerre et L'Homme*," forcefully indicted the advocates and defenders of war. Norman Angell's "*The Great Illusion*" was an eloquent and powerful protest against the militant sophisms of Germany's publicists. All these latest doctrines of the "mercilessness of military necessity" come from Germany's patriotic writers and military experts. And the establishment of permanent peace in humanity remained the ambition of those countries that have suffered badly from the successful aggressions of German commerce. Germany, which had every reason to be satisfied with her achievements and prospects, steadily armed herself and looked for war.

It is said that Germany's aggressive militarism is the result of her need of "colonial expansion." But why shed so much blood for winning new colonies, when they have excellently managed their affairs in all foreign colonies without

any troubles or sacrifices? They did more business with foreign colonies than with their own. Then, if it is a matter of "colonial expansion," why start a war against Russia, which in itself was but a colony of Germany, presenting a vast market for her products and a cheap source of limitless raw material? It is also well to remember that with the chief colonial empire—Great Britain—Germany did not expect to fight now. The theory of "colonial expansion" evidently does not explain the war of aggression waged by Germany.

The suggestions at the existing economical and political cross-currents among the nations of the world are not sufficient for concluding that the war was inevitable. Nationalistic and international antagonisms, though they might seem irreconcilable at one time, do not and must not necessarily culminate in a bloody struggle. Thirty years ago it was thought that a war between Great Britain and Russia was unavoidable. Also then many tried to prove that according to the fundamental laws of nature a great catastrophe was bound to come. (In an article in the *Vestnik Yevropy* for August, 1885, I also argued against the fatalistic interpretation of war. And my predictions came true. The seeming insoluble disagreements were little by little smoothed out, and now Russia and Great Britain are allies.)

The vast importance of the present war is by no means diminished when we trace its immediate cause to the vulgar military-political ambitions which have seized a part of the German public, under the influence of the theories brought forth and spread by the militarism dominating the country. The inspirers of this militarism possess the power of deciding the question of war and peace, and they are guided not by the real interests of commerce and industry and not by any other factors, but by the traditional plans of conquest capable of tempting and enticing all classes of people everywhere. The German Government did not ask the people or the captains of commerce if it should go to war. The huge increases in armaments were being accomplished

openly, and could have no other aim but war. And when the military preparations, theoretically guaranteeing victory over the prospective enemies, were complete, there remained nothing but to put them to the practical test.

The selection of the opportune moment was entirely in the hands of the General Staff, and when war was declared the people could do nothing but welcome it in the hope of conquest and financial remuneration. Had the representatives of the people been asked before the war they would in all probability have declared themselves against war, as its first effects are the paralyzation of commerce and industry. But even one of the greatest figures in German commerce, a favorite of the Kaiser, the Director of the Hamburg-American Line, Ballin, had evidently not been advised of the intended move, for had he been informed he would have taken good care not to have at that time such a large portion of his fleet in American waters.

It is impossible not to take into account the fact that only in Germany the doctrine of the "inevitableness of war" is being preached as the only lawful and possible way of solving international disputes. This Prussian view finds no support in other countries. It is folly to suppose that the "laws of nature" are known to the Teutonic mind, remaining inaccessible to the minds of such civilized nations as France and Great Britain. Finally, if the war was inevitable and unavoidable, there is no reason for the German Government to disavow any responsibility for it and throw it on her "treacherous" opponents.

In the past it was an axiom that with the progress of commerce and closer international relations war will disappear. Herbert Spencer and Auguste Comte thought so. In the '40s of the last century, Frederick List, author of "The National System of Political Economy," expressed a similar view. He had not foreseen the strange combination of German industrialism and Prussian militarism of today. To the German thinkers of the past such a combination seemed impossible and abnormal. In substance, it is even now but a passing

and ephemeral phenomenon, depending upon the degree of the democratic development of the country. The existing

military-political order in Germany, in any case, affords no ground for generalizations and fatalistic interpretations.

Why Canada Is At War

By a Canadian

The leading article in The Quarterly Review for January tells why Canada is sending men and money to help defeat Great Britain's enemies. The anonymous Canadian author says, in part:

FINANCIALLY, Canada has nothing to gain and everything to lose by her participation in the war. Had she refused to send a man, her commercial products would have been sought as readily by the Allies as they are today. In fact, Canadians feel some annoyance that large war orders, which could be executed as well in Canada, are being placed in the United States. On the other hand, in addition to a large deficit in revenue which she meets by a special war tax, the military burden voluntarily assumed by Canada will add to her national debt more than \$120,000,000 a year as long as the war lasts, (more than \$15 a head per annum.) The probability is that it will reach \$150,000,000 a year or more. This may seem a small amount, but in a young country with a small population and the development of its railways, canals, harbors, industries, &c., just beginning, it is a serious matter. The capital required for the development of our Canadian West, for example, will not be forthcoming for years.

Canadians fully realize all this, but they are shouldering the burden without a complaint. They have been sobered by the horrors of the war and by the sacrifice of such large numbers of men. Canada has already lost more men than England lost in the Crimean war, and the end is not yet in sight. Yet after a year to think about the matter, with losses in money and men out of all pro-

portion to what she had anticipated, there are no regrets that the step was taken.

Great Britain has handed over to us full control of our own internal affairs, even the disposition of our military forces—a thing Germany certainly would not have done. She has allowed us to develop our own institutions according to our natural inclinations, without forcing upon us the English stamp. To the German charges that Britain is avaricious and guided by sordid mercenary motives, all we Canadians can answer is that we know nothing about it. Our country has vast stores of great undeveloped natural resources awaiting captains of industry to turn them into money, yet our rich farms, mines, forests, and fisheries have never been exploited by the English. Our preferential tariffs have been made by ourselves without English solicitation. During all these years, while we have gone our own way politically and commercially, the British Navy protected our commerce to the ends of the earth, and for that protection we paid not one dollar.

Canadians are going to the front, and they will continue to go, not because Great Britain says they must, nor because they have any special hatred for the Germans, nor because the adventures of war have carried them off their feet. They go because it is the only honorable course to take in view of their present happy position in the empire. But above all, they go because their filial love is so strong that they would regard it as a monstrous neglect of duty to stand aside and complacently look on while the mother country fights for her life.

Important War Books in Press

This department is devoted to illuminating glimpses of important forthcoming books relating to the great European war or to world affairs directly affected by the war. Most of the volumes here treated are still in press, but will appear this month. The object is to give the reader advance information similar to that which may be had later by turning over the pages in a bookstall.

Roosevelt in Warlike Mood

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART.

By Theodore Roosevelt. New York: George H. Doran Company. \$1.50.

IN his latest volume Colonel Roosevelt has brought together his most belligerent magazine articles and speeches on preparedness and kindred subjects. He attacks the Wilson Administration for its Mexican policy, and for what he regards as its dishonorable supineness in dealing with the Lusitania affair, and other violations of American rights. Failure to protest against the invasion of Belgium, he says, made it contemptible for us to protest against subsequent and smaller misdeeds; and failure to act (not merely speak or write notes) when our women and children were murdered made protests against interference with American business profits both offensive and ludicrous.

Here are some typical paragraphs from his "Conclusion":

Fear God and take your own part! This is another way of saying that a nation must have power and will for self-sacrifice and also power and will for self-protection. The nation must be willing to stand for a lofty ideal and yet it must also be able to insist that its own rights be heeded by others.

The Belgians have walked through the valley of the shadow rather than prove false to their ideals. We, rich, prosperous, at ease, and potentially powerful, have not lifted a finger to right their wrongs, lest our own safety and comfort might be jeopardized. This national selfishness, manifested under the lead of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, was doubly offensive because it was loudly trumpeted as virtue.

* * *

With colossal effrontery Germany, the first and infinitely the greatest offender against humanity

and the rights of neutrals, has clamored that we should take steps to "secure neutral rights on the seas," "to establish the freedom of the seas," "to secure the neutralization of the ocean." The pro-Germans on this side of the water have repeated these words with parrot-like fidelity of phrase.

On the matter of preparedness Colonel Roosevelt says that if a free Government cannot organize and maintain armies and navies which can and will fight as well as those of an autocracy or a despotism, it will not survive. He calls for a first-class navy and a first-class professional army, with universal and obligatory military training for all our young men.

Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. Never in the country's history has there been a more stupendous instance of folly than this crowning folly of waiting eighteen months after the elemental crash of nations took place before even making a start in an effort—and an utterly inefficient and insufficient effort—for some kind of preparation to ward off disaster in the future. * * * No man can support Mr. Wilson without at the same time supporting a policy of criminal inefficiency as regards the United States Navy, of short-sighted inadequacy as regards the army, of abandonment of the duty owed by the United States to weak and well-behaved nations, and of failure to insist on our just rights when we are ourselves maltreated by powerful and unscrupulous nations.

The author says that more lives of American citizens were destroyed in peaceful ships at sea during the last year than we lost at sea in the entire war of 1812, more than Farragut's fleet lost in all its victories, more than Nel-

son's fleet suffered in his three great victories. He continues:

If any individual finds satisfaction in saying that nevertheless this was "peace" and not "war," it is hardly worth while arguing with him; for he dwells in a land of sham and make-believe. Of course incidentally we have earned contempt and derision by our conduct in connection with the hundreds of Americans thus killed in time of peace without action on our part. The

United States Senator, or Governor of a State, or other public representative who takes the position that our citizens should not, in accordance with their lawful rights, travel on such ships, and that we need not take action about their deaths, occupies a position precisely and exactly as base and as cowardly (and I use those words with scientific precision) as if his wife's face were slapped on the public streets and the only action he took was to tell her to stay in the house.

Story of an Eyewitness

ROADSIDE GLIMPSES OF THE GREAT WAR. By Arthur Sweetser. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Company.

ARTHUR SWEETSER is one of the American newspaper correspondents who forced their way into the war zone of Northern France at the time of the German invasion, and who saw sights that cannot be forgotten. In his forthcoming book Mr. Sweetser has told the story of his experiences in rapid narrative and in a succession of memorable word pictures. While attempting to reach Lille on a bicycle he fell into the wake of von Kluck's army—bound for Paris—and after leaving the village of Cateau he topped a hill and—"Smash! outlined sharp against the sky were two angry field pieces sullenly, defiantly facing out across the valley toward Germany." The author continues:

Ugly scars—was it possible they were trenches—zigzagged here and there through the rich harvests. Empty cartridge shells in little piles, half-eaten meat and hard-tack, now and then a letter, cards, or a book, occasionally a khaki hat or coat, told their simple tale of the little human units caught in the vortex of war.

Strangely, it was English, all English. It was the battlefield of the Cateau-Cambrai line, the strategic point where General French rallied his remnants for one last staying effort while the French were concentrated about Paris; the graveyard whither the Tommies I had seen a few nights before from the other

side had been rushing to bolster up their nearly annihilated comrades fleeing precipitately but valiantly from Belgium. I learned the story later from a curly-headed youngster of twenty who had been one of the few to escape. Twelve hundred strong the regiment had left England. For thirty-six hours without cessation it had fought at Mons. For six days and six nights it had alternately retreated and held till the final graveyard was reached at the peaceful spot where I now stood. For only eight hours the carnage had lasted, but at the retreat only 300 men were able to leave.

Sick at heart I ascended the hill further, to find a terrified French peasant hastily emptying his pockets of fragments of shells. He seemed in perfect terror lest he be shot for taking away a souvenir.

"Ah, Monsieur, it is terrible, this war. For two days I have buried dead men, two whole days, and then I thought they would let me go. But no; I must now bury dead horses. It is terrible, this war, terrible."

Mr. Sweetser had lively experiences as a prisoner, first of the Germans, then of the French, then of the Germans again, and narrowly escaped being shot as a spy. He tells the story with a thrill. His final chapters are on Belgium and the hopeless heroism of the people. The author's unusual power of flashing war scenes before the eye makes his book extraordinarily vivid and interesting.

German Psychology in Belgium

THE GERMANS IN BELGIUM. By L. H. Grondys. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.

DR. GRONDYS, who was formerly Professor of Physics in the Technical Institute of Dordrecht, went over into Belgium from Holland soon after the war began in order to see at first hand just how it was being conducted, and to satisfy himself as to the truth or falsity of the stories of outrageous conduct on the part of the invading army. He visited Brussels, Louvain, Aerschot, met and followed the invading army, was in Louvain during its days and nights of horror, and finally tramped out on foot with the refugees from that city who sought sanctuary in his own country.

He describes many atrocious deeds that he either witnessed or had knowledge of immediately after they were committed. But he views all the phenomena of the invasion in a judicial spirit, endeavoring to understand and explain them in terms of ordinary human nature. He found, for instance, that the German soldiers were themselves in a state of fear and nervousness caused by their dread of an uprising against them of Belgian civilians, and that this nervous terror kept them most of the time on the verge of a panic. He was at Aerschot

when the Burgomaster and many of the citizens were shot, and he thinks that the riot which brought about that tragedy was caused by this mental state among the German soldiers, which led, as it often did, to the firing of guns, nobody knew why. During the sacking and burning of Louvain Dr. Grondys lived with the family of Professor Sharpé of the University, taking an intimate part in their life and constantly using his status as a neutral to mitigate the severity of the Germans.

At Brussels, where he spent some time after the occupation of the city, he pays particular attention to the inability of the Germans, which he had already noted in other places, to understand why their policy of "frightfulness" had not inspired the people with abject terror:

The Germans existed in a state of complete miscomprehension. All the officers to whom I spoke expressed their astonishment at the attitude of the population. They attributed it to a want of respect with which the Belgians were afflicted, and to their ignorance of recent events. They would not believe that their redoubtable strength and their victories could never win outraged hearts, and that all these poor people, abandoned to their enemies, could still cherish hope for the future.

"Self-Government in Russia"

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA. By Paul Vinogradoff. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$1. (To be issued about March 15.)

PROFESSOR PAUL VINOGRADOFF, formerly of Moscow University, and now of Oxford, has summarized the recent progress of his native country toward free institutions in a brief volume under the title, "Self-Government in Russia." Disregarding the official sequence of events, he goes straight to the living personality of the nation and examines the facts relating to the growth and education of this personality.

A chapter is devoted to the gradual steps in the organization of local and national self-government in Russia, and another deals with popular education and the unfortunate clash between the Church and secular schools. The final chapter, "Self-Government and the War," gives an interesting account of how the farmers' congresses, held in the first years of the present century, assumed a decisive political turn in consequence of the events of the Russo-Japanese war.

Hospital and evacuation work had to be undertaken on a vast scale, society lent its help in the usual

patriotic manner, and among other organizations a powerful All-Russian Zemstvo Union sprang up and did excellent work. When the deficiencies of Governmental leadership in the war became more and more apparent, a great wave of indignation spread through the country and the self-governing units became the centres of a movement toward political regeneration.

In the present war this work has made wonderful progress at the hands of two bodies—the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, with Prince G. Lvoff as President, and the All-Russian Town Union, headed by M. Chelnokoff, Mayor of Moscow—both officially recognized and furnished with funds by the Imperial Government. Up to March a year ago the Zemstvo Union had received \$20,000,000 in subsidies for its work among the wounded and for the army commissariat, and the amounts since then have been much greater. The services of the Town Union are on a scale almost equally large. The author says:

The retreat in Galicia and Poland called forth a heightened consciousness of the national danger and a great manifestation of patriotic resolve. Toward the end of May, at a congress of representatives of trade and industry, the discussion of technical questions was interrupted by an impassioned speech delivered by one of the leading Moscow millionaires, V. Riabushinsky, just back from the front and full of impressions of the life and death struggle against the invaders. "The whole of Russia forms the rear of the army," he cried. "We cannot busy ourselves with our every-day affairs at the present moment; every workshop, every factory must be used to break the enemy's force."

The result was a popular movement which the Government could not refuse to recognize. The crisis, as the author says, opened even the eyes of the blind. The Government at last perceived that it "was powerless without the backing of the country, and that with the support of the country it was invincible."

Studies of Warring Nations

THE IMPERIAL IMPULSE: BACKGROUND STUDIES OF BELGIUM, ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA. By Samuel P. Orth. 250 pages. New York: The Century Company. \$1.20. (To be published March 17.)

THE character of Samuel P. Orth's volume on "The Imperial Impulse" is indicated by the sub-title: "Background Studies of Belgium, England, France, Germany, and Russia." The author thus explains his purpose:

In the procession of grim and fascinating events, we are apt to forget the political, economic, and ethnic backgrounds of the cultures now at each others' throats. Thus we neglect the significance of the drama in our interest in the action. But back of all this world commotion are the prejudices, national habits, retrogressions and advancements, that whole category of traits and accomplishments which we indefinitely call culture. These papers attempt to recall these traits and some of their antecedents.

Beginning with Germany, he outlines

briefly the story of the gradual cohesion of the German States until they were solidified into the empire, tracing the important developments of national life, picturing the sudden transformation of the old into the new industrial and imperial Germany, and describing the mechanism of Governmental activities that penetrates the nation's life. Modern Germany he finds animated by dual powers, the aristocratic and the plutocratic, and outside of these is a third force, the Social Democracy, whose "four and a half million voters are first of all democrats, and many of them are not Socialists at all." He concludes:

So the student of affairs sees today the final test of a vast human mechanism that has reduced 60,000,000 persons to 60,000,000 obedient "parts," resting upon the tripod of bureaucracy, bayonet, and State benevolence. Is it possible to drill the human mind and body into mechanical docility and yet retain that nationalistic spirit which is the noblest phase of race development?
* * * Can you make a man a

machine, and yet by some autocratic miracle save his soul? This is the greatest issue of this war.

Out of the kaleidoscope of French history Mr. Orth evolves "the soul of the French," with "complete freedom of expression the life of its ideal" and its high regard for intelligence. The Government the French have devised he calls "one of the greatest anomalies of modern politics," England is an "imperial opportunist," knowing only one iron rule, "to make a go of it"; upon a skeleton of historical facts Mr. Orth constructs the huge figure of Russia, depicts the phases of its development and the anomalies of its social and national life, and the struggles of its animating spirits in recent years, with this conclusion:

So we behold in this vast country not merely a land of problems, but a nation in transition. In economic and political life and in cultural activities one sees everywhere the evidence of change. This makes Russia significant.

The first step in a great national transformation, such as apparently awaits Russia, is an awaking, the second is unity, the third is action. The awaking assuredly has come. Russia's most enlightened classes are aroused to the needs of their nation. Unity appears at hand.

In a final chapter the author studies the characters of the nations at war in their disposition toward the United States, our own relations with South America, and with the Far East, as influenced by the war, considers the new alignment of powers and the new world balance—"merely a soft synonym for world bullying"—which will result, and sets forth what he considers will be "our first duty" in the immediate future:

The new dispensation, therefore, will require of us an awakening of spiritual idealism, a rejuvenescence of a wholesome faith, as well as an alertness of mind that watches every current of thought. No vain optimism or vainglory will answer in this fateful hour.

The New Spirit In France

FRANCE AND THE WAR. By James Mark Baldwin. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.

IN a short prefatory note Professor Baldwin mentions that his "previous and more remote judgments were, in many respects, favorable to Germany" because of early educational associations—a fact which may be taken as making for impartiality in his present views. That he has lived the better part of each of the last six years in France adds to the authority of his conclusions.

His principal conclusion is that modern France "is not a military or martial country in either of the two distinct senses, moral and political, of the term 'militarism.'" He brings forward many arguments to prove that French sentiment, previous to the breaking out of the war, was anti-militaristic, and that the tendency of both idealistic aims and practical life was toward international tolerance and friendliness. He mentions that "There had even been a Germanophile movement—or at least a movement

of imitation—in science, education, and letters, similar to that from which the United States has recently been recovering." He does not believe that the war produced the sudden change in the apparent attitude of the French people toward life, but that it merely emphasized and crystallized a tendency already strong among them. Recent years, he declares, have seen "the growth of a 'new and fruitful idealism':"

* * * The future student of national culture will find abundant evidence to show that the finest preparation for the war, the most convincing assurance of victory, lay not in military equipment and armaments, not in the law of three years, [military service,] not in the high financial credit of France, but in the moral purpose of the people, in their new view of life and duty. It lay in the national aspiration for a place in the brighter sun of world influence in literature, art and morals, which was gathering force and already seeking instruments of expression when the explosion of war startled it into self-consciousness.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS OF THE MONTH

BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TAXATION IN ENGLAND

E. E. K.—It is true, as your question states, that taxation in England has been greatly increased since the war began. In announcing the new schedules for "the greatest war budget in the world's history," Sept. 21, 1915, Reginald McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said: "We have trebled our debt and doubled our taxes." The principal blow in the new taxation falls upon incomes, the existing income tax is increased 40 per cent., and the scope of the tax is widened so as to include even workmen at a \$14-a-week wage; the very rich are obliged to pay the Government one-third of their income. One-cent postage has been abolished and the 2-cent weight reduced. The telegraph rate has been advanced from 12 to 18 cents for twelve words, and there has been a similar telephone increase. Sugar is heavily taxed, but the assessment has been so arranged as to increase the price to the consumer by only a penny a pound. "To discourage imports and remedy the foreign exchange situation" a duty of 33 1-3 per cent. ad valorem has been placed on automobiles, bicycles, moving-picture films, watches, musical instruments, plate glass, and hats.

FRENCH MILITARY SERVICE

A. H.—Is military service compulsory in France?

YES, between the ages of 20 and 48; the only exemptions are for physical disability.

WAR RELIEF SHIPMENTS

SUBSCRIBER.—Can you tell me if one can send an individual shipment of hospital supplies—bandages, shirts, &c.—to a friend in France who is doing war relief work, without payment of transportation?

SHIPMENTS to war relief workers in France may be made without charge

for transportation if sent through one of the relief organizations. If you want your supplies to go to an individual worker, they may be sent through the War Relief Clearing House for France and her allies, and if the person to whom they are addressed is connected with a hospital, relief committee, or like organization, no charge will be made for transportation between the Clearing House Receiving Station and the destination in France. The package should be accompanied by an itemized list of its contents, carefully wrapped and tied for shipment and sent to the War Relief Clearing House Receiving Station, 133 Charlton Street; a duplicate list of the contents should also be mailed to the Clearing House office, 40 Wall Street. The sender must pay the cost of transportation as far as the receiving station. Shipments from a private individual in this country, sent without the mediation of any relief organization, to a private individual in France are not sent free.

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

F. MARTIN.—England declared war on Germany Aug. 4, 1914. Germany did not declare war on England.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

E. F.—The building of the Bagdad Railway was conceded to Germany by Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, in 1899, as the climax of a series of concessions granted to Germany as the friend of Turkey. In the Bagdad Railway Convention Mar. 5, 1903, the German Government attempted to secure the participation of both England and France; these efforts were successful in regard to France, but Great Britain was so incensed at the constitution of the Board of Directors, which established German "control in perpetuity," that participation was refused, although at one time the British

Government had favored it. The estimated entire length of the railway from Konia to Basra is 1,357 miles; 538 miles, from Konia to Samara, has already been completed. The first section, from Konia to Bulgurlu, 124 miles, was opened Oct. 25, 1904. By the terms of the concession the railway was to be built in sections of 125 miles, and the capital sum per section was fixed at 54,000,000 francs, (about \$10,800,000.)

ARMY AND NAVY MAINTENANCE

J. I. F.—The following figures of army and navy expenditures in Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia, for the three years preceding the outbreak of war, are taken from the budget estimates, the year being that of the announcement. The figures dated 1914 are for the regular budget appropriation of that year, and do not include any extra expenses caused by the outbreak of war. The figures are as follows:

1912. Great Britain—Army, \$139,300,000; navy, \$220,427,000; Germany—Army, \$238,876,000; navy, \$111,254,000. France—Army, \$204,583,500; navy, \$92,000,000. Russia—Army, \$279,745,590; navy, \$90,716,948.

1913. Great Britain—Army, \$224,300,000; navy, \$224,140,000. Germany—Army, \$183,000,000; navy, \$111,300,000. France—Army, \$191,431,581; navy, \$119,571,400. Russia—Army, \$317,800,000; navy, \$122,500,000.

1914. Great Britain—Army, \$143,331,350; navy, \$256,150,026. Germany—Army, \$293,289,155; navy, \$113,918,367. France—Army, \$202,141,122; navy, \$96,255,733. Russia—Army, \$393,193,808; navy, 129,298,966.

PROPERTY IN FRANCE

A. D. P.—I was born in France, but have been a resident of this country for ten years, and am a naturalized American citizen. I own property in France, but I am told that the French Government is likely to confiscate it because I did not join the colors at the outbreak of the war. Will you please tell me if the French Government has a right to do that?

THERE is no treaty between the United States and France defining the status of former French citizens who have become naturalized American citizens; and

a Frenchman who has been naturalized abroad without the consent of his Government, and who at the time of his naturalization was still subject to military service in the active army or in the reserve of the active army, is held to be amenable to French military laws. It is impossible to supply a definite answer, regarding law and usage in France, to a specific individual case. When laws on nationality clash, the only thing to do is to appeal to the competent courts. The French Civil Tribunal of your domicile in France is the only authority competent to determine your nationality from the point of view of the law in France.

AMERICAN SHIPS SUNK

I. R.—The American ships sunk or disabled in the present war have been: The William P. Frye, sailing ship, sunk Jan. 28, 1915; the Evelyn, sunk by a mine in the North Sea, Feb. 21, one life lost; the Carib, sunk by a mine off the Norwegian coast, Feb. 23, three lives lost; the tank steamer Cushing, attacked, but not sunk, by a German aeroplane, April 28; the Gulfight, torpedoed, but not sunk, three lives lost, May 1; the Nebraskan, damaged off Fastnet, May 26; the Leelanaw, sunk July 26; the steamer Greenbrier, sunk by a mine in the North Sea early in April.

THE EMDEN

G. G. STEELE.—The German cruiser Emden was vanquished and wrecked by the Australian cruiser Sydney, Nov. 10, 1914. No other vessel took part in the fight.

AMERICANS GOING ABROAD

H. M. K.—Has the United States Government issued a warning to the people of the United States regarding traveling in Europe, and stated that the people were doing it at their own risk?

SHORTLY after the outbreak of the war a circular was issued in which American citizens were advised "to avoid visiting unnecessarily countries which are at war," and "particularly to avoid, if possible, passing through or from a belligerent country to a country which is at war therewith." Last October Secretary Lansing issued another "notice,"

which contained the same warning, and read in its entirety as follows:

All American citizens who go abroad should carry American passports, and should inquire of diplomatic or Consular officers of the countries which they expect to visit concerning the necessity of having the passports viséd therefor.

American citizens are advised to avoid visiting unnecessarily countries which are at war, and particularly to avoid, if possible, passing through or from a belligerent country to a country which is at war therewith.

It is especially important that naturalized American citizens refrain from visiting their countries of origin and countries which are at war therewith.

It is believed that Governments of countries which are in a state of war do not welcome aliens who are traveling merely for curiosity or pleasure. Under the passport regulations prescribed by the President Jan. 12, 1915, passports issued by this Government contain statements of the names of countries which the holders expect to visit and the objects of their visits thereto. The department does not deem it appropriate or advisable to issue passports to persons who contemplate visiting belligerent countries merely for "pleasure," "recreation," "touring," "sightseeing," &c.

As belligerent countries are accustomed, for self-protection, to scrutinize carefully aliens who enter their territories, American citizens who find it necessary to visit such countries should, as a matter of precaution and in order to avoid detention, provide themselves with letters or other documents, in addition to their passports, showing definitely the objects of their visits. In particular it is advisable for persons who go to belligerent countries as representatives of commercial concerns to carry letters of identification or introduction from such concerns.

Naturalized American citizens who receive American passports are advised to carry their certificates of naturalization with them, as well as their passports.

American citizens sojourning in countries which are at war are warned to

refrain from any conduct or utterances which might be considered offensive or contrary to the principles of strict neutrality.

FINANCING THE WAR

E. E. K.—Is it not generally understood that the United Kingdom is furnishing money to Russia, France, Belgium, and others and taking their bonds therefor?

YES. Great Britain is bearing the brunt of the Allies' finances. She is the nation best able to assume the burden of financing the Allies' cause, whether by direct loan or by the usual way by the sale of securities, and naturally does so.

GERMAN RUBBER PLOT

A. F. MERGER.—Will you please tell me why, when we stay neutral, a shipment of rubber to Germany, such as is recorded in the papers of Dec. 21, is banned by our Government? Why is that said to be a "German plot"? We are sending shiploads of munitions to the Allies, and that is considered all right. Why is it a crime to send rubber when it is intended for Germany?

THE offense charged in the discovery of the effort to get rubber to Germany, as recorded in the papers of Dec. 21, is not the sending of material to Germany; it is the failure to manifest to the United States goods exported to foreign lands in the course of trade for profit. There is no law in this country against sending contraband of war by individuals or private firms to any country whatever; there is a law against making false manifests to the United States Government.

FRENCH DEVELOPMENT OF CONSCRIPTION

A. H.—Please tell me something about compulsory military service in France in the time of the Empire and now during the Republic.

THE modern principle of universal service originated in France, where it was first adopted in 1792. The law of that date did not work out satisfactorily in details, however, and was superseded in 1798 by the famous Jourdan law, on which all the modern Continental systems are based, and which remained practically unaltered until 1870. The weak-

ness of this law, however, was its privilege of exemption by a money payment. Since 1870 France, in common with all the other European nations except Great Britain, has adopted the system of absolutely compulsory service, with a short term, a reserve army, and only a few legal exceptions.

THE GREATEST NAVAL POWERS

A. GREENSTONE.—What are the first five naval powers, and which ones are ahead of our country?

THE rating is as follows: 1, Great Britain; 2, Germany; 3, the United States; 4, France; 5, Japan.

MERCHANT VESSELS IN WAR

CONSTANT READER.—Prize courts are instituted to deal with captures of enemy ships and their cargoes, and of neutral ships and their cargoes alleged to have infringed the laws of neutrality. By the Order of the Constitution of Prize Courts, issued in London, Aug. 5, 1914, courts are authorized to "adjudge and condemn" all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to the enemy State, or the citizens or subjects thereof, or "to any other persons inhabiting within any of the countries, territories, or dominions of the said State." Boats solely intended for coast fishing or for petty local navigation are exempt from capture unless they take part in hostilities; vessels entrusted with religious, scientific, or philanthropic missions are also exempt. The Declaration of London states that a neutral vessel which is captured may not be destroyed by the captor.

AMERICANS IN FOREIGN ARMIES

N.—Will you kindly inform your readers whether an American citizen who enlists in a foreign army and takes the oath of allegiance to that country ceases to be an American? If so, what is required of him to become an American citizen again when he returns to the United States? The status of Americans who enlist in foreign armies is not, I think, generally understood, and is of great interest.

THE following statement is issued by the Department of State:

"The department has received a number of inquiries from people in the United States asking whether enlistment in a

foreign army by a citizen of the United States is evidence that he has expatriated himself and whether it is a breach of his duty as a citizen of the United States to enlist in a foreign army.

"The law relative to expatriation (Section 2, Act of March 2, 1907,) says:

"That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign State in conformity with its laws or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign State."

"Therefore, when service in a foreign army involves taking an oath of allegiance to a foreign State, an American citizen who enters such service must be deemed to have expatriated himself.

"Service in some foreign armies and in some branches of some foreign armies does not require an oath of allegiance to a foreign State. On the other hand, an oath of allegiance is required as a condition of service in other foreign armies. The department cannot give authentic information on the subject of the foreign requirements in this respect, because of their variation and because they are subject to changes.

"The department does not undertake to prescribe the duty of an individual with reference to his citizenship. It is of opinion, nevertheless, that the observance of neutrality in the conflict now engaging certain European powers requires American citizens to avoid participation in those conflicts."

An American who has lost his citizenship or expatriated himself must be re-naturalized if he wishes to become an American citizen again, meeting the same requirements and going through the same process as any other "alien."

KOENIGSBERG

J. M. 25.—Have the Russians ever occupied Königsberg, the German fortress in East Prussia? If not, could you tell me a town in East Prussia which the Russians occupied or a town near Königsberg during the Russian invasion, and how many miles is that town from Königsberg?

THE Russians did not occupy Königsberg. Königsberg was invested by the Russians Aug. 29, 1914. The Russians occupied Allenstein Aug. 29 and

there was at one time a report, which was quickly denied, that Königsberg had fallen. The Russian advance in East Prussia was admitted to be checked on Sept. 2. The nearest towns of any importance to Königsberg which were occupied by the Russians were Tilsit, about sixty-five miles to the northeast of Königsberg, and Allenstein, about seventy-five miles south.

THE KAISER'S LAWSUIT

M.—Some three years ago the Kaiser was sued in the German civil courts by a tenant who leased a farm from him, I think at Gumbinen. Will you kindly tell me about the suit and give me the decision of the court, which was, if I am not mistaken, in favor of the tenant?

THE quarrel in the German courts between the Kaiser and his tenant, Herr Sobert, dragged on for five years. There were three separate verdicts on the case, every one against the Kaiser. And at last the Emperor apologized, paid the tenant an indemnity of \$30,000, and presented him with the Prussian Order of the Crown, fourth class. Under date of May 8, 1912, a dispatch from Leipsic announced that the Kaiser, as landlord of the Cadinen estate near Dantsic, had lost his suit in the Supreme Court, after two appeals, against one of his tenants. The Emperor demanded that the tenant share in the cost of construction of a house suitable to the royal estate. A dispatch from Berlin April 1, 1913, stated that after five years of dispute the Kaiser had apologized for calling Herr Sobert "worthless and incompetent," given him a large indemnity for leaving, and decorated him. By the verdict of Feb. 28, 1913, in his third suit against the Kaiser, Herr Sobert became entitled to remain on the estate for five more years. The Crown Prince is said to have told his father that public feeling in West Prussia was so strong that the Emperor could not afford to ignore it, and that this was largely responsible for his apology.

AMERICAN LIVES LOST

I. R.—The American lives lost on merchant or passenger vessels of belligerent nations in the pursuance of "submarine warfare" have been as follows: Falaba,

March 28, 1915, one American lost; Lusitania, May 7, 142 Americans lost; Armenian, June 28, ten Americans, employed as mule tenders, lost; Iberian, July 31, three Americans lost; Arabic, Aug. 19, two Americans lost; Ancona, Nov. 10, eleven Americans lost; Persia, Dec. 30, two Americans lost; an American nurse was among the passengers lost in the torpedoing of the Brindisi Jan. 6.

BRITISH SUPERDREADNOUGHTS

A. E.—Please give me the names and tonnage of British superdreadnoughts completed since the war broke out.

THE following British "superdreadnoughts" were completed in 1915: Tiger, displacement, 28,000 tons; Ramilies, Resolution, Revenge, Royal Oak, and Royal Sovereign, each 25,750 tons; Barham, Malaya, Queen Elizabeth, Valiant, and Warspite, each 27,500 tons. The Iron Duke, Marlborough, Emperor of India, and Benbow, each 25,000 tons, were completed in 1914.

THE WAR ZONE

LEONARD R. MEMMOTT.—

Which came first, Germany's war zone decree or England's Order in Council blockading German ports?

THE war zone decree came first, being announced by Germany on Feb. 4, to go into effect Feb. 18. On March 1 Premier Asquith announced in the House of Commons the intention of England and France to cut Germany off from all trade with the rest of the world, and on March 15 the text of the Order in Council establishing the blockade was made public.

THE NAVY OF SWEDEN

H. A.—The navy of Sweden ranks eleventh among the navies of the world and first among the Scandinavian countries. Sweden has no modern battleships, cruiser battleships, armored cruisers, or first-class cruisers. The navy of Sweden consists of one second-class cruiser, five third-class cruisers, five gunboats, ten monitors, eight destroyers, fifty-three torpedo boats, and ten submarines. The naval personnel is 3,500.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

A BIRDEYE VIEW

OUTSTANDING war developments in the past month were the successful Russian offensive in the Caucasus, the serious plight of the British in Mesopotamia, a series of desperate German attacks on the western front, the German Admiralty order directing submarines to sink all armed merchant ships of the enemy without warning, and the discovery that two or more German sea raiders were destroying British shipping in the open Atlantic.

Apparently the most important results are likely to come from the Russian capture of Erzerum, with its eighteen Turkish forts and its garrison estimated in excess of 80,000. This campaign has given Grand Duke Nicholas an opportunity to retrieve his reputation, and he has pushed it amid the snowy steeps and bitter cold of the Caucasus Mountains with a determination that has thus far proved irresistible. With the German-built forts of Erzerum in his hands, and the German-led Turkish garrisons as prisoners, the way lies open before him to any part of Asiatic Turkey. It remains to be seen whether he means to go south to the rescue of the British expeditions at Kut-el-Amara, or westward toward the back door of Constantinople.

The heavy blows delivered by the Germans in France have cost them enormously in men—the fighting is said to have been the fiercest yet known on the western front—but thus far they have no material gains to show for the terrible price paid. If they fail to recapture the hills wrested from them last September, the permanent advantage will remain with the French when they begin their Spring offensive.

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SECRETARY GARRISON'S RESIGNATION

THE outstanding political event in this country in the past month was the resignation of Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, because he felt that President Wilson had receded from his

support of the proposed continental army to indorse the projected increase in the militia. There is lack of unanimity in the preparedness proposals at Washington, the Democrats being at present divided, but it is likely that some plan may be agreed upon substantially to increase the naval program and add perhaps 75,000 to the standing army. The continental army proposal is dead.

* * *

THE LUSITANIA AFFAIR

FOR the United States the most acute war issue of the month was the diplomatic controversy over the wording of Germany's note acknowledging liability for American lives lost in the Lusitania tragedy. At two different times a complete break of friendly relations seemed imminent. Early in the month the Washington dispatches carried grave headlines, the stock market winced, and Berlin papers accused us of trying to humiliate Germany, adding that a break of diplomatic relations would mean war. This phase of the affair, however, proved to be mainly a matter of words—the difference between "assumes liability" and "recognizes liability." A frank conference of Count von Bernstorff, Secretary Lansing, and President Wilson reduced the issue to a form which brought the desired concessions from the Berlin Foreign Office on Feb. 15, and it was announced that the controversy was about to be settled satisfactorily to both Governments. At that moment, however, the case was complicated by the German decree ordering submarines to sink armed liners without warning after March 1. The United States Government declined to confirm the tentative agreement regarding the Lusitania until it received satisfactory assurances as to the course to be pursued under this order. The new German policy seemed to involve a violation of pledges already given. At this writing the situation is apparently as grave as in the earlier crisis; the difference is that the issue now regards the future instead of the past.

THE BRITISH BLOCKADE

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD'S biting criticism of the British Government's "make-believe blockade," published Jan. 24, seems to have been one of the numerous utterances of this kind that spurred Sir Edward Grey to make a long and vigorous reply in the House of Commons on Jan. 26. Sir Edward riddled the "reckless figures and reckless statements" of the critics and defended the blockade so effectively that little has been heard since in England in the way of attack upon it.

Sir Edward Grey made it plain that the Government was between two fires and found the situation very uncomfortable. On the one hand, the neutral nations were resenting its interference with trade on the seas, and making their indignation felt in protesting notes. On the other hand, the British people and press were crying out that there was not enough interference with neutral trade—that supplies were reaching Germany and prolonging the war. In proof of the latter charge the papers were printing figures of the great increase of American exports to Scandinavia and other neutral lands, charging that all the surplus over the trade of peace times must be leaking into Germany.

Such a conclusion, Sir Edward declared, was fallacious and unjust. In times of peace these nations drew a large portion of their supplies from Black Sea ports and other regions of Europe and Asia now inaccessible to them. At present their supplies come almost exclusively from the United States. Deduct the figures of former imports of grain from Eastern Europe into Holland and the Scandinavian countries, said Sir Edward, and it will be seen that the latter countries have not imported at all in excess of their normal requirements, hence the thousands of bushels supposed to be going to Germany become a myth.

* * *

STATE CONTROL IN BRITAIN

IN spite of her mastery of the seas, Great Britain has had to follow the example of Germany in the conservation of resources. On Feb. 15 Mr. Asquith

announced in the House of Commons that the Government was taking stock of all the nation's financial and industrial reserves, as well as of men and munitions, in order to put forth its maximum strength in war. The same evening two Orders in Council were issued empowering the military and naval authorities to take possession of any factories, food, forage, stores, or articles of any description needed for war purposes. After March 1 no British vessel exceeding 500 tons can leave British waters without a special license. A royal proclamation has been issued prohibiting the import after March 1—except under Board of Trade license—of all materials for the manufacture of paper and cardboard, of all periodicals over sixteen pages in length otherwise than in single copies by post, of tobacco in all forms, and of various kinds of woods, stones, and slates. Sugar imports are restricted to 20 or 25 per cent. less than in 1915. Thus the whole of Great Britain's merchant marine passes under absolute State control. It only remains for the State to take the next step and fix freight charges. This in free, individualist England! Indeed, the alchemy of war produces strange results.

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THE APPAM EPISODE

NO exploit of the war has offered a more picturesque surprise than the capture of the British passenger steamer Appam by an unsuspected German sea raider, and bringing it across the Atlantic under a prize crew to find refuge in the neutral American port of Newport News, Va. Along with the surprise came a fresh consignment of knotty diplomatic problems for the United States Government.

The Appam was captured Jan. 15 near the Canary Islands by a disguised German raider, a steamer of the type used in the fruit trade, which on approaching its victims suddenly dropped a collapsible steel deck covering, revealing an effective battery of guns. The Germans said it was called the *Möwe*, but from photographs caught by British prisoners from the Appam's portholes it has since been

identified as the Ponga. The vessel, with a small unarmed consort, is believed to have slipped out of Kiel through the British North Sea fleet into the open Atlantic. It had been cruising for days along the African coast—and there it still is at work, so far as known at this writing, (Feb. 17.) It was directly in the path of British traders from Africa and Australia, and six of these had been captured and sunk before the Appam came along. Then the Clan MacTavish, an Australian freighter, gave battle to the raider and was sunk within sight of the Appam's passengers, only four of the nineteen persons on board being saved.

The passengers and crews of the eight British vessels, 429 in all, were placed on the Appam in charge of Lieutenant Hans Berg and a prize crew of twenty-two men, to which were added twenty released German prisoners who were being carried to England on the Appam. To keep the passengers from overpowering the prize crew explosives were placed in vital parts of the vessel, and the commander intimated that he would sink all on board in case of trouble. Without a hitch he brought his human cargo and his prize to Hampton Roads—and handed the trouble over to the United States Government.

* * *

A PROBLEM OF LAW

IN dealing with the Appam case the State Department promptly ordered the release of all persons on board except the prize crews and those who had aided it. What to do with the vessel itself, however, was a more difficult problem. Prizes have been taken into neutral ports before, but usually under temporary stress of weather or need of supplies. No definite precedent existed for such a case as the Appam's.

Under Article 21 of The Hague Convention a prize brought into a neutral port "must leave as soon as the circumstances which justified its entry are at an end." It is apparent that the "circumstances" which caused the German raider to send the Appam to seek refuge here will not be at an end until the war is over. The British Government made it known unofficially that it

expected the United States to hand the prize over to its British owners or else act under The Hague Convention and drive the refugee out to sea, where British cruisers could get it. The German Government, on the other hand, invoked the treaty of 1828 between the United States and Prussia, by which a war prize can find refuge indefinitely in an American port.

So far as the case has been settled at this writing the State Department has acted on the lines of the Prussian treaty, regarding the Appam as a prize, not as a warship. Apparently it will be interned here until the end of the war, in charge of its German crew, leaving its final disposition to the negotiators of the peace treaty. Meanwhile, the original British crew has been ordered to remain in the United States pending a decision. Whichever way the case is decided there is likely to be one dissatisfied belligerent and a corresponding sheaf of protests.

* * *

LEGALIZING THE SUBMARINE

IN order to bring the deadly submarine within the pale of civilized law, Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State, formulated a tentative code for this new phase of warfare, and submitted it to the Entente Governments on Jan. 18. The full text of his letter is given elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY. It recognizes the fact that the submarine is too efficient an instrument of war to expect any belligerent to relinquish it. Briefly, it proposes a "gentlemen's agreement" to the effect that no merchant or passenger ships shall carry arms, and that, on the other hand, no submarine shall attack any commercial vessel without warning.

Thus far the Entente powers have shown no disposition to accept this *modus vivendi* with their enemies, and Mr. Lansing's effort seems likely to be unavailing. Meanwhile, the subject remains as full of grave possibilities for neutrals as for belligerents. If the United States allows its citizens to travel on armed Italian, French, and British liners it will be expected to protect them and resent their deaths with some action other than

writing notes. Events are certain to force us to a decision more definite than has yet been made. Evidently this is one of the subjects which President Wilson had in mind when he told his Western audiences that no man could tell what danger any hour might bring.

* * *

THE KAISER AND KING FERDINAND

TWO historic speeches were made at a banquet in Nish, in conquered Serbia, when the German Kaiser and King Ferdinand of Bulgaria glorified their deeds in the Balkans and said complimentary things about each other. The date was Jan. 18, the 215th anniversary of the coronation of Frederick I. In his peroration King Ferdinand dropped into the ancient Latin language to toast the Emperor:

Ave Imperator, Caesar et Rex. Victor et gloriosus es. Nissa antiqua omnes Orientis populi te salutant redemptorem, ferentem oppressis prosperitatem atque salutem. Long live Kaiser Wilhelm!

[The translation of the Latin is: "Hail Emperor, Caesar and King! Thou art victor and glorious. In ancient Nish all the peoples of the East salute thee, the redeemer, bringing to the oppressed prosperity and salvation."]

In the course of his reply Kaiser Wilhelm said:

We have had a hard fight, which will soon spread further. When Turkey was threatened by the same enemies she joined us, and in stubborn fighting secured her world position. Your Majesty's prudence recognized that the hour had come for Bulgaria, for you to bring forward your old and good claims, and smooth the way for your brave country to a glorious future. In true comradeship the glorious triumphal march of your Majesty's nation in arms began, which, under the guidance of its illustrious War Lord, has added one sublime leaf of glory to another in the history of Bulgaria. In order to give visible expression to my feelings for such deeds, and to the feelings of all Germany, I have begged your Majesty to accept the dignity of Prussian Field Marshal, and I am, with my army, happy that you, by accepting it, also in this sense have become one of us.

This occasion marks Germany's nearest approach, in this war, to duplicating the historic scene of 1871, in which the first German Kaiser was crowned at Versailles. It is a poor substitute for a second entry into Paris, which was expected to take place in three weeks from

the violation of the Belgian border, and which is further off than ever after nineteen months of unprecedented carnage; but it is a landmark in German history, nevertheless, and deserves to go into the permanent records of the war.

* * *

BRITAIN'S COLONIAL ALLIES

WILLIAM MORRIS HUGHES, the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, has been one of the most important and interesting of recent travelers across the North American Continent. He is visiting London to consult with the British Government on inter-imperial relations as affected by the war, being accompanied by Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister. The real bonds that unite the British Empire are those of common feeling and common purpose, but every four years it is usual to hold a conference of Prime Ministers in London. In the ordinary course an Imperial Conference, attended by representatives of all the British colonial nations, should have been held last year, but the war interfered with the plan. Nevertheless, it is not only Great Britain that is at war but the whole empire, and since the colonial nations are self-governing, the British Government has recognized the need of taking them into its confidence. Australia has proved a valuable colonial ally both on sea—for she has a navy of her own—and on land, notably in sending forces to Egypt and the Dardanelles. Mr. Hughes is Prime Minister by virtue of his being the leader of the Australian Labor Party, which at the present time controls the Government and is showing that it can very energetically play its part in naval and military administration.

* * *

A NEW PARLIAMENT

THE British Parliament resumed its session Feb. 16. King George's speech from the throne, and the addresses of Premier Asquith and Secretary for War Kitchener indicated Great Britain's implacable determination to continue the war until the Central Powers are beaten. The King in his address

said "the spirit of the Allies * * * remains steadfast in the resolve to secure reparation for the victims of unprovoked and unjustifiable outrage and effectual safeguards for all nations against the aggression of a power which mistakes force for right and expediency for honor." The Premier stated that the present British expeditionary force in France was ten times the original number. He declared that the nation's war expenditures were \$25,000,000 a day, and gave a forecast of a new vote of credit for \$2,500,000,000. He expressed supreme confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Allies.

Lord Kitchener declared that the Indian troops had been withdrawn from France and had been replaced by eight new divisions (320,000) of new British troops. He declared himself well satisfied that Egypt would be successfully defended against attack, and that the situation in Asia Minor was encouraging. In France the situation, he said, was practically unchanged, but "the morale of the French Army had been maintained at the same high level, and its fighting qualities have never been greater or more highly developed." He also confidently looks forward "to a victorious issue which should insure peace for many generations."

* * *

RUSSIA'S NEW WAR PREMIER

THE appointment of M. Sturmer, reactionary of reactionaries, as Premier of Russia, is regarded as a warning to the Allies of the danger of Russia's desertion from the Entente. M. Sturmer is as unknown to the Russian people as to the outside world. He owes his position to those subterranean forces in the Russian Court which are systematically exerting their influences in behalf of a peace with Germany. These forces scored their first victory with the "exiling" of Nikolai Nikolaivitch to the Caucasus. They have now scored another, and possibly more important, victory with the elevation to the first post in the empire of a person who, judging from his record, will be a puppet in their hands. To counterbalance these forces there is the influence of the French and English, and

the sincere sympathy of the Czar with the cause of the Allies. But how easily the sentiments of the Czar could be swayed has been demonstrated on numerous occasions; as to the influence of the French and English on the Court, they must either have been taken by surprise by this latest move or have proved incapable of fighting the underground methods of their opponents. In any case, if France and Great Britain are not fully awake to the possibilities of the present situation in Russia they may suddenly receive a crushing blow.

* * *

REFUGEES IN RUSSIA

RECENT dispatches from Russia put the number of war refugees in that country between 9 and 13 millions. They come from Courland, Poland, and Lithuania, and like a mighty current are flooding the central and eastern parts of Russia. This vast internal migration, the like of which, in point of enormity, history has never recorded, has a deep economic significance to the future of Russia.

The migrants are largely Jews, Poles, and Baltic Germans, the three most enterprising nationalities in Russia's very heterogeneous population. They come from the most civilized provinces of the country, from the regions adjoining Western Europe, and by virtue of long and constant contact with their progressive neighbors they have become the most advanced groups of the Russian Nation. From the industrially and commercially highly developed sections they are moving into the remote and backward zones of the empire. There are among them former bankers, merchants, manufacturers, engineers, small traders, salesmen, brokers, and quite a legion of shrewd ex-contrabandists.

What Russia needs most is development. The vastness of the country demands a vast agency for that work. This war, the conquest of Poland, Courland, and Lithuania by the Teutons, has provided internal Russia with a force of pioneers in the field of economic development sufficient in size and adequate in ability to carry out the great historical task of producing a New Russia.

Interpretations of World Events

The Conflict in Artois

FOR many months now the world has been waiting for a breach of the deadlock on the western battle front by one side or the other, but from the time of the great Calais drive to the brilliant French offensive which began on Sept. 25 last, and from that time up to the present hour, that expectation has been disappointed. About the middle of February, it seemed that, at one point, the troops of General Joffre might break the deadlock at least to the extent of compelling the Germans to reform a very important part of their line. This point was on the arc of which Lens is the centre, and to the west of which the German line bends in what is almost a semicircle, much as the English line bends round to the east of Ypres. The French sappers, digging like moles under the German positions, and blowing them into the air, have succeeded in driving the Teutons back to a strong line of defense, some three miles long, on the top of the range of which Hill 140 is the northernmost point. This strong German work had been obstinately held by the forces of the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria; obstinately because the loss of this position would compel a withdrawal of the German forces from Lens, with its important railroad connections, and perhaps an abandonment of the whole front, including Lille and Douay. As Paris reported this conflict on Feb. 14 the French operations had begun with the explosion of mines on the western slope of Hill 140, the largest making a "crater" fifty yards across, which finally remained in possession of the French. But more important than the slight gain of ground, and more interesting also, is the generization which the French staff has allowed itself to make. First, that the German artillery is still exceedingly strong; and, second, that the German infantry has lost its dash. A French officer wittily remarks: "At the beginning of the war the Germans proudly wore helmets, while we had

kepis. Now, we have helmets, and they wear useless, convicts' caps. The change is symbolical." But the deadlock remains unbroken.

The Russians in Persia

ONE of the surprises of January and February of the present year was the announcement that Russian forces were operating in Western Persia on a line stretching from Hamadan to Sultanabad, and thence further south. Going behind this announcement we find that considerable forces of Turkish regulars and Kurd tribesmen had invaded Persia from Mesopotamia and Turkish Armenia, no doubt with detachments of German officers. It was to meet these invaders and to drive them back that the Russian forces were operating on the Hamadan-Sultanabad line. The answer to the question why the task of driving invaders from Persia should fall to the Russians is simple. At the end of August, 1907—that is, between eight and nine years ago—England and Russia made an agreement by which Northwestern Persia was recognized as a Russian sphere of influence, while that part of Persia toward the frontier of India became practically an English protectorate. This somewhat summary proceeding was made not only possible, but even necessary, by the practical collapse of native rule in Persia, as a result of which Russian and English merchants in that country were without protection. The practical question, by what road the Russian forces reached Hamadan and Sultanabad is as easily answered. Persia is bounded on the north in part by the Caspian Sea, and the Caspian Sea since the middle of last century has been practically a Russian lake. Several lines of light-draught steamships furrow its salt waves, plying from Astrakhan, at the mouth of the Volga, and from Baku, the Caspian port of Tiflis and the Caucasus, to Resht on the north coast of Persia. Resht is the terminus of the road which leads up the valley of the river Kizil

Uzen, through the immense mall of mountains, of which Mount Damavand is the highest peak, to Teheran; thence caravan roads lead to Hamadan and Sultanabad. There were already considerable Russian forces at Teheran at the outbreak of the war, and these have evidently been greatly increased by new troops sent through Resht. This Russian campaign in Persia is likely to have two results. It will strengthen and consolidate Russian influence there, and it will ultimately lessen the pressure on the English forces south of Bagdad.

The Russians at Erzerum

THE outstanding war operations of the month have been those of the Russian army of the Caucasus, operating in the direction of Erzerum. Erzerum is a city of some forty or fifty thousand inhabitants. It stands some 6,000 feet above sea level, or about the height of Colorado Springs, and is probably the most important city on the great Armenian plateau. Twice in past years it has been occupied by Russian troops and then returned again to the Turks. Its defense is rendered comparatively easy by the advantageous positions of a group of outlying forts, the strongest of which are situated on a ridge of hills to the east of the city. It has been reported that four Turkish army corps—the First, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh—have been driven toward Erzerum and hemmed in by the Russian forces, and there are less reliable reports that the two leading Germans in the Turkish Empire, Field Marshal von der Goltz ("Goltz Pasha") and Field Marshal Liman von Sanders are with the Turkish army there. If this be accurate, it means that Erzerum has now a military population at least four times as great as the normal civil population, and, when completely invested by the Russian army, as it proves to have been, the city could no longer hold out. The strategic results of this situation will show themselves in two directions, both very important; the first will operate in favor of England; the pressure on the beleaguered English forces under General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara, which Gen-

eral Aylmer has not succeeded in relieving, will be lightened; the projected expedition against Egypt and the Suez Canal will at least be delayed, and the threatened invasion of India will become indefinitely remote. But far more important will be the result to the Russian Empire, not only in giving Russia a further section of the coast of the Black Sea, but also, most vital of all, in opening a new approach to Constantinople, which is likely to prove much more advantageous than the ill-fated way of Gallipoli and the Dardanelles. On Feb. 16 the Russians reported that the whole circle of forts had fallen, and that Erzerum was in their possession.

The Problem at Saloniki

THE much advertised drive of combined Teuton and Bulgarian forces which was to push the French and English at Saloniki into the sea has, so far, not materialized. On the contrary the latest information is that the French are advancing beyond their very strong line of defense, and pushing their way northward along the railroad which comes down the Vardar Valley. The position of the Allies at Saloniki is naturally an exceedingly strong one, a series of hills and lakes making it easily defensible, and both the French and the English seem to have been increasing their forces considerably since the date of Lord Kitchener's visit. Very wisely, too, they have put General Sarraill in supreme command of all the allied forces in the Saloniki sphere of the war, the man who so splendidly organized the defense of Verdun and held it against the great German rush of August and September, 1914. We have no certain information as to the numbers, or even the composition, of the forces opposed to General Sarraill. It seems certain that, once his drive completed, Field Marshal von Mackensen withdrew a considerable part of his army of invasion northward, probably using them to meet the Russian threat against Bukowina. There is evidence that the force which threatens Saloniki is composed mainly of Austrians and Bulgarians, the Bulgarians greatly outnumbering the Austrians. And here a new

problem arises, rumors of which have already found their way into the dispatches. Both these powers ardently covet Saloniki and would do a good deal to get possession of it. Bulgaria wants it as a port for the region of Macedonia which she has recently wrested from Serbia. Austria wants Saloniki as an outpost of her empire on the Aegean Sea; and the real head and front of Serbia's offending, the prime cause, in a sense, of the present war, is the fact that Serbia blocked the way of Austria to the south to Saloniki. It may well be that the present journey of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria to Vienna and Berlin marks an effort on the part of that able diplomatist to settle the question of Saloniki in his own favor. There is a possibility here of very serious friction.

Renewed Fighting Near Dvinsk

A LARGE part of the eastern battle line has remained unchanged ever since the Russian retreat last Summer and Autumn, and this is particularly true of the section which runs along the River Dwina from Dvinsk to Riga. It appears that the defense of this line on the Russian side has, for some months, been in the hands of General Ruzsky, who so brilliantly led the Russian advance through Galicia toward Cracow in the Autumn of 1914, being replaced after a time by General Ivanoff. It was rumored at the time that General Ruzsky had undergone an operation for cancer, just as a similar report was spread, somewhat later, about the Grand Duke Nicholas. But it is characteristic of cancer, if indeed either of these leaders really suffered from that scourge, that successive operations may prolong a life for years; and that, after an operation, the vital energies seem almost unimpaired. At any rate, it is certain that the defender of the Dvinsk-Riga line has done very effective work, the more so if the attack has been directed by the redoubtable Field Marshal Von Hindenburg, whose sledgehammer blows made such heavy inroads on Russia's forces from the very beginning of the war. But what appears to be certain is this: that General Polivanoff, the new War Minister of Russia, is fully justified by the

facts when he says, as he is recently reported to have done, that Russia has no longer a munition crisis, and is no longer threatened with any shortage of good and well-trained troops. It is now a matter of common knowledge that Russia has received from Japan not only immense quantities of ammunition, but also very large numbers of guns; and it is more than likely that these were accompanied by skilled Japanese instructors, who have, for many months now, been training a new supply of artillerymen for Russia, and who will, in all probability, continue to do so until the end of the war. The renewed fighting on the Riga-Dvinsk line has not been sufficiently prolonged to enable us to draw complete conclusions, but it seems fairly certain that any renewal of the former German movement, any effective threat against Petrograd, which was really feared a few months back, need no longer be considered a practical possibility.

German East Africa

THE appointment of General Smuts to the chief command of the composite force of English, Boer, and Indian troops operating against the Teutons in German East Africa may mark the beginning of a decisive chapter in the history of that enormous region, as the appointment of General Botha did in Southwest Africa. And it is possible that the conflict, both in the Cameroons and in the West African Protectorate, the two last strongholds of German power in Africa, may come to an end at the same time. Both these great protectorates date, as German possessions, from about thirty years ago, when Prince Bismarck set himself to build up for the recently formed German Empire an extensive colonial area that might be in some degree comparable to the colonies of England or France. But, in spite of thirty years of far-sighted and systematic work, these great areas in Africa have not become German colonies in the real sense; that is, they are of practically no use as reservoirs for the dense population which is one of the great problems of German colonies. The whole German population of the African possessions of

the empire never amounted to more than a few thousand; let us say, one German citizen to every hundred square miles. In this way these African possessions are comparable rather to India than to Canada or Australia; there are scores of towns with a far larger German population than any or all of these African colonies. Furthermore, they have been developed at great cost to the German Treasury, though much of the money spent will later give a good return, as, for example, that which has been laid out for roads and railways and their value to German commerce. Their loss to Germany, therefore, will be a sentimental rather than a real injury.

Zeppelin Raid Against Paris

FOR the first time in many months a Zeppelin the other day succeeded in getting close enough to Paris to drop bombs in one of the poorer suburbs on the outskirts of the city. This is in striking contrast with the lot of England, which has been raided again and again, although the natural difficulties in the way of the journey to England, always involving a sea journey and the unstable meteorological conditions that that implies, are very much greater than those included in covering the comparatively short land space between the German lines and the French capital. We are told that the true reason for the "good luck," the comparative immunity, of Paris is, that it is not a matter of luck at all, but the direct result of French intelligence and method. The heavy Zeppelins are both conspicuous and vulnerable, very vulnerable, especially from above. Once an aeroplane gets the upper position its greater mobility makes it easy for it to rip the Zeppelin up the back and bring it crashing to the ground. But, on the other hand, the heavier-than-air machine is always at a disadvantage when it is a question of rising directly into the air. It is compelled to mount on a long spiral, which inevitably takes much precious time; and, by the time it is up to the required altitude of 10,000 feet or so, the Zeppelin has done its work and fled. The French have met this difficulty in a way that has the simplicity of genius: They start a pair of aero-

planes upward every couple of hours, relieving another pair that have been aloft for that period, as long as one can maintain one's faculties at their best in the chill regions of the upper air. Thus it happens that whenever a Zeppelin approaches there are already two fully equipped aeroplanes in the air ready to tackle it. The Germans, having learned this, and keenly aware of the vulnerability of their great gas-bags, have, therefore, given Paris a wide berth. The recent raid was partially successful only because of a heavy fog.

The Neutrality of Greece

THE Crown Prince of Greece, following the example of his father, King Constantine, has allowed himself to be interviewed on the subject of Greek neutrality. Like his father, he declares that the refusal of Greece to enter the war on the side of the Entente powers is fully justified by the fate which has overtaken Serbia; that Greece would only have invited and incurred a similar fate had she relinquished her neutrality; and, finally, that no hardships and sufferings which the Entente powers may inflict upon Greece because of her refusal to join them can for a moment compare with the terrible sufferings that Serbia already endures and that Greece would almost certainly share. We may admit at once, first, that the condition of Serbia is at least as bad as that of Belgium or Poland, perhaps very much worse than either; and, second, that, up to the present, the efforts of the Entente powers to relieve Serbia have been hardly more effectual than were their efforts to defend Belgium. They are still just holding on in one small corner of Belgium, and at the present moment they do not effectively occupy a square mile of Serbia. So much may fairly be said for the argument of King Constantine of Greece and his son. But, having admitted so much, we must remember this: By her treaty with Serbia Greece promised to come to the aid of her ally if that ally should be attacked by Bulgaria with an army which probably would have amounted to 300,000 men; an army which was already mobilized at the time of Bulgaria's attack, and which has, in

fact, been mobilized ever since. Had Greece been true to her promise, had she rejected the "scrap of paper" theory of treaty obligations and gone courageously to the aid of Serbia when Field Marshal von Mackensen began to shell Belgrade, it may very well be that the devastation and ruin of Serbia would never have taken place. One is constrained, therefore, to say that the King of Greece and his son are putting forward a rather disingenuous argument in defense of the somewhat cowardly desertion of an ally in time of need.

Aristide Briand Visits Italy

M. ARISTIDE BRIAND, the able and influential Prime Minister of France, and head of the strongest Ministry that France has seen since the beginning of the Third Republic, toward the middle of February visited Italy to confer with Premier Salandra and Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, after which he was to meet the King of Italy and General Cadorna, his Chief of Staff. It was announced that M. Briand would do much to co-ordinate the efforts of Italy more closely with those of the other Entente powers, and that a greater efficiency would be certain to result therefrom; further, and more specifically, that one result would be an Italian embargo on all exports to Austria or Germany, thus completing the "ring of steel" with which the Entente powers are seeking to strangle the economic life of the Teutonic empires. But we may well conjecture that M. Briand's errand was not wholly confined to these pleasant and satisfactory aims; we may well believe that he went to Rome and to the Italian front to voice the general feeling of France, England, and Russia, that Italy is not pulling her weight in the war, and that, from the very outset, Italy has been for Italy, first, last, and all the time, rather than for the general aims and ideals of the Allies. Many things lend color to this view: the way in which Italy dickered with Austria, through Prince Bülow, at the beginning; the fact that Italy is still "on friendly terms" with Germany, no doubt in accordance with some unavowed understanding; and, finally, the way in which Italy delayed

and hung back, when it was a question of helping the Serbians, for the not very creditable reason, it is alleged, that Italy covets the littoral of the Eastern Adriatic which, were Serbia successful, would naturally fall to Serbia—so much so, that Italy's "aid" has been limited to the occupation of Durazzo and Valona, ports greatly coveted by Italy, for her own use. These and other things of like tenor are probably the true errand of M. Briand to Rome, in addition to the more agreeable purposes which get into the cablegrams.

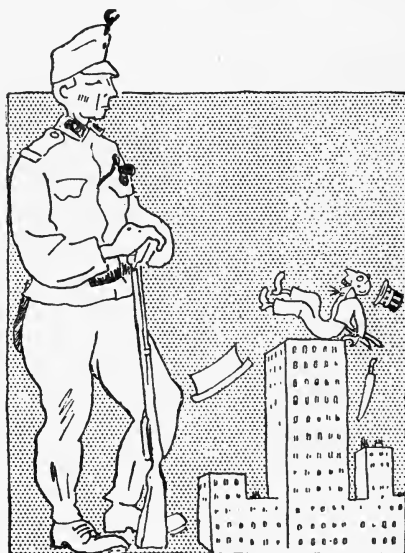
The Abandonment of Gallipoli

THERE is a very complete revelation of one all-pervading cause of English mishaps in the war in Sir Ian Hamilton's dispatch, describing the events which led up to the abandonment of Gallipoli. Speaking of the afternoon of Aug. 8 Sir Ian Hamilton writes: "I landed on the beach, where all seemed quiet and peaceful, and saw the commander of the Eleventh Division, Major Gen. Hammersley. I warned him the sands were running out fast, and that by dawn the high ground to his front might very likely be occupied in force by the enemy. He saw the danger, but declared that it was a physical impossibility at so late an hour (6 P. M.) to get out orders for a night attack, the troops being very much scattered. * * * At dawn on the 9th I watched General Hammersley's attack and very soon realized, by the well-sustained artillery fire of the enemy (so silent the previous day) and by the volume of musketry, that Turkish reinforcements had arrived; that with the renewed confidence caused by our long delay the guns had been brought back, and that, after all, we were forestalled. This was a bad moment; our attack failed. * * * This is painful reading, yet the Gallipoli adventure will not have been sheer loss to England if it leads her Generals to realize the danger, the hopelessness, of trying to fight a modern war by methods such as these. The responsibility for the failure rests, of course, not so much on the subordinate, Major Gen. Hammersley, as on the Commander in Chief, Sir Ian Hamilton.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

The American Note to Austria-Hungary



—© *Der Guckkasten, Munich.*

How Americans imagined the result
would be—

And how it really was.

What Germany Has Achieved



—From *The Westminster Gazette*, London.

But there are some others left after eighteen months of war—Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan.



—From *The Westminster Gazette*, London.

THE KAISER: "We're going on swimmingly, aren't we, Bethmann-Hollweg?"
THE CHANCELLOR: "Y—Yes, your All Highness, but we seem to be going down hill rather!"

[American Cartoon]

An Awkward Delay



—From The New York Times.

CONGRESS: "I can't make up my mind which suit would be best for you."
UNITED STATES: "In the meantime this exposure may prove fatal!"

Blessed France



—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

"It's a caster from my bed, and it's all that is left of my house. But I am content, just the same, for we have a famous artillery. It was you who did that—when you captured the town!"

The True Italy



—© Ulk, Berlin.

"Has he signed for a joint peace?"

"Yes."

"Then we had better double our precautions."

[Greek Cartoon]

The Prussians of the Balkans



—*Patris, Athens.*

Those who undertook to diffuse German Kultur in the Balkan Peninsula.

Putting Over Some Comedy Stuff



—From the Ohio State Journal.

International Humor on the Golden Horn.

[Dutch Cartoon]

German Peace Propaganda



—De Telegraaf, Amsteraam.

THE BURGLAR TO THE POLICE: "Say, boys, how about peace?"

[The strongly anti-German cartoons of the Dutch artist, Louis Raemaekers, published in De Telegraaf of Amsterdam, have attracted worldwide attention. Two of them are reproduced in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY.]

Troubles at Home



—De Telegraaf, Amsterdam.

WILHELM: "We cannot allow a single head of Danish or Swedish cattle to go through to Austria. We need all ourselves."

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "Not a bag of Rumanian flour can go through to Germany. We need all ourselves."

Its Destination Obvious



—From *The Vancouver World*.

JOHN BULL: "Eh, what's that? Only your lunches! Why, what tremendous appetites you have for small 'uns!"

Wilson's Wedding Journey



—© Ulk, Berlin.

He Writes Notes—and His Wife Is Bored to Death.

American Neutrality



—Korsaren, Christiania.

"Again I tell you for the last time that your conduct is not altogether satisfactory."

A Change of Heart



—From The Evening Sun, New York.

The President's Too Famous Speech of Last May Is His First Target in the Preparedness Campaign.

The Generalississimo



—© Ulk, Berlin.

Poor Joffre! With one foot in the grave, he now has to put the other in another.

In the Balkans



—Blanco y Negro, Madrid.

"Do you see any Italians in that direction?"

"No. Do you?"

"Do you see any Russians?"

"Not one."

Russian Demonstration on the Rumanian Frontier



—From *Der Guckkasten*, Munich.

RUSSIA: "What's the use of all my bluff, if the fellow won't let himself be bluffed?"

[English Cartoon]

The Death's Head



—From *The Graphic*, London.

Half Close Your Eyes and Look At It.

[German Cartoon]

Saloniki



—© *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

"I was just thinking, Brother Frenchman, that it was not healthful
around here."

Milk! Milk! For My German Babies



—From *The Providence Journal*.

A revision à la Nietzsche: "Charity begins and ends at home."

As Old as Troy



—From The New York Herald.

Beware of Germany's Big Wooden Statues.

Papa's Letter



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

GRANDFATHER (reading from letter): "—I have the joy of announcing that I have just been made a Captain."

TOTO: "Grandpa, I am proud of your son."

[American Cartoon]

The Coming Bond of Friendship



—From *The New York Tribune*.

An Opposition Comment on the Wilson Administration's Handling of the Submarine Controversy.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events

From January 12, Up to and Including

February 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Jan. 12—Russians occupy the town of Sadorga, a strategic point in Bukowina.
- Jan. 15—Russians resume massed assaults on the Austrian positions in Eastern Galicia and on the Bessarabian front.
- Jan. 20—Russians capture positions near Czernowitz; increasingly violent fighting on the Bessarabian frontier.
- Jan. 24—Artillery engagements in the Stripa region.
- Jan. 29—Teutons report Russian defeats at Uscieczko bridgehead and near Berestiany; Vilna in flames.
- Feb. 2—Austrians force Russians to withdraw from Uscieczko bridgehead by mine attacks; Germans wipe out Russian detachment near Kucholka-Vola.
- Feb. 8—Russians take Teuton trenches near Tarnopol, but are driven out.
- Feb. 9—Russians occupy Uscieczko and cross to the western bank of the Dniester River; German attack on Liksno station checked.
- Feb. 10—Russians again menace Czernowitz; German efforts to establish new positions at Dvinsk frustrated by Russian artillery.
- Feb. 11—Germans in Galicia forced at several points to retire to second-line defenses; Russians storm Volhynia heights and advance in Lutsk-Rovno-Dubno triangle of forts.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Jan. 12-15—Spirited artillery engagements in Artois, Champagne, the Argonne, and the Woevre, with no decisive results.
- Jan. 16—British artillery is bombarding Lille, inside the German lines.
- Jan. 20—British troops, using smoke bombs, are repulsed in attack on German lines near Frelingheim.
- Jan. 23—Germans pierce Artois defenses and capture 200 yards of French salient near Neuville-St. Vaast.
- Jan. 25—Germans destroy Nieuport cathedral.
- Jan. 26—French recover craters near Neuville-St. Vaast.
- Jan. 29-31—French repulsed on the Somme front; brisk fighting at Neuville.
- Feb. 2—French demolish a blockhouse in the Vosges and shell Champagne trenches.
- Feb. 8—German shells fall in Belfort; violent artillery duels in Artois.
- Feb. 9-10—Terrific combats near Neuville and Vimy.
- Feb. 11—Germans halted near Frise by

French fire and thrown back with heavy losses.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Jan. 12—Austrian troops are fighting the Montenegrins around Cetinje and have taken Grahovo heights.
- Jan. 13—Austrian forces reach Mitchitz, five miles from Antivari; Cetinje dominated by Austrian capture of Mount Lovcen.
- Jan. 14—Vienna War Office announces Austrian occupation of Cetinje.
- Jan. 15—Austrians pursue the Montenegrins and occupy Spizza.
- Jan. 20—Fighting between Austrians and Montenegrins resumed after breaking off of peace negotiations.
- Jan. 21—Essad Pasha arrives at Scutari with Albanian forces to join in defense of the city.
- Jan. 23—Austrians occupy Adriatic seaports of Antivari and Dulcigno.
- Jan. 24—Austro-Hungarian troops occupy Scutari and march on Durazzo; Bulgarians menace Avlona.
- Jan. 26—Bulgarian forces reported defeated by the Albanians near Elbassan.
- Jan. 28—Italians decide to abandon Durazzo.
- Jan. 29—Essad Pasha effects junction with Italian forces in Albania.
- Feb. 2—Part of the Montenegrin army has effected junction with the Serbs in Albania and the combined force is falling back on Durazzo.
- Feb. 5—Bulgars and Germans open attack on Saloniki lines; artillery duels near Doiran.
- Feb. 10—Allies reinforce army at Saloniki.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Jan. 13—Heavy artillery duels along the entire front.
- Jan. 16—Austrians capture Italian positions near Oslavia, taking over 900 prisoners, and take a trench near Tolmino, but are driven back in fierce counterattack.
- Jan. 17—Italians retake trenches in the Oslavia section.
- Jan. 23—Artillery engagements at Tolmino bridgehead.
- Jan. 25—Italians repulse attacks in the Lagarina Valley.
- Jan. 26—Austrians storm positions near Oslavia, taking many Italian prisoners and repel attacks on the Isonzo front.
- Feb. 2—Italians repulse Austrian attempt to storm positions near Mori.
- Feb. 3-11—Heavy fighting in the Gorizia

zone, in the upper Chiarzo and in the Santa Maria sector, but operations are hindered by heavy snowfalls.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

- Jan. 14—Turks enter Kermanshah; Russians capture 300 men and some guns on the Caucasus front.
- Jan. 15—Russians occupy Kangawar, on the road to Kermanshah.
- Jan. 16—Turkish forces on both banks of the Tigris, twenty-five miles south of Kut-el-Amara, are retreating as the British relief expedition advances. The Russians, reinforced on a 100-mile front, begin new general offensive in the Caucasus.
- Jan. 17—British report Turks driven back to within six miles of Kut-el-Amara.
- Jan. 20—Russians in the Caucasus pursue the Turks, taking much booty.
- Jan. 21—British reported checked by Turks at Essin, twenty-three miles from Kut-el-Amara; Russian troops occupy Sultanaabad, in Persia; garrison and German Consul flee; Russians take Hassan Kalah, in the Caucasus.
- Jan. 22—Russians are closing in on the Turks massed in the town and forts of Erzerum.
- Jan. 23—Persian tribesmen from Kermanshah gather to oppose Russian advance; Russians rout three Turkish army corps in region of Erzerum; Senussi tribesmen defeated by the British on the western frontier of Egypt with heavy losses.
- Jan. 24—Russians capture 700 Turks and a convoy of artillery on the Caucasus front, and defeat Kurdish bands.
- Jan. 25—Field Marshal Baron von der Goltz appointed Commander in Chief of Turkish forces in the Caucasus.
- Jan. 27—Turks fall back a mile from British intrenchments at Kut.
- Jan. 28—French capture garrison at Antiphilo; Russians defeat Turkish forces south of Lake Urumiah and in the region west of Melazghert, and enter the town of Khynysskala, between Erzerum and Mush.
- Jan. 29—Lieut. Gen. Sir Percy Lake joins British relief expedition at Wadi.
- Jan. 31—Russians dislodge Turks from forty-mile strip in the Caucasus; Turks fortify Angora and Sivas.
- Feb. 2—Floods hinder British relief force on the Tigris; Russians drive Turks from the region of Lake Tortum, in the Caucasus.
- Feb. 3—Turkish relief force sent to aid Erzerum driven back by the Russians.
- Feb. 4—Russians report that Turks have evacuated Erzerum.
- Feb. 11—British repulsed on the Irak front; little change in the situation near Kut-el-Amara.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

- Jan. 18—Germans evacuate Ebolowa and Okono-Linga, on the west coast; German Governor and German commandant escape into Spanish Mimi.

- Jan. 25—British occupy Daing, in Kamerun.
- Jan. 28—British occupy Lolodorf, in Kamerun.

Feb. 1—Germans have abandoned Kasigau, in East Africa.

- Feb. 6—Nine hundred Germans and 14,000 of their colonial troops have crossed into Spanish Guinea, where they have disarmed and are interned.

AERIAL RECORD

Aviators on both sides continued their activities on the western front. North of Rheims two Zeppelins were destroyed by French gunfire. A new German aeroplane of the Fokker type was brought down by a British aviator. Four British aeroplanes were destroyed by Germans at various places. In a German raid on Nancy one aviator was killed. The French shelled Metz, Arnaville, and Le Sars.

The Balkans were the scene of many raids. French aviators threw 200 bombs on a Bulgar camp at Pasartzi, near Lake Doiran, killing and wounding many men and setting fire to their tents. A squadron of 32 French aeroplanes bombed Monastir. The Austrians raided Durazzo and Avlona. In a Zeppelin raid on Saloniki on Feb. 1, 11 people were killed and 50 injured.

On Jan. 30 Zeppelins raided Paris, killing 24 persons and wounding 30. A second raid took place the next day, but the bombs fell harmlessly on open fields.

A German naval aeroplane dropped bombs on Dover on the night of Jan. 22-23. Berlin reported 39 persons killed. On Jan. 23, two raids were made on the east coast of Kent, and on Jan. 24 occurred a third raid. Only one person was killed and six injured. In a Zeppelin raid on the eastern, northeastern and midland counties of England, on Jan. 31, 61 persons were killed and 111 injured. The Zeppelin L-19, flying low, was fired on by Dutch coast guards. A British trawler found her sinking in the North Sea, but the skipper, because his ship was unarmed and because he had few men on board, refused to heed the crew's appeal for help.

NAVAL RECORD

The British passenger liner Appam was brought into Hampton Roads by a German prize crew, having been captured by a German raider, which was variously identified as the Möwe and the Ponga, and which had snared seven other British ships. Both Germany and England filed claims to the Appam, Germany declaring that the Treaty of 1828 guarantees the ship as a prize of war, and England declaring The Hague Convention guarantees her return to her British owners. Secretary Lansing has practically decided that the ship is a German prize of war.





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